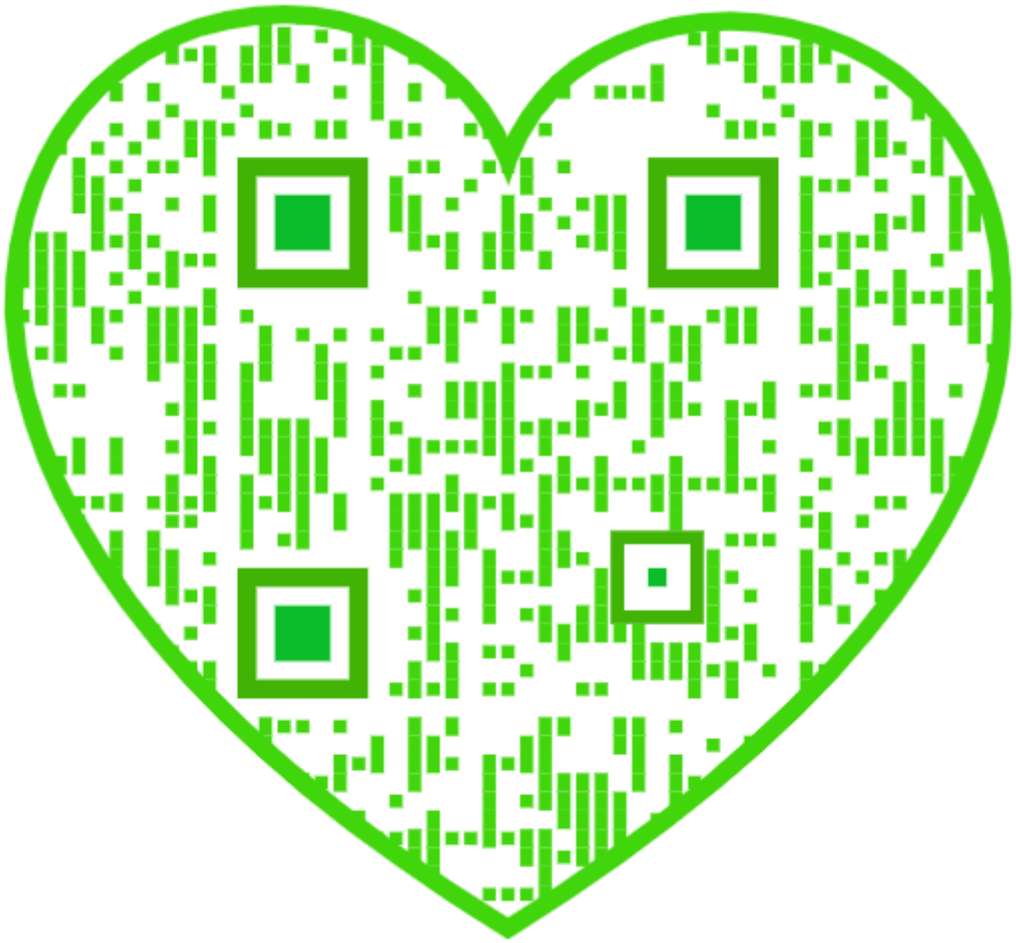

LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE

MONUMENTS

MIZZOLE—VOLTORRE

LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE

By
ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER

VOLUME III—MONUMENTS
MIZZOLE—VOLTORRE

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LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE

MONUMENTS

Mizzole—Voltorre

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LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE

MIZZOLE,[1] S. MICHELETTO

I. This monument is mentioned in the guide of Simeoni.[2]

II. An inscription of the interior records a consecration of the church celebrated in the year 1060:

ĀN . D . M̄ . LX . IND . XIII . C̄
SECR̄ Ē H̄ ÆCL̄A . XVI K[A]L[ENDAS]
SĒP AD HON̄ . S . * . ET . S . MICH
ET . SCOR[VM] . MR̄ . CASTORII .
ET . VICTORIS . ET . SCOR[VM] . C̄F̄
MARTINI . ZENONIS .
ET . REMIGII . A . T . V[3] . ĒPO .

Another inscription records the visit made to the church in 1755, by the abbot of S. Maria in Organo of Verona:

REVMVS ABBAS VEN MONAST S .
MARIÆ IN ORGANIS ORDINIS
S. BENEDICTI CONGREGATIOS;
MONTIS OLIVETI DIE XX
MAII MDCCLV HANC
ECCLESIAM VISITAVIT

[1] (Verona). [2] 350. [3] A Teupaldo veronensi.

The edifice was restored in 1840, according to still another inscription over the western portal:

R.SS.
1840
A FVLG. ET
TEMP. LIB.
NOS DOM.

The church is now desecrated and serves as a pest-house.

III. The edifice consists of a simple rectangular area, roofed in wood. Very little of the Romanesque structure survives. Even the windows have been baroccoized. The original masonry appears to have consisted of good sized unhewn stones, approximately square, laid in fairly horizontal courses, with thick mortar-beds.

IV. The exterior surface of the walls was made smooth by a smudging of plaster.

V. As an authentically dated monument of 1060, this little church, notwithstanding its poverty, is not devoid of interest.

MODENA, CATHEDRAL

(Plate 138; Plate 139; Plate 140, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 141, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 142, Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Plate 143, Fig. 1; Plate 144, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 145, Fig. 1, 3, 4)

I. Probably no other Romanesque edifice of Lombardy can boast of as rich a literature as the cathedral of Modena, either from the point of view of quantity or of average quality. The primary source for the study of the history of the cathedral is the famous codice of the *Relatio* preserved in the Archivio Capitolare, where it bears the number O.II.N.11. This codice is embellished with four miniatures (Plate 141, Fig. 3, 4) which, although reproduced by Bertoni, as well as in the new Carducci Muratori, and described in detail by Cavedoni (this description has been republished by Bortolotti),[1] are singularly little known. In the first miniature (Plate 141, Fig. 3) is shown the architect, Lanfranco—*Lãfrancus architector*—directing his workmen—*Operarij*. Throughout the four miniatures, Lanfranco always appears in the same dress. He is bearded, and has a skullcap, with a flame-like tassel. In the first two miniatures he holds in his hand a club, which is coloured green. In the first miniature (Plate 141, Fig. 3), he is shown as taking no part in the work, but as directing four workmen, two of whom have Phrygian caps,

[1] 49 f.

while one is bare-headed and one has a skullcap. The workmen dig the earth with spades and carry it out of the excavation in hods on their shoulders. They use staffs to clamber up the steep embankment. The spades are very much like those in use to-day. In dress the *operarij* are distinguished from Lanfranco, and persons back of him, in this as in the following miniature, by the fact that they have short tunics instead of long. Behind Lanfranco stands a group of persons whom Cavedoni thinks are citizens. One seems to be a woman, all are bare-headed. The subject represented is explained by the caption: *Ann dnice incarnat dni nri ihu xi mill. xc.viiij. Indict.vij. sub die decimo Kal' Jun. Jncepta est fossio fundamcti. hui' ntr ecclie mutinen.* The second miniature (Plate 141, Fig. 3) which, according to the caption: *Eodem ann. v. jd.' junii ceptum e cemtari fudamctum pfte eccl'ie mutinen* represents Lanfranco—*Lanfrancus*—directing his workmen to begin cementing the foundations of the cathedral on the ninth day of June, 1099. It is notable that the workmen are divided into two distinct classes, the artisans—*artifices*[2]—and the labourers—*operarij*. The latter seem to do the rougher work, the former to perform the labour which requires more skill. It is *operarij* who are shown in the first miniatures excavating the ground, and in the second miniature it is *operarij* who bring great baskets of bricks on their shoulders. The *artifices*, on the other hand, lay the bricks on the wall, two courses of which are seen already completed. In laying these bricks they use hammers with one pointed and one blunt end. The pointed end serves to cut the bricks, and the blunt end to hammer them into position. Similar tools are shown in the hands of the master-builders in the reliefs of the Porta dei Principi (Plate 142, Fig. 4), in those of the southern portal of S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, and in the bronze doors of S. Zeno at Verona (Plate 234, Fig. 1). In this second relief, the *artifices* and *operarii* all wear short tunics. Lanfranco, with a long tunic, stands apart from the work which he seems to direct rather haughtily. It is notable that the *artifices* are all beardless and appear to be rather young men, while the *operarij* are depicted as decidedly older and more ugly, and one of them, in the first relief, has a beard. It seems probable that the *artifices* were sons or apprentices of master-builders, and that before them lay at least the possibility of an improvement of condition. The *operarij*, on the other hand, appear to have been a class with little prospects of rising above the condition of manual labourers. The third miniature (Plate 141, Fig. 4), according to the caption: *Ann dni nr incarnat. Mill'. c. vj. p'die Kal.' maij. facta e translatio patroni nri beatissimi Geminiani,* represents the translation of the body of S. Geminiano on April 30, 1106. Lanfranco stands at the extreme right-hand edge, clothed as in the

[2] *Fabros,* autem, sive *artifices* Graeci τέκτονας vocant, id est, *structores; Architecti,* autem, cæmentarii sunt qui disponunt in fundamentis. (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* XIX, 18, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 672).

preceding miniatures, but holding in his hand a green staff which reaches to the ground. He is surrounded by his *operarii* and *artifices*. Neither they nor Lanfranco himself is labelled, but the resemblance of the faces and costume to the previous miniature makes their identity obvious. In front of Lanfranco and his assistants stand the countess Matilda—*Matildis comitissa*—and two attendants. To the extreme left appear eight clergymen. Three of these are clearly bishops, since they wear mitres, but only two have crosiers. Of the other five, the three who are dressed alike are perhaps intended to be canons of Modena. The other two must be monks. In the last miniature (Plate 141, Fig. 4) is represented according to the caption the consecration of the altar of S. Geminiano on the eighth day of October, 1106,[3] but, more strictly, the exposition of the relics. Before the tomb of the saint are seen watching the guards of the commune—*Custodes monumeti.* Lanfranco—*Lanfrancus*—and the bishop of Reggio—*Eps reginus*—are seen lifting the cover—*Lapis monumtj*—off the sarcophagus. Behind Lanfranco stands the countess Matilda—*Matildis*—offering the antependium for the altar. Behind Matilda, to the extreme left, and behind the bishop Dodone to the extreme right, are seen four of the assistants of Lanfranco. Back of the bishop of Reggio is seen Dodone, bishop of Modena—*dodo Eps mut,* holding a chalice. It is amazing to see the master-builder Lanfranco occupying so important a position in the solemn function of the exposition of the relics of S. Geminiano.

The earliest antiquarian to study the cathedral of Modena was Vedriani, whose history of Modena, published in 1666, is still of value for our monument, because it contains copies of inscriptions that have since perished. The celebrated historian Tiraboschi, whose works justly enjoy the rank of classics, in his monumental history of Modena, published in 1793, has thrown much light upon the cathedral and the works of art which it contains. The same authority, in his history of the abbey of Nonantola,[4] published in 1874, gives an engraving of the façade of Modena, in which it is seen that the two flanks of the cathedral were in the XVIII century completely engaged by the surrounding buildings. On the south side, a low passage-way led to the *piazza* from which could be seen the southern flank of the cathedral, as shown in another engraving.[5] Millin[6] has written a description of the church as he saw it in 1817. In 1823 Séroux d'Agincourt[7] published numerous small scale drawings. In the same year Cicognara[8] made the first study of the sculptures worthy of the name, illustrated the Adam and Eve,[9] and was the first to read *claret* in the famous inscription of Guglielmo, instead of the monstrous *clarte,*

[3] eodem anno. viij. jd.' octub's dedicatur [et] [con]secratur corp' [et] altāe ipi' [con]fessoris.

[4] I, 31. [5] *Ibid.*, 52. [6] II, 192 f.

[7] IV, Plate 42, Fig. 4; Plate 68, Fig. 28; Plate 70, Fig. 12; Plate 73, Fig. 16, 30, 39, 40, 42.

[8] III, 110. [9] Atlas, Tav. VII.

read by his predecessors. In 1845 Knight[10] published an important engraving of the exterior, which shows the large statue in the northern absidiole, the enlarged window of the apse, the unfinished turrets of the façade, and the attic above the northern absidiole—all features which have now disappeared. Another engraving was published in 1845, by Zuccagni-Orlandini.[11] In the same year appeared the first monograph upon the cathedral, that written by Borghi. Although the work contains numerous errors, as might be expected in a book written at a period when archæology was in its infancy, the remarks upon the architecture, and the description of the sculptures of the west façade, are still valuable. Borghi took the capitals of the nave to be antique, and in this led astray many subsequent writers. He identified wrongly the subject of the reliefs of the Porta della Pescheria as a representation of the Morte d'Arthur, but he made, nevertheless, the first serious study published of these remarkable sculptures, which he illustrated with a rather inaccurate drawing. About the middle of the XIX century, Osten published a plan and sections of the cathedral and an elevation of the façade, as well as a perspective of half of the exterior and a plate of details.[12] The sections show a string-course of double arched corbel-tables at the level of the clearstory capitals. These corbel-tables have now disappeared. About the same time, Cavedoni wrote a series of pamphlets—really monographs—dealing with the cathedral, publications which are still to be read with profit. Between 1865 and 1882 appeared the sumptuous publication of De Dartein, which contained an architectural study and a *de luxe* illustration of the cathedral of Modena.[13] This was followed in 1878 by the monograph of Messori-Roncaglia, which contains a complete description of the cathedral, made before the restoration. De Fleury, in his monumental work *La Messe,* published in 1883, dedicated a number of the plates to the cathedral of Modena.[14] He was the first to study with attention the sculptures of the XII century ambo, and the fragments of Carlovingian church-furniture. The latter were analyzed in more detail in the same year (1883) by Bortolotti, who also worked out the early history of the cathedral, for which his article, notwithstanding grave errors, is still a leading authority.

The cathedral of Modena is singularly fortunate in possessing two publications upon its fresco decoration. The first is a monograph by Hugues, published in 1887, and the second is the pathetic account by Bortolotti, published in 1892, of the XIII century fresco destroyed in the restoration of 1882. The unhappy restorations of the last years of the XIX century are recorded in the official accounts of Faccioli, from which may be gleaned some idea of the destruction wrought at that time. In 1896 Maestri illustrated the Carlovingian fragments of the cathedral in connection with his study of

[10] I, Plate XL. [11] I, *Stati Estensi. Vedute Pittoriche,* I, 1, 2; III, 2.
[12] Plates XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV.
[13] 427. [14] I, Plate 59; III, Plates 181, 183, 206, 233.

S. Michele di Livizzano. The same author had planned an elaborate monograph upon the cathedral which was to have been published in 1912, but he died before completing it. The drawings made for this work are preserved in the cathedral archives. In 1896 Dondi published a collection of notices on the cathedral of Modena derived from the rich archives of the chapter. The book is invaluable for the student of the later history of the monument. In 1897 Zimmermann published an important study of the sculptures of Modena, considered from an historical and stylistic standpoint. In 1898 appeared the important study of Foerster upon the Arthurian sculptures of the Porta della Pescheria. This article was the occasion of a lengthy reply by Colfi in the following year. In 1902 a popular résumé of the history of the cathedral by Chiesi was published in the geography of Strafforello.[15] Venturi's history of Italian art, published in 1904, contains important observations upon the sculptures of Modena,[16] though I find it impossible to assent to this critic's identification of the Guglielmo who worked at S. Zeno of Verona with Guglielmo da Modena. In 1905 Torlai published a valuable pamphlet upon the history of the Ghirlandina. Patetta called attention in 1908 to the interesting sculptures of Jacob and the angel, which had hitherto been undescribed, but failed fully to understand the iconography. In 1909 appeared the *Atlante* of Bertoni, containing extremely valuable half-tone reproductions of the principal inscriptions of the cathedral, with, incidentally, many of the reliefs and some important observations. The result of the recent excavations beneath the pavement were announced by Canevazzi in 1913, and by Bertoni in a valuable pamphlet published in 1914.

II. The history of the cathedral of Modena before the rebuilding of 1099 is obscure and confused. Notwithstanding the careful studies of Bortolotti and Bertoni, there are still numerous complex questions which remain unsolved. It appears probable, however, that in early times the church of S. Pietro was the cathedral of Modena. The author who wrote the life of S. Geminiano in the IX century mentions only this church, and states that the saint was in the habit of frequenting it.[17] Sometime during the Middle Ages, but before the time of Luitprando (in which Muratori has erroneously placed the event), the city of Modena fell into ruin, and the inhabitants moved to the westward, where they founded a new city. The new city grew up around the tomb of S. Geminiano, who had been buried outside the walls of the old city, and this new city is the existing town of Modena. The author of the last part of the second life of the saint, written probably in the XI century, speaks of the ancient city of Modena as a heap of ruins, covered with mud and half buried by the refuse brought down by

[15] *Provincia di Modena*, 25-34. [16] III, 150 f., 260-265.

[17] Ecclesiam siquidem beati Petri apostolorum principis, quae nunc usque monstratur, frequentius inuisebat. (*Vita S. Geminiani*, ed. Bortolotti, 87).

the Soratore.[18] In the midst of the ruins, however, the church of S. Pietro still existed—as, indeed, it continues to exist to the present day.

S. Geminiano, as has been said, was not buried in the church of S. Pietro, but outside of the walls of the old city, and not in any church. So much is explicitly stated in the life of the saint, and is, moreover, the constant tradition at Modena. In the sculptured scenes of the life of the saint in the Porta dei Principi (Plate 142, Fig. 4), the burial of the saint is depicted as taking place in the open air, and the walls of the city can be distinctly seen in the background. Over the tomb of the saint a basilica was erected shortly after his death[19] by Teodolo, who is believed to have been a disciple of S. Ambrogio, and was, according to the longer later life of S. Geminiano, the successor of the latter.[20] The shrine which S. Teodolo erected rapidly acquired great importance, and eclipsed the earlier cathedral of S. Pietro. The existing cathedral occupies the site of this shrine. An ancient tradition records that the cathedral which preceded the existing one was erected beside the Via Emilia[21] and there is much other evidence that the tomb of the saint has always remained in the same spot. It is not clear at precisely what date the cathedral was moved from S. Pietro to S. Geminiano. Bortolotti[22] has quoted a number of texts to prove that the episcopal palace adjoined the church of S. Geminiano as early as 796, and that, consequently, the cathedral must have been transferred from S. Pietro not later than the VIII century. At all events, in 892, S. Geminiano is distinctly mentioned as the cathedral

[18] Denique si quis requirat ut quid non eiusdem ciuitatis operosa monstrentur aedificia spectaculo hominum condigna, capitolia quoque, ut in aliis assolet, triumphalia, ueridica ei respondetur assertione: quod in eadem, dum uiguit urbe multiformia lapidum iusignia, innumera quoque fuere prestigia. Sed quod comprobatur esse uerissimum, ut assidue cernitur, sepedictae urbis solum nimia aquarum insolentia enormiter occupatum, riuis circumfluentibus, stagnis et paludibus excrescentibus, incolis quoque aufugientibus, noscitur esse desertum. Unde usque hodie multimoda lapidum monstratur congeries, saxa quoque ingentia precelsis quondam aedificiis aptissima aquarum crebra, ut diximus, inundatione submersa. Uerum qualis modo est ab omnibus cernitur, quanta uero fuerit narrando monstratur. (*Vita Sancti Geminiani*, ed. Bortolotti, 102).

[19] Post transitum sancti uiri plebs deuotaque miraculis et signis, quae per eum a Domino plurimis factis uiderant, basilicam super corpus ipsius sancti cum deuotione et ardore maximo fabricauit. In qua Dominus omnipotens, propter merita sancti Geminiani, multa dignatur usque hodie ostendere miracula. (*Vita Brevior, ibid.*, 74).

[20] [S. Theodolus] super sacrosanctum nominandi patris Geminiani tumulum, fauentibus cinibus honorificam a fundamentis construxit basilicam. (*Vita Longior, ibid.*, 100). It must be remembered, however, that as an historical source, either life of the saint, and especially this later one, merits but little faith, since it was written from five to seven centuries after the events which it relates. Even the shorter life is a patchwork of legends stolen from Paolino, Gregory, the life of S. Zeno, etc., and does not antedate the VIII century.

[21] Dondi, 105-106.

[22] 68.

of Modena, and as such continues to be designated in numerous texts of the X century.[23]

Vedriani[24] cites an inscription which he says he read in the campanile, but which is no longer to be seen. This inscription is to the effect: "This work was made in the time of King Desiderio, in the XII indiction"[25] (*i.e.*, 759 or 774). He states that the inscription was carved upon the wall of one of the rooms of the campanile; a part of it had been so much weathered that he was unable to read it. He interpreted the inscription to mean that the lower part of the campanile was of the VIII century. In this he was certainly mistaken, but the inscription used as second-hand material in the XII century campanile, in all probability came from the cathedral erected in the VIII century, and referred either to the church itself or to some of its furniture, fragments of which are still extant. It is perhaps not too much to conjecture that about this time the cathedral was moved to the church of S. Geminiano and that the latter was reconstructed in consequence. Some confirmation of this hypothesis may be derived from the fact that Sigonio[26] records that in 743 the church of S. Pietro was given to the bishop of Modena, and that a diploma of Lodovico il Pio of February 8, 822, quotes an earlier diploma of Luitprando in favour of S. Geminiano and the church of Modena.[27] A diploma of Charlemagne of September 26, 782, contains a phrase *Mutinensis Ecclesiae . . . quæ est constructa in honorem præciosissimi Confessoris Christi Geminiani Antistitis ipsius Ecclesiæ* . . . from which it is quite clear that in the year 782 S. Geminiano was already the seat of a bishop.[28]

The cathedral of S. Geminiano was undoubtedly the nucleus about which grew up the modern city of Modena. Among the numerous documents, relating to the bishopric of Modena, published by Tiraboschi is one of November 22, 891,[29] in which Leodoino, bishop of Modena, is authorized to erect walls over a mile in circumference about the cathedral to protect the church itself and its canonica.[30] This diploma was confirmed by Lamberto, on September 30, 898.[31]

[23] *Ibid.*, 42. [24] *Pitt.*, 11.

[25] Opus construxit in tempore Domini Desiderij Regis per Indictionem duodecimam.

[26] 116. This gift is also referred to in the diploma of Lodovico Pio of 822, to which reference is given below.

[27] Troya, IV, 126; Tiraboschi, *Cod.*, I, 21.

[28] The emperor goes on to speak of the possessions . . . quæ ad ipsum Episcopatum aspiciunt, tam datione Regum quamque Reginarum seu reliquorum Deum timentium hominum, unde moderno tempore ipsa Casa Dei iuste revestita est. (Tiraboschi, *Cod.*, I, 9).

[29] X Kal. Decembris Indictione X, anno Incarnationis Domini DCCC.XCII. regnante Domno Widone in Italia, anno Regni ejus IIII. Imperii primo.

[30] . . . portas erigere, et super unum milliarium in circuitu Aecclesiae Civitatis

If these documents be authentic—as there appears no reason to doubt that they are—the chapter of Modena must have been regularly established at least as early as the end of the IX century. In the many diplomas and donations of the church of Modena anterior to 934, which are extant, mention is rarely made of the minor clergy. In a diploma of Berenger of this same year 898, however, occurs the phrase, *cum Cancellariis, quos prisca consuetudine prefata Ecclesia de Clericis sui ordinis adscribendos sue potestatis libellos et fiothecarios habet,*[32] and in a diploma of Lothair II, of 934,[33] explicit mention is made of the chapter and of goods given to it by the bishops Geminiano and Leodoino, the latter of whom flourished in the last quarter of the IX century. From this text it is, perhaps, not too much to conjecture that the chapter regular was founded by Leodoino.[34]

Bertoni[35] has published a text,[36] taken from a manuscript of the IX century, in which mention is made of a translation of the body of S. Geminiano. It is entirely probable that this translation took place when the primitive shrine of Teodolo was replaced by the more sumptuous basilica, that is to say, at the time the cathedral was moved from S. Pietro.

In the early years of the X century, Modena, like the rest of northern Italy, was ravaged by the Hungarians. According to the author of the longer life of the saint, who probably wrote not long after the invasion, the barbarians did not harm the edifice itself.[37] The material possessions of the bishop and chapter must have been much damaged, however, since Sigonio knew a diploma of Berenger of 904, in which a donation was made to the church at Modena to restore the damage wrought by the Hungarians.[38] At the end of the X century, the city of Modena appears to have begun to regain a certain amount of prosperity. In the year 996[39] a monastery was established in the church of S. Pietro, which had been erected eight years before on the deserted ruins of the ancient cathedral.[40] In 1009 the lawyer of the church of S. Geminiano was witness to a deed of the abbey of Nonantola.[41] In a diploma of

circumquaque firmare ad salvandam et muniendam ipsam Sanctam Aecclesiam, suamque constitutam Canonicam. (Tiraboschi, *Cod.*, I, 68).

31 Data Anno Incarnationis Domini DCCCXCVIII. Domni quoque Landberti piissimi Imperatoris VII Pridie Kalendas Octobris, Indictione II. (*Ibid.*, 71).

32 Tiraboschi, *Cod.*, I, 75. 33 *Ibid.*, 102.

34 . . . quoniam sacrae Canonicae congregatio Mutinensis Aecclesiae detulit nobis privilegia quaedam, in quibus exaratum & scriptum fuit, quomodo quidam Geminianus & Leodoinus Episcopi concessere eis quartam portionem de omnibus rebus ad supradictam Sedem pertinentes.

35 *Cattedrale*, 15.

36 [c. 12v] XVI Kl. iul. Translacio Sancti Geminiani episcopi.

37 *Vita Sancti Geminiani*, ed. Bortolotti, 103.

38 Berengarius annum Papiae egit, vbi per mensem Iunium nouis muneribus Mutinensis ecclesiae eladem ab Hungaris acceptam farciuit. (Sigonio, 246).

39 Tiraboschi, *Cod.*, I, 154. 40 Bortolotti, 24.

41 Anno 1009 . . . facta est commutatio . . . praesente . . . Advocato Ecclesiae

Corrado II, of about 1039, S. Geminiano is explicitly called the cathedral of Modena.[42] It was not until about 1055, however, that the "almost deserted city" of Modena was ordered rebuilt by the emperor Enrico III, on the petition of Ereberto, bishop of Modena.[43] It must have been about this time that was erected the cathedral of S. Geminiano destroyed in 1099 to make way for the existing edifice.

Historical documents give no clew why this edifice should have been replaced by a new structure within half a century. Of the reconstruction of this year, however, we have a full account in the work of a contemporary chronicler, which is usually known as the *Relatio,* although more correctly entitled *Translatio corporis Sancti Geminiani.* This is such an important source for the history of the cathedral, that I venture to translate the most important passages: "Seven hundred and fifty years and more after our father Geminiano passed from the living, the church in which his body had been honourably interred by S. Severo, the eleventh archbishop of the church of Ravenna, was seen to have suffered much from the injuries of time and age, and menaced complete ruin because of the many cracks and fissures in its walls. Fearing such a catastrophe, the clergy and all the people took counsel as to what should be done. Finally a single cry, a single judgment sounded throughout the entire city. 'The church of our great patron saint must be at once rebuilt, renovated and improved.' When this decision came to the ears of the illustrious countess Matilda, who can express the joy with which she was moved, and how warmly she commended the decree of the citizens! So, in the year 1099, the inhabitants of the afore-mentioned city cast about for a man capable of designing and building so important an edifice. At length, by the grace of God, they found a certain man, Lanfranco by name, a wonderful builder, and under his direction the people of Modena on May 23, the seventh indiction (*i.e.,* 1099), began the foundations of the basilica, to the praise and glory of the Omnipotent God the Father, and of His only Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of our holy patron, S. Geminiano. The first stones of the foundation were laid in the same year on the ninth of June, the feast of SS. Primo e Feliciano, eighteen days after the excavation had been begun, and the occasion was celebrated with praises and hymns and canticles, with tapers and lamps, with the books of the Gospels and crosses, and with a full and solemn procession in the presence of a multitude of men and women. And so, by divine help, the foundations were completed, and the upper structure was begun, but since the construction was likely to last a long time, the people commenced to fear lest the church should remain unfinished because of the lack of stones, since the supply was very limited. Who, O Lord, can

S. Geminiani de Mutina. . . . (*Catalogo Tabularii Monasterii Nonantulani,* ed. Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., XIII, 721).

[42] Sigonio, 322. [43] *Ibid.,* 338.

enumerate Thy great blessings? Behold! Thou didst persuade the minds of men to open the earth in a place where no one had ever heard that stone abounded, and Thou didst deign in the amplitude of Thy mercy to reveal a wonderful supply of marble and stone, which seemed sufficient to complete the work which had been begun. Therefore, machines of different kinds were erected. Large blocks of marble were dug out, and sculptured with wonderful art, and raised, and placed in position by the labour and industry of the artisans. Thus the walls and the building grew. Now, by the aid of divine mercy, the construction had advanced so far, thanks to the zeal and the care of the architect, that he declared that he would do nothing more until the body of our patron S. Geminiano should be translated into the church from the place in which it had been up to that time. . . . Therefore, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1106, when Dodone, by the grace of God was bishop of the church of Modena, the first day of May was definitely appointed to end the translation, to the great gratification of all. Messengers were sent in all directions, and throughout the whole diocese there were great preparations and unspeakable joy. Messengers were sent, not only to the cities of the province of Modena, but also to adjacent provinces. A great assembly of bishops, clerks, abbots and monks came together, as well as a great number of soldiers and a multitude of men and women such as in our times had never been seen, nor is there record that so great a number had ever before come together. No place, no piazza, no house, no portico, no vestibule, however small, could be found that was not crowded with the populace. Furthermore, the princess Matilda, with her army, came to the function, and all stood awaiting with joy the disinterring and translation of so renowned a saint. But since, as we have said, an infinite multitude had assembled from all directions, it was found difficult and, in fact, quite impossible to proceed with the translation. Therefore a spacious field was sought out where the crowd might assemble and be refreshed by the exhortation and preaching of the distinguished prelates present, after which all might return with joy and gladness. . . . This was done, and they returned from the field with the greatest spiritual rejoicing. But it was already late and the large crowd hemmed in and hampered the officiating priests, so the translation of our patron was postponed until the next day, April 30, when, with God's help, it was performed with glorious rites. No slight dispute arose between the bishop and citizens of Modena in regard to the consecration of the altar in which the body of the saint was to be placed, for the prelate desired to expose the relics, but the citizens and the entire populace were quite opposed to this. Therefore the judgment of the princess Matilda was sought, and she, as was fitting, and as had been, we believe, foreordained by the All-Provident God, pronounced that the decision of the Apostolic See should be awaited, and announced that the pope would come to Lombardy that year. . . . Meanwhile, by the aid of divine mercy, the bishop of Rome slowly and steadily

came nearer to Lombardy. . . . At length Paseal, the venerable bishop of the holy Roman See, arrived at Modena with a great assembly of bishops, abbots, monks and other eleries and laymen. The princess Matilda also came, diligently occupying herself very reverently with this important matter. A conference was held in the presence of the pope between the bishops, cardinals and eleries on one side and the laymen on the other, concerning the consecration of the altar. The question whether the holy body should be exposed was also discussed. The opinion of those present, as is customary with men, was divided. At length it was decided that a number of the soldiers and citizens should swear to undertake to keep watch over, and protect the relics of the saint, so that no one might rashly venture to violate them while they were exposed. Therefore six of the soldiers took such an oath, and twelve of the citizens did the same. After that the stone and the lid of the sarcophagus were raised with all reverence. . . . While the pope preached to the people, appealed to their hearts with divine mysteries, and granted the remission of sins, and made himself beloved by all, while the bishops and cardinals and clerks and laymen prayed and chanted psalms, the most blessed body of our patron S. Geminiano was brought to light, and uncovered by the sworn guard, and exposed to view by the hands of Bono the Elder, bishop of Reggio, and Lanfranco the architect, with many tears and prayers . . . Moreover, the princess Matilda also approached bearing wonderful gifts, gold and silver and splendid altar-cloths. And Dodone, the venerable bishop of Modena, offered a fine silver chalice and paten, marvellously decorated within and without with gold inlay, strictly enjoining that it should never be permitted either to the donor or to anyone else on any occasion to divert the chalice from its purpose. And when the day and the night set for the exposition of the relics had passed, the altar of S. Geminiano was dedicated by the most reverend pope of Rome, Paseal, in the presence of bishops, eleries, abbots, monks, laymen and women with all honour and reverence and with the most solemn rites, and this was the eighth day of October, 1106. After this important indulgences were proclaimed and the apostolic benediction was pronounced and extended to all the people."[44] The

[44] Cùm septingenti quinquaginta anni & ampliùs transiissent, quòd Pater noster Geminianus è vivis migravit, Ecclesia, in qua Corpus sunm à Sancto Severo undecimo Ravennatis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo honorificè reconditum est, longo annorum situ, & multa ætate confecta, crebris scissuris, multisque rimis à fundamentis videbatur minitari ruinam. Quo terrore permoti Ordo Clericorum, & universus Populus, consulunt quid agendum. Tandem universorum una vox, unus clamor tota Urbe personuit: jam reædificare, jam renovari, jam sublimari debere tanti talisque Patris nostri Ecclesiam. Quod quidem consilium postquam ad aures *Mathildis egregiæ Comitissæ* pervênit, quis fari possit, quanto exhilarata gaudio, quantaque in laude sit firmata. Anno itaque MXCIX. ab incolis præfatæ Urbis quæsitum est, ubi tanti operis designator, ubi talis structuræ ædificator inveniri possit: & tandem, Dei gratiâ, inventus est vir quidam nomine Lanfranchus, mirabilis ædificator, cujus consilio inchoatum est à

original codex of the *Relatio* is in the *Archivio Capitolare,* and is adorned with important miniatures (Plate 141, Fig. 3, 4) which have been described above.

The facts related in this text are confirmed by an inscription in the apse: "This house in which rests the body of S. Geminiano is everywhere splendid with beautiful marble sculptures. The world honours this glorious

Populo Mutinensi ejus Basilicæ fundamentum ad laudem & gloriam Dei Patris Omnipotentis, & Unigeniti ejus Filii Domini nostri Jesu Christi, & Spiritus Sancti, & etiam Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis, nec non & Sancti Patris nostri Geminiani sub die decimo Calendarum Junii, Indictione septima. Quod quidem fundamentum cæmentari cœptum est eodem Anno, codemque Mense, ut supra dictum est, Quinto Idus Junii, octavo decimo die post inchoationem fossionis, in solemnitate Sanctorum Primi & Feliciani, cum laudibus, hymnis, & canticis, cum cereis & lampadibus, cum Euangeliorum Libris & Crucibus, cum multitudine virorum & mulierum, cum omni honore & laude reverendæ Processionis. Sic itaque divina succurrente dextera fundamentorum fabricâ jam usque ad superiora provectâ, dum tale opus in longum protenditur, Populus timere cœpit, ne defectu lapidum, quia modicus erat apparatus, talis Ecclesia remaneret imperfecta. Quis queat immensa tua, Deus, numerare beneficia? Ecce ubi nunquam ab aliquo auditum fuerat, mentes hominum persuadens, terram facis effodi; miras marmorum lapidumque congeries ex multitudine misericordiarum tuarum dignaris ostendere, quæ ad perficiendum opus incœptum videntur posse sufficere. Erigitur itaque diversi operis machina: effodiuntur marmora insignia; sculpuntur [the words *ac puliuntur* should here be inserted] arte mirifica: sublevantur & construuntur magno cum labore, & artificum industria. Crescunt ergo parietes, crescit ædificium. Et jam divina favente Clementia ad hoc perlatum est opus. Artificis studio & vigilantia, ut idem proponat, se nihil ampliùs facturum, nisi priùs Sanctissimi Patris nostri Geminiani Corpus de loco, in quo tunc aderat, transferretur. . . . Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis millesimo centesimo sexto, gubernante *Domno Dodone Dei gratia venerabili Episcopo Mutinensium Ecclesiam,* datur hujus Translationis certissimus Calendarum Majarum terminus, omnium cordibus gratissimus. Mittitur itaque circumquaque, & per totam Parochiam fit apparatus maximus: fit inæstimabile gaudium. Mittitur autem non solùm ad comprovinciales Civitates, sed etiam ad adjacentes. Cogitur namque maximum Episcoporum Concilium, Clericorum, Abbatum, & Monachorum; fitque congregatio Militum: fit & conventus Populorum utriusque sexus, qualis nec nostris temporibus antea visus est, nec alicujus memoriæ priùs habetur insertum. Nullus enim locus, nulla platea, nulla domus, nulla porticus, nullum atrium saltem vel modicum à conventu Populorum poterat inveniri vacuum. Adest etiam ad hoc spectaculum *Princeps Mathildis cum suo exercitu,* omnes unanimiter præstolantes tanti Patris Translationem & revelationem cum gaudio. Sed quia, ut diximus, infinita Populorum undique turba confluxerat, visum est difficile, & omnino impossibile, tanto operi manum imponere. Quæritur ergo spatiosus camporum locus, ubi turba conveniat, quatenus tantorum Præsulum monitis & doctrinis refecta, inde unusquisque cum gaudio & lætitia redeat. . . . Sic quidem inde redeunt maximo cum tripudio. Jam verò quia diei hora excreverat, & tantarum turbarum affluentia eos circumsepserat, differtur in posterum præfati Patris nostri Translatio, quæ quidem gloriosissime facta est. Pridie Calendarum Majarum administrante Domini. . . . De Altaris quoque prælibati Sanctissimi Corporis consecratione inter Episcopos siquidem & Mutinensium Cives non modica fit altercatio: quia Præsules ejus Reliquias revelare cupiunt; Cives autem, & omnis Populus hoc ex toto renuunt. Quæritur ergo *Principis Mathildis* sententia,

saint and we the clergy especially, whom he pastures, nourishes and clothes.[45] Whoever seeks here the true cure for the ills of body and soul is healed and departs hence sound. Lanfranco, a man of keen intellect, learned and skilful, was the first master and director of this work, by whom it was commenced (as this inscription bears witness) on the ninth day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1099. Aimo composed these verses to record the fact. Bozzalino, massaro of S. Geminiano, caused this inscription to be here placed."[46]

The last two lines of this inscription are in Gothic characters, the others in Roman. This fact has given rise to much discussion. The massaro Bozzolino held office from 1208 to 1225. It therefore seems evident that in the early years of the XIII century he caused this inscription to be copied from another pre-existing one, and that the characters of the original were reproduced in the copy. The erased word at the beginning of the sixth line

quæ quidem, sicuti decuit, & ut prædestinatum fuerat, ipso quoque, ut credimus, jam disponente Deo, Sedem pronuntiavit expectandam *Apostolicam*, denuntians hoc in Anno venturam esse in Italiam. . . . Interea divina operante misericordia, *Sanctæ Romanæ Sedis Præsul* jam jam gradatim & obstinatè properat ad Italiam. . . . Adest itaque cum Episcoporum, Cardinalium, Abbatum, Monachorum, ceterorumque Clericorum, seu Laicorum venerabilis *Sanctæ Romanæ Sedis Paschalis Episcopus* magno cum exercitu. Adest & Princeps Mathildis summa cum reverentia huic tantæ talique rei adhibens diligentiam. Confertur ergo ante Apostolicum inter Episcopos, Cardinales, & Clericos, seu Populum de Altaris dedicatione. Confertur & de Sancti Corporis revelatione. Quorum quidem sententia, pro ut voluntas est hominum, dividitur in plurima. Tandem reperto consilio, de ordine Militum, seu Civium, jurejurando poscunt plures affirmare, custodire, salvare, ne in revelatione aliquis temerarius tanti Patris Reliquias præsumat violare. Jurant ergo de ordine Militum sex Viri, jurant & de Civibus bis seni. Levatur ergo lapis, & mensa superposita magna cum reverentia. . . . Faciente Domno Apostolico sermonem ad Populum, ac propinante divina Mysteria cordibus omnium, remissionemque faciente peccatorum, ac se benivolum reddente mentibus cunctorum, orantibus atque psallentibus Episcopis, Cardinalibus, Clericis, & Laicis, mira cum reverentia intuetur, & juratorum custodia detegitur, & revelatur Beatissimum Corpus Sanctissimi Patris nostri Geminiani per manus *Boni Senioris Regini Episcopi*, atque Lanfranchi Architectoris, multis cum lacrymis & precibus. . . . Accessit autem & *Princeps Mathildis* dona ferens ingentia, aurum, & argentum, & pallia insignia. Sed & *Domnus Dodo venerabilis Pontifex Mutinensis* calicem argenteum cum patena ei obtulit optimum, aureis insigniis intus forisque mirabiliter decoratum, hoc præcipiens & dicens, ut nec sibi, nec alicui umquam liceat aliqua occasione ipsum ab ejus officio removere. Transactis denique jam die nocteque concessæ visionis, dedicatur atque conseeratur Altare Beatissimi Geminiani à *Reverendissimo Sancta Romanæ Sedis Apostolico Paschali* cum frequentia Cardinalium, Episcoporum, Clericorum, Abbatum, Monachorum, Laicorum, & Fœminarum, cum omni honore & reverentia, cum summa officiorum diligentia Octavo Idus Octobris MCVI. Fit præterea ibi magna peccatorum remissio, dilatatur & extenditur Apostolica Benedictio. (*Translatio Corporis S. Geminiani*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., VI, 90-91). *Note.* This extract was prepared for the press before the appearance of the edition of Bertoni (*Atlante*, 85). The old Muratori text is abbreviated and inexact in several particulars.

[45] Cf. the phrase *nos oues proprias*, etc., in the longer life of the saint, ed. Bortolotti, 81.

is probably to be explained by supposing that the copyist of Bozzolino made an error in transcribing the inscription.

On the western façade is a relief of the prophets Elijah—ELIA—and Enoch—ENOC—who support (Plate 142, Fig. 2) a tablet with an inscription, the obscurities of which seem due no less to the author's embarrassment at expressing himself in leonine verses, than to the fact that the two final pentameters, with the signature of Guglielmo, written in different characters, seem to have been added to the original inscription some time after this had been sculptured. "On the ninth day of June, when the constellation of Gemini joyfully overcomes the constellation of Cancer, in the year of our Lord, 1099, this temple of the illustrious Geminiano was founded. Amongst sculptors, how worthy of honour and fame thou art, thy sculptures now show, O Guglielmo."[47] Finally, in a document of the archives, found and published by Dondi, is the following notice: "December 17, 1106. The church of S. Geminiano of Modena was dedicated in honour of Mary, the blessed mother of God."[48]

The question arises just what portions of the existing cathedral were finished before 1106. The crypt must certainly have been completed before the relics of the saint were translated, since otherwise there would have been no

[46] MARMORIB; SCVLPTIS DOM' HEC MICAT VN͡DIQ; PVLCH͡RIS.
QVA CORPVS S̄CI REQVIESCIT GEMINIANI.
QV̄E PLENV̄ LAVDIS TERRARV̄ CELEBRAT ORBIS.
NOSQ; MAGIS QVOS PASCIT ALIT VESTITQ; MINISTRI.
QVI PETIT IC VERAM MENBRIS ANIMEQ; MEDELA.
[SANESCIT] RECTA REDIT HINCQ; SALVTE RECEPTA.
INGENIO CLARVS LANFRANCVS DOCTVS ET APTVS.
EST OPERIS PRINCEPS HVIVS. RECTORQ; MAGISTER.
QVO FIERI CEPIT DEMONSTRAT LITTERA PRESENS.
ANTE DIES QVINTVS IVNII TVNC FVLSERAT IDVS.
ANNI POST MILLE DOMINI NONAGINTA NOVEMQ;
HOS VTILES FACTO VERSVS COMPOSVIT AIMO
BOCALINVS MASSARIVS SANCTI IEMINIANI:
HOC OPUS FIERI FECIT.

[47] D̄V̄ GEMINI CANCER| CURSV̄ CONSENDIT| OVANTES.
IDIBVS| IN QVINTIS IVNII SVP T̄PR̄| MENSIS.
MILLE DEI| CARNIS MONOS CEN|TV̄ MINVS ANNIS.|
ISTA DOMVS CLARI| FVNDATVR GEMINI'ANI.

INTE͡R SCVLTORES QVAN|TO SIS DIGN͡VS ONORE.
CLARE͡T SCVLTVRA NVC VVILIGELME͡ TVA

[48] 1106.—XVI Kal. Januar . . . . . mutinensis ecclesie sancti geminiani dedicate in honore beati dei genitricis marie.—(cit. Dondi, 20). The following fragment of

suitable place to deposit them. Some portions of the upper church must also have been erected, since the Roman blocks miraculously discovered must undoubtedly have been required for those portions of the church which were above ground and constructed in ashlar. The sculptures of the façade must also have been included in the parts completed before 1106, since it is clearly to them that refers the phrase, *sculpuntur ac puliuntur arte mirifica*. Much light upon the whole question is thrown by the recent discovery of the foundations of the pre-existing cathedral. This occupied, approximately, the nave of the existing edifice. When works of construction were begun, the old cathedral remained in use, and work was confined to those parts of the new edifice which lay outside the old building, and which could be constructed without impeding services and religious functions in the latter. These portions were the façade which lay to the westward of the old church, and the crypt and choir which lay to the eastward. Bearing this in mind, it is easy to understand why, in 1106, the master-builder Lanfranco announced that he could do nothing more until the body of the saint was translated to the new church. He had built a new crypt and choir to the eastward, and a new façade to the westward. To proceed with the construction, it was necessary to demolish the old cathedral so as to erect the central portions of the new. This obviously could not be done until the body of the saint had been moved. It is therefore probable that Lanfranco and Guglielmo worked together on the cathedral of Modena from 1099 to 1106. Lanfranco was in charge of the architecture, Guglielmo of the sculptures.

Mention is made of the cloisters of the cathedral in documents of 1110 and 1115, but it is not certain that these cloisters may not have been those of the old cathedral, which had not yet been rebuilt. On the campanile there is a graffito inscription in cursive letters, extremely difficult to decipher.[49] The meaning of this inscription is entirely doubtful, and it is impossible to accept it as documentary evidence proving that the campanile was completed in 1159. I think it more likely that the inscription means the lower part of the campanile was finished in 1169 or 1179. It is known that in 1167 stones were required for works of construction at the cathedral of Modena, for in a document published by Muratori we read: "In the name of Christ, in the year 1167, the fifteenth indiction, in the reign of the unconquered emperor Federico, on Friday, the twelfth of May, Girardo Rangono, legate of his

an inscription found in the crypt, and probably belonging to the tomb of the saint erected in 1106, is now in the cathedral museum:

. . . . . RUXIT GEMINIANI
. . . . . OS POSCIM' ET VENI[E]NTES
. . . . . O CONVINCIAT [IS]TVM

[49] This inscription has been reproduced in facsimile by Dondi (247), and in half-tone by Bertoni (*Atlante*, 2, Tav. IV). There is a cast in the Modena Museum. The original is inaccessible.

imperial majesty for the diocese and province of Modena, and the consuls of Modena, namely, Guidotto, Rolandino, Alberto Pildiguerre, Giberto da Baioaria and Alberto Grasulfo, Guglielmo Zacio and Arloto, held a meeting and council at Modena, and they ruled and decreed that the massaro of S. Geminiano who is at present, or who may be in future, shall have the right and power to excavate, on his own authority, such stone as he may wish in the streets and piazzas of the city, provided, however, that this do not inconvenience the inhabitants. Done at Modena, near the church of S. Geminiano."[50] The question arises, for what part of the edifice this stone was required. It is true that on July 1, 1148, "the whole city of Modena was burned,"[51] but there is no evidence that at this time the new cathedral was damaged. The construction of the latter had been progressing slowly, doubtless, but steadily, since 1106, and in 1167 must have been far advanced. The burst of building activity which required new marbles in 1167 may consequently well have been directed towards the erection of the campanile. It is, therefore, natural to interpret the graffito inscription of the campanile as referring to the completion of the lower part of that structure in either 1169 or 1179.

In 1184 the church was solemnly consecrated. On the exterior of the south wall there is this inscription: "In the year of our Lord 1184, the second indiction, the twelfth day of July, the pope Lucius III came to Modena, and with him were ten cardinals, to wit, the cardinal bishops Todino of Porto and Tebal of Ostia; the cardinal priests Giovanni of S. Marco, Laborans of S. Maria in Trastevere, Pandolfo of the SS. Apostoli, Uberto of S. Lorenzo in Damaso; the cardinal deacons Ardicio of S. Teodoro, Graziano of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Sofredo of S. Maria in Via Lata, Albino of S. Maria Nuova. Also there came others, to wit: Gerardo, archbishop of Ravenna; the archbishop of Lyons; Alberico, bishop of Reggio; Giovanni, bishop of Bologna, and Giuseppe, bishop of Acri. These all came at the prayer of Gerardo, archbishop of Ravenna, Ardicio, bishop of Modena, the prevosto Bonifacio, the canons, the consuls Alberto of Savignano, Bonacorso, Jacopo

[50] In Christi nomine. Anno ejusdem MCLXVII. Indictione XV. Regnante invictissimo Imperatore Friderico, IV. Idus Maji, die Veneris, Domnus Girardus Rangonus Imperatorie Majestatis per Mutine Episcopatum & Comitatum Legatus, & Consules Mutinæ, videlicet Guidotus, Rolandinus, Albertus Pildeguerre, Gibertus de Bajoaria, & Albertus Grasulfi, Guilielmus Zacius, & Arlotus, habito Mutine Consilio, & postea Concione, decreverunt, & firmiter statuerunt, ut Massarius Sancti Geminiani presentes & futuri habeant licentiam & liberam potestatem sua auctoritate fodendi lapides per stratas & plateas Civitatis, absque incommoditate intus habitantium. . . . Acta Mutine juxta Ecclesiam Sancti Geminiani, feliciter. (Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., II, 51).

[51] De Anno MCXLVIII. in Kalendis Julii tota Civitas Mutinæ casu combusta est. (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 54). This fire occurred in 1157, according to the *Chronicon Mutinense Johannis de Bazano*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XV, 556.

da Gorzano, Rolandino of Boiamonti, and the governors of Lombardy and Romagna and the Marches. The said pope consecrated the church of S. Geminiano, and exposed the sacred body of the saint, and remitted to such as had duly confessed a penalty of forty days for their mortal sins and the fourth part of the penalty for their venial sins, to be gained every year in perpetuity when they honoured the feast of the saint; and on the fourteenth day of July, Saturday, when the said pope departed in the morning from the city through the gate of Cittanova, he blessed the city, saying: 'May Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter the Apostle and S. Geminiano, bless this city, and may the Lord increase and multiply it.' And when he came to the Ponte de Fredo and saw more than two thousand men preceding and following him with lighted tapers, he said: 'Thanks to you for the honour which you have so graciously shown us,' and making the sign of the cross over them said: 'Blessed be the land in which you live and blessed be you and your heirs forever.' "[52]

[52] ✠ AN̄ . DN̄I . M . C . LXXXIIII . IND' . II; IIII . ID' IVL: CV SCS PAPA LVCIVS . III . MVT . VENIRET . ET CV EO . X . CARD': THIODIN' PORTVENS .| TEBAL . HOSTIEN . EPI; IOHS S̄ MARCI . LABOR . S̄ MARIÆ TNSTIBERI . PANDULF' . S APLO[RVM] . UB[ER]T' S̄ LAURENTII . IN DAMASO .| PB . . . . . CARD' . ARDIC . S̄ THEODORI . GRAN' S̄ COSME . ET DAMIANI: SOFRED' S̄ MARIÆ IN VIA LATA . ALBIN' S̄ MARIÆ NOVÆ .| DIAC . CARD' ET ALII; DN̄S SCIL[ICET] GIRARD' RAUENN . ARCHIEPS . DN̄S LVGDVN . ARCHIEPS . ALB[ER]IC' REGIN'. IOHS BONON .| ET IOS' ACRIENS . EPI: P̄CIB: DNI GIR. RAV . ARCHIEPI: DNI ARDIC. MUT EPI . DN̄I . BONIF . P̄POITI . ET CANONICORV' . ET CSV[L]V'| ALBTI DE SAVIN . BONACURIS . IACOBI DE GORZAN . ROLANDI BOIAMONTIS . ET RECTORV̄ LOBARD' . MARCH' . ET. ROM: DICT' DN. PP| ECCLAM BEATI GIMINIANI . IPSIVS SACRO CORPORE OSTENSO: CONSECRAVIT: ET . XL . DIE[RVM] PEN̄A DE C[RI]MINAL.[IBUS] . DE QVIBUS| CONFESSI FVERINT . ET QVARTAM PARTE VENIAL[IBUS] . SINGUL[IS] ANNIS IN P[ER]PETVV̄ OIB. QVI EI. IN FESTO IPI' HONORE EXHI[B]V|ERIT: REMISIT.—II ID' IVL . DIE SABBI: CV DICT' DN̄S P̄P. IN MAT . . . . . INIS P[ER] PORTA CITANOVÆ DE URBE EXIRET: SCIFICAV| EAM. DICENS: BENEDICTA SIT HEC CIVITAS AB OMPTI DŌ PATRE . ET . F . ET . S. SCO: ET A BEATA MARIA SEP[ER] U[I]G: ET A BEATO PETRO APLO:| ET A BEATO GEMINIANO: AVGEAT EAM DS . CRESCERE . ET MVLTIPLICARE EAM FACIAT; ET CV EET IN CAPITE PONTIS DE FREDO: ET VIDE|RET DVO MILIA HOMINU . ET PL': CV CEREIS ACCENSIS . PCEDENTIV SE . ET SVBSEQUENTIV: DIXIT: GRAS AGIM' VOBIS DE HONORE| QVE NOB[IS] TA MAGNANIMIT EXHIBVISTIS: ET SIGNANS EOS . DIXIT: BENEDICTA SIT TRA IN QVA STATIS: ET BNDICTI SITIS VOS . ET HE|REDES V̄RI IN P[ER]PETVUM. ✠

In the *Annales* of Modena, published by Muratori, we have what is practically

The evidence of the inscription is confirmed by a bull of Lucius in favour of the archbishop of Ravenna, in which the pope gives assurance that the rights of the archiepiscopal see of Ravenna over the church of Modena had in no way suffered by the consecration of the church of Modena which the pope had just performed.[53]

It is evident that the commune of Modena played an important part in the direction of the affairs of the cathedral. In the history of the translation of the body of S. Geminiano, it is stated that the people and the clergy took counsel together when it was determined to rebuild the old cathedral. It was the citizens who sought and found the architect Lanfranco; it was the people who began to fear that the supply of stones might not be sufficient to complete the edifice. The citizens dared to oppose the proposal of the bishop and clergy to expose the body of the saint, and did this so effectively that the question was submitted to the arbitration of the countess Matilda. When the controversy was finally referred to the pope for settlement, the commune successfully insisted upon the appointment of twelve citizens and six soldiers to guard the relics of the saint against violence. In 1147, as we have seen, the commune and consuls of Modena obtained a decree from the imperial legate authorizing the massaro of the cathedral to conduct excavations to obtain building stones in the streets and piazzas of the city. The invitation to the various prelates and dignitaries who participated in the consecration of 1184 was issued jointly in the name of the ecclesiastical authorities, of the consuls of Modena, and of the governors of the provinces. A number of texts collected by Borghi[54] proves that before 1194, when the palace of the commune was erected, the church was used as a meeting-place for the citizens. A sacred edifice, we may be sure, was not put to such secular use

an ancient paraphrase of the inscription: "De Anno MCLXXXIV. Indictione II. quarto Idus Julii quum Papa Lucius veniret Mutinam, & cum eo decem Cardinales, Archiepiscopi & Episcopi, & alii Prælati precibus Domni Gerardi, Archiepiscopi Ravennatis, Domni Ardicioni Mutinæ Episcopi, Domni Bonifacii Præpositi, & Canonicorum, & Consulum Alberti de Savignano, Bonacursii, & Jacobi de Gorzano, Rolandi de Bajamontis, & Rectorum Lombardiæ, Marchiæ, & Romandiolæ, dictus Dominus Papa Ecclesiam Beati Geminiani, ipsius sacro corpore ostenso, consecravit, & quadraginta dierum de Indulgentia de criminibus de quibus confessi fuerunt, & quartam partem venialium singulis annis in perpetuum omnibus, qui in ipsius festo honorem exhibuerint, remisit secundo Idus Julii die Sabbati." (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XII, 541).

53 Lucius Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei. Uenerabili fratri Gerardo Rauennati Archiepiscopo salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Dignum est & consonum rationi ut cum ad tue fraternitatis instantiam Bononiensi & Mutinensi Ecclesie impenderimus dedicationis munus nunquam ex hoc aduersus Ecclesiam tuam cui tamquam metropoli sunt subjecte & aliquantam uindicare ualeant libertatem . . . Datum Uerone II. Non. Septembris. (Savioli, II, pt. 2, 140).

54 16-17.

except against the will of the priests and to their lively indignation. In fact, there are reasons to believe that from the end of the XI century there existed a feud between the citizens of Modena and the clergy of the cathedral, and that this feud centered upon the rights of the commune over the cathedral building. Little by little the citizens succeeded in wresting the church-building and its administration from the hands of the priests. Of the progress of this controversy, we shall find further indications in the sequel.

It has been frequently stated that the Porta Regia was in construction in 1209, but the notice appears to be based upon texts of little or no critical value.[55] It is certain, however, that in 1221 the portal was finished, because the lions are mentioned in a document of 1223 in connection with the consecration of the bishop Egidio, which took place in 1221.[56] In the Museo del Duomo is a fragment believed to be of the lectern of the ambo which bears the inscription: BOÇARIN' MASARI' SCI GEMINIANI. From this it is argued that the ambo was erected by that Bozzolino who held office from 1208 to 1225, and was the same massaro who caused the inscription of the apse, cited above, to be sculptured. There is, therefore, evidence of considerable building activity at Modena in the early years of the XIII century. The Porta Regia was erected, the ambo was built, and the crypt made over.

It is known that in 1214 there were bells in existence in the campanile.[57] It is evident, therefore, that at this time the campanile must have been erected already to a very considerable height. In 1224 one of the factions of the citizens of Modena took the campanile from the ecclesiastical authorities by violence. "At that time the tower of S. Geminiano was captured by one of the factions of the citizens of Modena, . . . in consequence of which many were condemned."[58]

In 1244 works of construction were again in progress on the cathedral of Modena. This is evident from a document published by Dondi: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year of his Nativity, 1244, the second indiction, Saturday, the twelfth of November. Since owing to the merits of Master Ubaldino, massaro and director of the works of construction in the church of Modena, that church in his times has been admirably constructed to the honour of God and to the adornment of the diocese . . . Giovanni the archpresbyter and Guidino, Gisolfo, Matteo and Bartolomeo . . . wish . . .

[55] See Dondi, 181, and Bortolotti, 56. Also Colfi, 194.

[56] Interr. in quo loco fuit acceptus equus Episcopi Egidii, resp. ante leones portarum majoris Ecclesie. (Ed. Tiraboschi, IV, *Cod.*, 76). It is not certain, however, that these may not have been the lions of the west portal.

[57] Dondi, 249.

[58] Et tunc [1224] Turris Sancti Geminiani capta fuit ab una partium Civitatis Mutinæ . . . qua occasione & pro occupatione Turris magnæ condemnationes in Civitate factæ fuerunt. (Johannis de Bazano, *Chronicon Mutinense*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XV, 559). See also Dondi, 219.

to make freely and of their own volitions a donation (useful and acceptable to God) in favour of the above-mentioned church and *fabbrica*."[59] The same works of construction are also mentioned in another document of November 30, 1244, analyzed but unfortunately not published by Tiraboschi.[60] This is a contract made between the massaro of S. Geminiano and the master-builder Arrigo, the son of Ottaccio, and grandson of Anselmo of Campione (a town in the diocese of Como), both of whom had been master-builders of the cathedral of Modena. Now it is known that an Arrigo of Campione was master-builder in charge of the construction of the pulpit and the tower in 1322, and it is almost certain that he must have been the grandson of the Arrigo recorded in the document of 1244. It is evident, therefore, that the office of master-builder of the cathedral of Modena was handed down from father to son in the same family for five generations.

In 1256 works of construction must still have been in progress, since the bishop conceded certain revenues to the *fabbrica* at the request of the same Ubaldino, massaro.[61] Another donation was made to the *fabbrica* in the following year, 1257. In 1261 works on the church and campanile were still in progress, as is evident from an important text of this date published by Tiraboschi: "In the name of Christ, Amen. To the honour of Omnipotent God and of the glorious Virgin Mary and the blessed Confessor S. Geminiano, and to enlarge the church of that saint. Whereas, the people and the citizens of the city and diocese of Modena built long ago the church and campanile of the confessor S. Geminiano, and improved them from time to time at their own expense and enlarged them and intend by the aid of the Lord to continue forever to improve them day by day: Therefore, by this decree of Anziano, both the common council and the people of Modena order that all the offerings of candles and all other things except altar-cloths and

[59] In nomine dn̄i n̄ri ihū xr̄i a. a nativitate eiusdem 1244 ind. II, die sabbati, duodecimo intrante novembre. Cum propter merita dni ubaldini massarii et ministri fabrice mutin. ecclesie ipsa ecclesia suis temporibus laudabiliter sit ad honorem dei et decorem eiusdem ecclesie fabricatum . . . iohanes archipresbiter et guidinus, gysulphus, matheus et bartolomeus . . . volentes . . . gratum deo munus et utile dicte ecclesie ac fabrice conferre liberaliter et libenter . . . etc. (Dondi, 143-144).

[60] *Stor. Let.*, V, pt. 2, Lib. III, Cap. V, sec. 5, ed. Milano, 1823, VI, 975.

[61] Nos Albertus miseratione divina mutinen. epus pias predecessorum nostrorum consuetudines cum mutin. capitulo et eius voluntate et consensu expresso, videlicet cum ioanne archipresbytero, vidino preposito, dno bartholomeo de boschetis, dno godo, dno francisco de foliano, dno iacopino tancolini ecclesie mutinensis canonicis ad preces et instantiam dilecti nostri ubaldini massarii domus et operis sancti geminiani . . . attendentes . . . affectione multi moda provocamur huiusmodi consuetudines approbare. Quapropter mandamus . . . ut de cetero nuncii fabrice memorate dumtaxat cuiuslibet anni septimana que dicitur sancta . . . elecmosinas et grata subsidia libere percipiant. . . . Actum Mutine in epali palatio ecc. Anno 1256, ind. XIV, die iovis secundo intrante martio. (Ed. Dondi, 145-146).

antependia and stuffs of other sorts which are made either at the high altar or elsewhere in the church or outside of the church on the festival of the saint or on the vigil after the ringing of none, no matter by whom they are now or have before been given; and everything which is offered or placed upon the stone slab of the *fabbrica* of the church of S. Geminiano and at whatever day or time, be, and must be, and are understood to be, the property of the *fabbrica* of that church and of the massaro of S. Geminiano, to be employed for works of construction in that church. Moreover all the above-mentioned goods shall belong to and be the property undisputed and undiminished of the said massaro for use in the same works of construction. Furthermore these goods shall be given and offered, and let them be understood to be given and offered, out of piety and respect for God with, however, this understanding and condition: that they must belong to the above-stated *fabbrica* and to the massaro and are to be used in the construction of the church and are to be expended by the above-mentioned massaro in the construction of the above-mentioned church, and the campanile, and in other works as necessity and occasion may require. Furthermore, the building in which the stones destined for use in the church are cut, and all the sheds which exist near the above-mentioned campanile and church, and the mills, lands, possessions and rights of all kinds, which are held and possessed by the *fabbrica* or by the massaro for it or in its name, or are in any way at present in the hands of the massaro, shall belong irrevocably to the *fabbrica,* and let the *fabbrica* and the above-mentioned massaro and whoever shall temporarily act for him be known to possess these things: with, however, this condition, that the building in which the stones are cut and the sheds which are near the campanile and the church of Modena, above-mentioned, can not in any way be changed or altered, nor built any higher, without the permission of the general assembly, etc. I, Bartolomeo, the notary, wrote and attested. In the year 1261, the fourth indiction, Friday, the seventh day of January. In the book of the statutes of the commune of Modena."[62] The insolence of the language used by the

[62] In Christi nomine Amen. Ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et gloriose virginis marie et beatissimi Geminiani confessoris et ad augmentum fabrice ejusdem confessoris. Cum hoc sit, quod populus et homines civitatis et episcopatus Mutine Ecclesiam et turrim beatissimi Geminiani confessoris a longis retro temporibus edificaverint; et de bonis ipsorum de tempore in tempore melioraverint et augmentaverint et semper de bono in melius intendant cotidie augmentare domino annuente. Ideirco hoc presenti decreto Anziani et Consilium Comune et populus Mutine perpenso consilio statuerunt. Quod oblationes omnes Cereorum et aliarum rerum omnium exceptis paliis et toaliis et alterius materiei pannis que in die festivitatis ejusdem Confessoris et in viglia post pulsationem none tam in altari quam alibi in ecclesia et extra ecclesiam; de cetero a quocumque offerentur, et hactenus sunt oblate, et ea omnia que offerentur, et ponentur in cippo lapideo operis ecclesie beati Geminiani in ipsa ecclesia existente; quacumque die et tempore, sint et esse debeant et intelligantur ipsius fabrice, et massarii operis sancti Geminiani pro ipso opere, et predicta omnia ad predictam fabricam, et ad dictum massarium pro ipsa fabrica inconcussa et imminuta

commune in this decree clearly demonstrates that the priests had been entirely vanquished. The citizens were in control of the administration of the church and directed with the authority of masters that the offerings made on certain occasions should be devoted solely to the *fabbrica*. However, the clergy still retained the right to select the massaro, who, it is stated in a document of the same year,[63] had been appointed by the bishop and canons "since ancient times."

In 1306 an exterior chapel was erected on the south side of the basilica. In the chronicle of Modena we read: "On the first of July Bertolino of Folignano, and Giovannino of S. Vitale were elected to the office of podestà for the remaining months of the year; and they erected a chapel outside of the church of S. Geminiano on the roof of the side aisle, and called it the Chapel of Victory, in memory, as they said, of the expulsion of the marchese d'Este."[64] Similarly in the *Annales* of Modena is it stated: "In the year 1306 a chapel was built outside the church of S. Geminiano above the side aisle to record the expulsion of the marchese d'Este and his people from the city of Modena, and this chapel was called 'Vittoria.' "[65]

"In the year 1309 was made the bell which strikes the hours, and this weighed 2950 pounds."[66]

pertineant et perveniant; et ea dentur et offerantur et intelligantur esse data et oblata intuitu dei et pietatis; eo animo et conditione ut ad dictam fabricam et massarium ipsius pro ipsa fabrica debeant pertinere, ad hoc ut per ipsum massarium in fabricam dicte ecclesie et turris et alibi et occasione et utilitate rerum ipsius operis expendantur. Domus insuper in qua lapides pro dicta fabrica inciduntur; et omnes porticus existentes juxta turrim predictam sive ecclesiam memoratam, et molendina, Terre et possessiones ac jura omnia que per ipsam massariam vel per massarium ipsius operis pro ea vel ejus nomine habentur vel possidentur seu quasi vel modo aliquo detinentur ad ipsam massariam pertineant perpetuo; et in possessione sive quasi sit et esse intelligatur ipsa massaria et massarius predictus et qui pro tempore fuerint. Ita tamen quod domus in qua lapides inciduntur, et portieus qui sunt juxta turrim sive ecclesiam mut. memoratam non possint nec debeant mutari nec in altius levari, vel edificari sine licencia consilii generalis etc.

Ego Bartholomeus notarius suprascriptus eodem modo scripsi et exemplavi. In millesimo CC. sexagesimo primo. Indictione quarta die veneris VII. intrante Januario. De libro statutorum Comunis Mutine. (Tiraboschi, V, *Cod.*, 62).

[63] Dondi, 147.

[64] Kalendis Julii [1306] Bertholinum de Foliano, & Kalendis Johanninum de Sancto Vitali in Potestatem designaverunt pro mensibus ultimis. Posueruntque Capellam propter S. Geminiani Ecclesiam, superiori scilicet latere, & in memoriam, ut dixerunt, victoriæ & expulsionis Marchionis Estensis victoriam nominarunt. (*Chronicon Mutinense*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 94).

[65] Eodem tempore [1306] facta fuit Capella juxta Ecclesiam Sancti Geminiani à latere desuper ipsius Ecclesiæ pro victoria expulsionis Marchionis Estensis & gentis suæ de Civitate Mutinæ, & dicta Capella vocatur *Victoria*. (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 77).

[66] De An. MCCCIX. facta fuit Campana, qua pulsantur horæ, quæ erat Librarum MMDCCCCL. (*Ibid.*, 78).

"In the year 1319 that part of the campanile of S. Geminiano at Modena which is above where the quadrangular part of the tower ends, was finished."[67] "On the twenty-eighth of September, 1319, the campanile of the church of S. Geminiano was finished, and a golden apple was placed on the top of the pinnacle."[68] "On the twenty-eighth of September, 1319, when Master Alessandro da Porta of the city of Modena was massaro, the campanile of the church of S. Geminiano was completed, and a gilded apple was placed upon its summit."[69] The accuracy of these texts so consistent with each other has been impugned by Muratori because of the inscription on the pulpit: "In the year 1322 of Christ our Lord, who was born of the sacred Virgin, Tommasino da Ferro, the son of Giovanni, and massaro of S. Geminiano, caused this pulpit to be erected. He also completed the tower. These works were executed by the hand of Arrigo of Campione."[70] Muratori, however, is wrong in interpreting this inscription to mean that the campanile was finished in 1322. It merely states that the pulpit was constructed in 1322 and that the campanile was completed by the same massaro Tommasino and the same master-builder Arrigo who erected the pulpit. Consequently the inscription does not conflict with the above-cited texts but rather confirms them.

A well known miracle of the saint is alleged to have occurred before the completion of the campanile in 1319. The saint caught a boy, who fell from its summit, by his hair in mid air. A relief of the XV century depicting this miracle and coming from an adjoining building, was imbedded in the outside wall of the cathedral in 1768.[71]

An important document of 1320, published by Dondi,[72] gives interesting

[67] Eodem Anno finita fuit Turris Sancti Geminiani Mutinæ à quadro supra. (*Ibid.*, 79).

[68] Die XXVIII. Septembris [1319] Turris Ecclesiæ Beati Geminiani perfecta fuit, aurato pomo apposito in pinnaculi summo. (*Chronicon Mutinense*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 101).

[69] Eodem Millesimo [1319] die XXVIII. Septembris expleta fuit Turris Ecclesiæ Sancti Geminiani, & positum fuit in summitate Pomum deauratum tempore Massariæ Domini Alexandri de Porta Civitatis Mutinæ. (Johannis de Bazano, *Chronicon Mutinense*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XV, 582).

[70] ✠ ANNIS P[RO]GRESSI DE SACRA VERGINE X$\widetilde{I}$:
t$\widetilde{N}$DENIS GEMINIS MD [*sic* = con] IUCTIS MILLE TRECETIS:
HOC THOMAXIN D' FERRO PI.NTA IOHIS:
MASSARIVS SCI VENERADI GEMINIANI:
FINGI FECIT OP TU$\widetilde{R}$RE QQ[VE] FINE NITERE:
ACTIB' HENRICI SCU$\widetilde{L}$PTURIS CAPIONESIS.

[71] Dondi, 233. This relief, which is now in the sacristy, was thus described by Millin (II, 192 f.) in 1817: On voit, sur un des côtés de cette tour [Ghirlandina] une petite statue qui représente S. Geminien, tenant en l'air un enfant par l'extrémité de son bonnet.

[72] 148.

particulars of the election of the massaro. This dignitary was appointed by the bishop and chapter, and must be a man not of noble or powerful family, but of humble condition, and of honest conversation and good reputation.

The construction of the pulpit in 1322 is recorded, not only in the inscription cited above, but also in several chronicles. In the *Annales* of Modena we read: "In the year 1322, the pulpit of the cathedral church of Modena was made by Tommaso da Fredo."[73] The *Chronicon* of Modena states: "In 1322, when Tommasino Ferro was massaro of the *fabbrica,* they erected on the fourth of November, or, as other Modenesi say, on some other day, the marble pulpit which may still be seen, and from which the piercing trumpets of Christ[74] preach the Gospel in the church of S. Geminiano."[75]

"On the first day of June, 1336, Andrea of Campilio, massaro of S. Geminiano, caused to be erected the iron steps in front of the altar of S. Geminiano, and the other ones which are at the entrance."[76]

In 1338 the campanile was connected with the church by means of pointed arches over the passage-way which separates the two structures.[77] These arches, albeit much restored, are still in existence, and were perhaps built to serve as a buttress both for the campanile and the church. "In the month of December, 1343, a clock was placed in the cathedral near the choir, and the sacristy [built in 1338] was erected in the time of Andrea of Campilio, massaro of the *fabbrica* of S. Geminiano."[78]

"In the year 1347, the campanile of S. Geminiano of Modena was struck by lightning and the person who lived in it was killed."[79]

"On the twenty-ninth of June, 1354, the feast of Saint Peter, a bolt of lightning struck one of the capitals of the upper part of the campanile of

[73] De Anno MCCCXXII factum fuit Pulpitum in Ecclesia Cathedrali Mutinæ per Thomam de Fredo. (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 80).

[74] Cf. Isai., lviii, 1.

[75] Posuerunt & die ipsa, sive altera, ut dicunt alii Mutinenses, Massario Fabricæ tunc existente Thomasino Ferro, marmoreum Pergulum, quod & nunc visitur, ubi verbum Dei prædicant Christi resonantes tubæ, in Ecclesia Beati Gemiani. (*Chronicon Mutinense,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 107).

[76] Et die I. Junii Andreas Capellina [*sic*] Massarius Sancti Geminiani fecit poni gradas ferreas ante altare Sancti Geminiani, & illas, quæ sunt sub portili. (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 82).

[77] Cavedoni, *Sventure.*

[78] Tunc de mense Decembris dicti anni positum fuit Horologium in Ecclesia Majori juxta Tribunam, & Sacristiam tempore Domni Andreæ de Campilio Massari Fabricæ Sancti Geminiani. (Johannis de Bazano, *Chronicon Mutinense,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XV, 601).

[79] Eodem anno Turris Sancti Geminiani Mutinæ è cœlo percussa est, occiso habitatore ejus. (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 82).

the church of Modena sidewise and below, so that it knocked out the capital, and in consequence about three metres of the wall fell in."[80]

"In the year 1376 the bronze statue of S. Geminiano was placed above the principal portal of the cathedral church of Modena."[81]

Vedriani has published the epitaph of a certain Bartolomeo Cagnone who died in 1424. In 1600 the canons of Modena placed this in a conspicuous position, together with a new inscription stating that they had done so out of gratitude to their benefactor, who had erected part of the cathedral and canonica at his own expense.[82] The epitaph is now in the cathedral museum, but the inscription has disappeared. Cavedoni supposed that the portions of the cathedral erected by Cagnone were the octagonal turrets over the apse, but Dondi has proved that it was rather the vaults of the nave.[83] In 1438 these vaults were doubtless still incompleted, since in that year Pope John IV granted special indulgences for the feast of S. Geminiano, and urged the faithful "to lend more promptly aiding hands to the construction of the church."[84]

In 1442 the central window of the choir was walled up.[85] In 1453 the vaults were nearing completion, as is known from an important text published by Dondi. This is a memorandum of the "expenses for erecting the vaults of the Forno and Fontana families and for the centering under them." In 1454 there is record of the "expenses incurred in constructing the vault in three parts above S. Tommaso," and in 1455 of expenses "when the roof over the Castaldi fell."[86]

[80] Tunc die penultimo Junii in festo Sancti Petri sagitta troni percussit in capitello superiori Turris Ecclesiæ Mutinæ à latere desubtus, & percussit de lapidibus unius capitelli, & destruxit per spatium sex brachiorum. (Johannis de Bazano, *Chronicon Mutinense*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XV, 602).

[81] De Anno MCCCLXXVI. Imago ænea Sancti Geminiani posita fuit supra Portam magnam Ecclesiæ Cathedratis Mutinæ. (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 83).

[82] Che però essendo egli [Bartolomeo Cagnone] morto quest'anno, e sepolto con questo breue Memoria

[✠ . HIC . QUIE|SCUNT . OSSA . BARTHOLOMEI . CAGNONI . DE| GATIS . DE MU|TINA . 1424.]

Piaque a Signori Canonici, due secoli, e mezzo dopo di colloeare la detta Lapide in luogo conspicuo, & in vn' altra inciderui l'Elogio seguente. Ex occulto, & indecenti in hunc digniorem locum translata ad perpetuam memoriam, cùm egregio pietatis studio partem Cathedralis Ecclesiæ, hasque ædes Canonicas proprijs sumptibus ædificasset, eiusdem Ecclesiæ Canonici momentum hoc vetustate collapsum grato animo restaurarunt. Anno Domini 1600. die 23 mensis Maij. (Vedriani, II, 392-393).

[83] 60. [84] Dondi, 151. [85] *Ibid.*, 116.

[86] 1453.—Spexo per lavorare le volte de queli del forno e fontana. Per armare soto le volte dal forno e fontana per dare il bianco . . . 1454.—Per fare quela volta sopra S. Tomaxo [cioè nella parte superiore a mezzogiorno] in tre partite . . . 1455.—Spexa quando cadè il coverto sopra de li castaldi [cioè quella che a settentrione corrisponde all'Altare delle Statuine]. (Dondi, 265).

About 1460 the old organ which stood near the door of the sacristy was replaced by a new instrument located in the same position.[87]

"In the year 1465 the choir-stalls of the cathedral church of Modena were made by Cristoforo da Lendenara, Modenese."[88]

Between 1474 and 1477 the new sacristy was erected, and a portico was added to the north wall of the basilica.[89] In 1476 the chapel Vittoria, erected in 1306, was in part demolished, and in 1481 it was entirely removed.[90] In the same year the crypt vault was painted,[91] and the statue of the saint in the loggia of the Porta Regia erected.[92]

The campanile was in restoration from 1478 to 1490, and indeed the work does not seem to have been completed until as late as 1530. At this time, doubtless, the pyramid was rebuilt.[93] In 1482 the old ciborio was destroyed.[94] In the same year two windows of the choir were enlarged.[95] The stained glass which was in them was removed, but was replaced in 1489. In 1496 and 1528 the two great wooden cross-beams which had spanned the choir were removed,[96] and in 1497 shops were built against the southern façade of the cathedral.[97]

In 1501 a severe earthquake caused considerable damage in the basilica and especially to the Porta Regia,[98] and to the western turrets, the pinnacles of which fell but were rebuilt. In the same year the existing external pulpit was substituted for the older one.[99] In 1505, in consequence of the earthquake of 1501, the walls of the nave had to be strengthened with chains.[100] The following year the door leading to the canonica, and placed near the altar of S. Crocifisso, was opened. The damage wrought by the earthquake of 1501 must have been considerable, since the pope Leo X, in 1510, exhorted the Modenesi to complete the restoration.[101] Several stalls of the choir had to be sawed in 1520 in consequence of works of construction in progress in the presbytery. The campanile was again damaged in 1522.

In 1526 it was found necessary to erect new vaults over the choir, and this work was not finished until 1540. From 1547 to 1587 another restoration of the campanile was in progress. In 1554 the statue of the Virgin and of two angels was removed from the principal portal to the loggia,[102] and in 1590 the church was freed of the altars which had been erected against the piers.[103]

A document of the archives of the chapter summarized by Dondi records under the date of December 31, 1591, the expenses incurred for the removal

[87] *Ibid.*, 152.

[88] De Anno MCCCCLXV. factus fuit Chorus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Mutinæ per Christophorum Lendenarium Mutinensem. (*Annales Veteres Mutinensium*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 83).

[89] Dondi, 60. [90] *Ibid.*, 65. [91] *Ibid.*, 108. [92] *Ibid.*, 233.
[93] *Ibid.*, 249. [94] *Ibid.*, 68. [95] *Ibid.*, 116. [96] *Ibid.*, 13.
[97] *Ibid.*, 46. [98] *Ibid.*, 182, 254. [99] *Ibid.*, 188. [100] *Ibid.*, 255.
[101] *Ibid.*, 151. [102] *Ibid.*, 221. [103] *Ibid.*, 13.

of the choir-stalls, the ambo, the lectern and the parapet with marble reliefs.[104] It is evident that at this period the choir and crypt were prolonged to the westward.[105] The columns of the ambo were employed to support the vaults of the new portion of the crypt, and the reliefs were placed in the walls of the choir. At this epoch the pavement of the crypt was raised about 40 centimetres—an operation which necessitated raising also the columns of the crypt and reconstructing the vault. The conclusive documentary evidence on this subject has been published by Dondi. The organ was removed from its old position and placed in the nave, where it remained until 1887. The old cornice which had crowned the façade of the crypt was moved forward and placed in the new pontile in 1594. A new balustrade was erected on the stairway. Since the new portion of the crypt required more columns than the four supplied by the demolished ambo, two others were taken from the monument Altemps erected in 1512, and pieced out with high plinths.[106] The remainder are in part new, in part pilfered from unknown sources. The stairs were restored at the same epoch. This restoration included also alterations to the campanile.[107]

In 1600 the existing iron chancel-rails were erected, and in 1651 the exterior wall of the northern absidiole was raised.[108] In 1665 the crypt was covered with baroque stuccos to make room for which the wall responds were removed. Another earthquake which occurred at Modena in 1671, probably caused the ruin of the pinnacle of the western turret.[109] In 1685 the chapel of S. Crocifisso was baroqueoized.[110] In 1701 a baroque balustrade was added to the loggia of the Porta Reggia, and this was restored in 1750.[111] Between 1728 and 1735 the crypt was redecorated.[112] In 1731 the shops which had been erected against the wall of the campanile and the apses were demolished.[113] In 1742 the rose-window of the façade was restored.[114] In 1759 the windows of the crypt were baroqueoized, and in 1765 the foundations of the western wall of the campanile were strengthened. On this occasion many fragments of Roman inscriptions and reliefs came to light, which were collected and placed in 1828 in the Museo Civico.[115] In 1789 and in 1845 new decorations were added to the northern absidiole.[116]

Before 1820 the Porta della Pescheria had been supplied with a Lombard porch similar to those of the other portals. But at that epoch it was determined to erect a mortuary monument to Ercole III d'Este (†1803). Consequently a vestibule was erected before the portal to support the chapel in which were placed the tombs, and the Lombard porch was transported and placed in the façade of this vestibule. In the recent restorations, however, the portal was brought back to its original position.[117]

[104] *Ibid.*, 192. [105] See the evidence collected on this subject by Bortolotti, 53. [106] Dondi, 193. [107] Faccioli, 37-41. [108] Dondi, 130. [109] *Ibid.*, 254. [110] *Ibid.*, 98. [111] *Ibid.*, 182. [112] *Ibid.*, 10. [113] *Ibid.*, 48. [114] *Ibid.*, 206. [115] *Ibid.*, 253. [116] *Ibid.*, 96. [117] Chiesi.

In 1812 the crypt was redecorated.[118] In 1843 the principal portal was restored,[119] and in 1859 two of the crypt windows were baroccoized.

The archæological restorations of the church began with the crypt in 1882-1883. On the exterior north wall was discovered a superb fresco bearing the date of 1334. The gentle treatment which the Duomo received at the hands of the restorers at this epoch may be well illustrated by the history of this fresco. Instead of leaving it where discovered, the restorers transferred it to canvas bit by bit, destroyed the inscription, had the whole entirely repainted, and then set it up in the Museo Civico. Other frescos had been discovered in the crypt in the sixth decade of the XIX century. After 1892 the main body of the church was taken in hand by the restorers, and the work was not completed until 1897. The northern absidiole was freed from its stuccos, and the barocco attic was moved under the direction of the architect Barberi. The northern portico was removed, the wall thoroughly cleaned and restored. The masonry of the campanile was strengthened, and the barocco windows of the church were all replaced by others of Romanesque style. Some authority in the shape of old drawings and traces in the masonry is said to have been found for the new windows inserted above the lateral portals. Finally, the lower part of the rose-window of the façade was reconstructed.

III. Of the various edifices which preceded the existing cathedral of Modena on the same site, some traces have come down to us. In the crypt is an epitaph of 565 which is perhaps a relic either of the basilica of S. Teodolo or of the cemetery by which it was surrounded.[120] Extant fragments of the Carlovingian cathedral, which all fall under the head of decoration rather than under that of construction, will be considered in section IV. In 1913 there came to light beneath the pavement of the nave the remains of a church of the second quarter of the XI century. This church seems to have had five aisles and to have been notably shorter and smaller than the existing edifice. The piers in section consisted of four semi-columns engaged on a rectangular core and the responds of the side aisles were formed of five members, of which the central one was semicircular. The system was uniform. The edifice was entirely constructed of brick.

The cathedral of Modena at present consists of a nave four double bays long, two side aisles, non-projecting transepts, a crypt and a campanile (Plate 138; Plate 139). The church is at present entirely covered with rib vaults, but these, as has been seen above, were added in the first half of the XV century, and the church in the XII century was supplied with an open timber roof supported on transverse arches. Before the XV century reconstruction the side aisles were of the same height that they are at present, as is proved by the fact that the ancient cornice of arched corbel-tables still

[118] Dondi, 10. [119] Chiesi. [120] Bertoni, *Atlante*, sez. I, A.

exists on the interior of the south side-aisle vault, although cut across by the XV century vaults. The original side aisles, therefore, were not surmounted by a gallery, but were, so to speak, in two stories; above the arches of the main arcade, triforia opened into the nave, and above the transverse arches, bifora opened from each bay of the side aisle to the adjoining bay. The side aisles must have been roofed in wood, like the nave, since the cornice of arched corbel-tables proves that there was no vault. The slender columns engaged on pilaster strips in two orders, disposed along the exterior walls (Plate 138; Plate 140, Fig. 3) are merely decorative, and do not have the function of buttresses, since they do not correspond with the interior bays. Even the clearstory wall was not reinforced against the thrust of the great transverse arches (Plate 140, Fig. 3), since the transverse buttresses across the aisles are far too low to serve this purpose.

The gables over the great transverse arches of the nave which at present project above the roof (Plate 140, Fig. 3) are all new, but appear to be correct restorations of the original gables of the XII century.

The cathedral of Modena is especially remarkable for its asymmetries. The irregularities of plan are evident in Plate 138. No less interesting are those of elevation. The apses lean to the north, and the campanile to the south (Plate 140, Fig. 3). The upper part of the tower, however, shows a decided tendency to return to the perpendicular.

In front of the cathedral formerly existed a *sacra* in the walls of which were placed many tombs.[121]

The masonry of the exterior is fine ashlar, well fitted together, and formed of stones taken for the most part from Roman ruins. There are many scaffolding holes. The interior, on the other hand, is finished in brick, which was doubtless originally covered with plaster and ornamented with frescos.

IV. The cathedral is notable above all for its ornament. The capitals of the system and of the intermediate piers are cubic and of brick (Plate 140, Fig. 2). Those of the intermediate piers of the nave are among the most exquisite examples of the decorative art of the XII century. They are Corinthianesque in type and such good imitation of ancient Roman models that many of them have been believed to be antique. They show the finished technique of S. Zeno, combined with leaf-forms which are still not without relationship to S. Ambrogio. I can detect no difference in style between the westernmost and easternmost capitals of the nave (Plate 140, Fig. 2), and it appears that the church must have been constructed in horizontal rather than in vertical sections. The capitals of the crypt are cubic, carved with leaf patterns, grotesques or figured sculptures. One capital has very widely projecting acanthus leaves, curled over, and resembles the capitals of

[121] Dondi, 206.

the Lombard porches (Plate 141, Fig. 1). Other capitals have crockets and developed leaf-forms almost suggesting English types of the XIII century. There are also examples of the Byzantine fleuron type. Certain Corinthianesque capitals (Plate 141, Fig. 2) have the volutes supported on a little pedestal which is completely uncut, a mannerism which recalls the IX century capitals in the crypt at Nonantola (Plate 155, Fig. 2). The capitals of the triforium are for the most part decorated with foliage or grotesques, and those of the exterior galleries are precisely similar in style. The slender pilaster strips of the clearstory wall are crowned by capitals carved with grotesques, often indecent. The capitals of the Lombard porches are singularly advanced in style, so much so as to raise the suspicion that they may have been added subsequently to the completion of the doorways themselves. These capitals are all of similar type, being Corinthianesque, with widely projecting acanthus leaves. A careful study of the stonework, however, shows that the porches must be contemporary with the building itself, and it is therefore necessary to admit that Guglielmo executed the capitals of the western porch before 1106.[122] This conclusion is confirmed by the observations that at Cremona there are extant the remains of a precisely similar porch undoubtedly executed by the same Guglielmo between 1107 and 1117, and that the Modena porch was imitated at Nonantola in 1121. The twisted and fluted columns may be of the time of Guglielmo, since such columns are shown in the reliefs of the only slightly later Porta dei Principi. Of later date are the four capitals of the crypt, which come from the ancient ambo and are ornamented with figure sculptures. Completely Gothic in style are those of the Porta Regia, of the upper parts of the transepts and of the campanile. The bases throughout are of Attic type, but those of the crypt have curious proportions, and those of the nave are for the most part not visible. The archivolts of the main arcade are in two unmoulded orders. The principal portal is in two orders, and has besides many fine mouldings a roll-moulding, supported on a spiral-fluted shaft. The Porta Regia, a characteristic work of the early XIII century, is in many orders and richly moulded.

The exterior of the cathedral of Modena is adorned by great blind arches enclosing galleries and arched corbel-tables (Plate 140, Fig. 1, 3). The arches are supported on shafts engaged on pilasters and supplied with capitals and bases. A cornice of large arched corbel-tables (two to each double bay of the nave and two to each single bay of the side aisles) formerly crowned the walls of both nave and side aisles in the interior (Plate 140, Fig. 2), but this cornice has been in large part covered up by the construction of the vaults. The campanile (Plate 140, Fig. 3) seems to have had originally arched corbel-tables in two orders, or double arched corbel-tables supported

[122] The entire upper story of this porch was remade, lowered, and given new capitals when the rose-window was added.

on pilaster strips, but the many restorations, of which, as has been seen, there is ample documentary evidence, have very largely denatured the appearance of this structure. At present, part of the tower is frankly Renaissance in style. The rose-window (Plate 140, Fig. 1) is ornamented with a rope-moulding and with a Gothic bud-motive, the latter of which reappears on the archivolt of the Porta Regia, and on the façade of the crypt. The corbels throughout are carved with grotesques, for the most part of unusually high merit. The choir-screen of the XIII century is adorned with a dainty rinceau in which are intermingled figures of men, birds, fruits, flowers and leaves, all apparently of purely decorative significance. Exquisite is the rinceau, also of the XIII century, over the crypt window (Plate 142, Fig. 6). Other finely carved rinceaux are to be found in the earlier principal portal, the Porta dei Principi and the Porta della Pescheria. Billet-mouldings occur on the Lombard porches and on the Gothic portions of the cathedral. The rose-window of the façade (Plate 140, Fig. 1) is filled with tracery of a simple rayonnant character, but the oculi in the east wall of the edifice have much simpler tracery consisting of circular perforations (Plate 140, Fig. 3). The south transept-end is adorned with a series of segmental arches fitted under the gable and supported on colonettes (Plate 140, Fig. 3). This motive, strangely enough, reappears in the cathedral of Canterbury. The eastern gable is flanked by two octagonal turrets (Plate 140, Fig. 3), and similar turrets formerly existed on the western façade, but they have lost their pinnacles (Plate 140, Fig. 1). In the tympanum of the eastern window of the crypt is a grotesque head (Plate 142, Fig. 6).

Of the fragments of Carlovingian carving discovered at various times in the church and now collected in the cathedral museum, De Fleury and Bortolotti have already published full descriptions. The most interesting of these belonged to the ancient ambo, and were discovered in 1878 in the episcopal palace. During the recent restoration of the façade, another bit of Carlovingian carving came to light on the reverse of the marble slab, on which is the familiar relief of the creation of Adam.[123] A capital and two sculptured panels likewise were discovered in the foundations of the façade, and another fragment in the stairway near the choir-screen. Another fragment of the ambo was seen by Bortolotti in an antiquary's shop.[124] What has since become of it I do not know. Still other fragments of Carlovingian furniture coming from the cathedral were described by the same writer, and were seen by him in a villa at Cognento and in the pavement of the cathedral. The ancient baptismal font of the old cathedral is now in the Museo Lapidario. The fragments at present assembled in the cathedral museum all appear to be about contemporary. The two plaques which bear the number 6 show somewhat coarser execution, especially in the carving of the birds and

[123] Published by Maestri, *Frassinoro*, 25. [124] 76.

animals, yet the guilloche is identical with that of the ambo, which bears the number 1, and it is probable that these pieces all belong to the same bit of furniture as number 17, which is worked in the form of a Greek cross surrounded by circles. Nos. 55 and 60 have diaper-patterns which, so far as I know, are without analogy elsewhere. A capital resembles one in the cloister of the cathedral of Verona (780) in the carving of the volute (Plate 216, Fig. 2), but the acanthus leaves are serrated. The technique of the tail of the peacock in one of the sculptures is identical with that of the similar bird in the sarcophagus of Teodote (Plate 167, Fig. 1) in the museum at Pavia. This church-furniture may consequently be assigned to c. 775, and was doubtless executed for that cathedral of Modena which, we have seen, was erected in the early part of the VIII century.

The crypt windows are very finely moulded. Like other parts of the crypt, they show unmistakable signs of having been remade in the XIII century. Dondi has found conclusive documentary evidence that the windows of the cathedral were filled with stained glass, which has since disappeared.[125]

The cathedral of Modena is noted above all for the wealth and beauty of its plastic ornament. Three of the capitals of the pontile which come from the Lombard ambo are decorated with figure sculptures. One is dedicated to the story of S. Lorenzo, and can be most conveniently studied in the cast at the Museo Civico. The scenes represented are all taken from the passion of the saint. The first probably represents the baptism of S. Romano, who is seen in the baptismal font, from which emerge only his nude shoulders and his head. He grasps the edge of the font with his hands. S. Lorenzo—also in the font—is clothed, and pours a jar of water on his head. Behind is another kneeling figure, clothed, evidently S. Ippolito.[126] The next scene represents the condemnation of the saint. On the angle is seated the prefect of Rome, who commands that Lorenzo be haled to punishment. The saint, accompanied by the ever-faithful Ippolito, obeys the orders of the tyrant, and proceeds calmly to his martyrdom. The remaining two faces of the capital depict the martyrdom of the saint, who is first torn with irons,[127] and then grilled. The second capital, representing the sacrifice of Abel, offers no difficulty, and the third, which represents Daniel in the lions' den, with the angel and Habakkuk, is also easily explained. In the crypt is a capital sculptured with the symbols of the four Evangelists. A capital at the east end of the cathedral, on the exterior, shows a combat between two male figures. Both are without armour, except, possibly, helmets, but both have shields and broadswords. Behind are two female figures. The one to the left is standing, and holds in her hand an object like a shovel, with which she vigorously pounds one of the combatants over the head. The one to the right is seated in a chair. The object which she holds in her hand has been

[125] 115. [126] *Acta Sanctorum*, die X, Augusti, II, 518.

[127] In this detail the sculptor departs from all the extant versions of the legend.

broken off, but it appears that she, too, was probably hitting one of the combatants. In the exterior gallery of the south wall is a figured capital representing the Dance of David. To the left sits the youthful figure of the king, bare-headed, beardless and playing a harp. Next to him is a woman standing on her head, and twirling a sword with her hands. Then follow two other figures, who are probably also dancing, but they are so broken it is impossible to be certain. Finally, to the extreme right, is another seated figure, which was probably playing some kind of musical instrument.

In the campanile are two interesting capitals which are situated in the south and east sides of the fifth story. The windows have been walled up to form a sort of house for the bell-ringer, and it is necessary to enter this dwelling to inspect the capitals. Casts of these capitals, however, are in the Museo Civico, and photographs of the casts have been several times published.[128] I believe that my illustration (Plate 142, Fig. 5) is the first photograph that has been made from the original. The capitals are at present enclosed in the walls, so that it is impossible to inspect three faces. By means of a hole that has been worked around behind the capitals, however, and a mirror, I was able to make out the subjects and the inscriptions, which have hitherto been known only from old copies, made before the wall was erected. The first capital represents the Dance of David, and is unfortunately without inscriptions. On the two exterior angles are seen two crowned and seated figures, one beardless and writing, the other bearded and playing a harp. I suppose that both of these figures represent David—in one writing psalms, and in the other at his accustomed occupation of playing the harp. Between the two figures of David is a woman holding a flower in her right hand and part of her skirt draperies in her left. This woman is undoubtedly dancing a slow and stately measure. On the south-east angle of the capital is a figure of a man playing a wind instrument. On the north-east angle is a beardless youth, dancing. On the east face, a bearded man in short garments dances, holding both hands of a woman with a band on her head, precisely as in many other scenes of the Dance of David in the baptistery of Parma, at Bereeto, in the exterior of the Modena campanile, etc. On the north face is seen a male figure holding in his hands the skirts of his garment and dancing, precisely as in the other representations of the same subject. On the south face is a female figure with band in her hair, holding a flower.

The other capital is, in fact, a sort of treatise upon good and bad judges. On the south-east angle the just judge is seen seated and being crowned by an angel—ANG[E]L[V]S. The angel holds a scroll with the inscription: IUD|ICA| EQV̄. the judge a book on which is inscribed: UPI| ANU|S| LIB| DIG. The angel exhorts the judge to judge equitably, and the judge proclaims the principle that only an unbiased mind is worthy of rendering judgment. The scene is continued by the figure of a bearded man, bare-

[128] *e.g.*, by Bertoni, *Atlante*, Part II, xv.

headed, his hands outstretched and his palms pressed together with a gesture of supplication: IVSTE IVDICABIS. The inscription implies his confidence in the uprightness of the judge. On the north-west angle is represented this same man in evident mental anguish, downcast and raising a stick or staff—or more probably an agricultural instrument—in his left hand. Near him stands a woman, probably his wife, trying to console him. The meaning of the scene is made clear by the inscription:

IVDEX IVSTVS . SOLĀT VIRV̄. GRAUĀT AB H̄IQ̄O IUDICE

"The righteous judge consoles the man wronged by the iniquitous judge." On the west face a devil suggests bribery to a beardless man, who pours money from a bag into his hand, and comes before a judge who is seated on the south-west angle, his lap full of coins. The meaning of this scene is made clear by the inscription: [SV]A[DET] DIABOLVS VT DIUES DET PECCUNI|AM. The sculpture depicts the devil suggesting to Dives the giving of a bribe to a corrupt judge. A chain round the neck of the judge is held by the devil—LVCIFER—on the south face. On the south-east angle sits still another judge. From the south he is approached by a man bearing a purse, from the east by a man bare-foot, with his hands pressed together in supplication. The judge bears a book with an inscription much broken, of which only the letters . . . . . AIT| FT̄O| PAC' can be made out. The inscription on the abacus above: H̄IQ̄O IUDICI PECCVNIA S̄I FA[C]IS . A S̄NT̄ENCIA S[VA] MANDATŪ SUAUEBIS, tells us that if a bribe is given to an unjust judge he will give a judgment which is not in accordance with his true opinion. The subject of this capital is most unusual. Righteous[129] and iniquitous[130] judges and the importance of just judgment[131] appear frequently in the scriptures. It is probable that our capital is an illustration of some now lost sermon, founded on one of these texts.

On the gable of the west façade is a statue of an angel, presumably St. Michael. Over the rose-window is a high relief of Christ seated and surrounded by an aureole. His right hand is raised in benediction. About him are the symbols of the four Evangelists,[132] and at the right a relief representing Samson and the lion. The famous reliefs of Guglielmo in the façade comprise the following subjects, beginning at the north: (I) Christ in an aureole supported by two angels (Plate 143, Fig. 1). The Deity holds

[129] Deut., i, 16.

[130] Deut., xxvii, 19; I Reg., viii, 3; Isai., x, 1-2; Jerem., v, 28; Luc., xviii, 2-6.

[131] II Par., xix, 6; Prov., xxiv, 23; xviii, 5; Joan., vii, 24.

[132] Matthew, Mark, Luke and John have books with inscriptions illegible from the ground but, according to Bertoni, *Atlante*, xiii, they bear the inscriptions: *Liber generacionis Iliesu Christi; Initium sancti evangeli. Ego mitto an[gelum]:* and *Fuit in diebus Erodes regis. Luca.* Cf. Matt., i, 1; Marc., i, 1, 2; Luc., i, 5.

an open book with the inscription: LVX| EGO| S͡V M͡V|NDI| VIA VE|RAX| V͡ITA͡ PER|ENNIS.[133] This relief is perhaps intended to indicate that God existed in the beginning before the creation of the world or of man. (2) The creation of Adam, depicted as a naked, bearded figure—ADA—standing somewhat unsteadily on trembling legs. The Deity gently strokes his head and imparts strength to the newly formed creature (Plate 143, Fig. 1). (3) The creation of Eve, whom the Deity draws forth from the side of the sleeping Adam—ADAM—(Plate 143, Fig. 1). In this relief the halo of the Deity is barely visible, whereas in the preceding two He is represented with an inscribed halo. His feet are bare in accordance with the well known law of iconography. (4) Adam and Eve, covering their shame with very ample fig-leaves, stand before the forbidden tree, one of whose fruits Eve is about to pluck (Plate 143, Fig. 1). Very dramatic is the attitude of Adam, who puts his left hand to his lips, evidently shocked and fascinated by the contemplated wickedness. Brazen and calculating, on the other hand, is the attitude of Eve, on whose features is expressed a feeling of scorn for the timidity of her husband. (5) To the south of the northern portal, the Deity, with bare feet and inscribed halo, talks to the guilty Adam and Eve, who continue to cover their shame with fig-leaves (Plate 144, Fig. 1). Their embarrassment is dramatically expressed by the manner in which they scratch their ears with their right hands (Plate 142, Fig. 3). The Deity holds in His left hand a scroll with the legend: "While the Lord was walking in Paradise."[134] (6) S. Michele, with raised sword, drives Adam and Eve from Paradise (Plate 142, Fig. 3). The archangel has bare feet and wings. Adam and Eve are still naked, except for the fig-leaves, and rest their heads against their hands in sorrow and remorse. (7) Adam and Eve hoe the ground about the roots of a young tree (Plate 144, Fig. 1). They are both fully clothed now in peasant costume, and Eve wears a veil over her head. South of the principal portal the frieze continues: (8) The sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Plate 144, Fig. 2). Above the altar—which is in the middle—is a figure of the Deity in an aureole supported by a caryatid kneeling on one knee. The Deity has bare feet and inscribed halo, and in His left hand He holds a book with inscription: QVI| SEQ͡VI|TVR| ME| NON| AB͡V.[135] Below on either side of the altar are the inscriptions: "Righteous Abel first brings an acceptable offering";[136] "Cain chafes, Cain weeps, Cain groans; Abel is in great danger."[137] To the left stands the beardless Abel, holding

[133] Joan., ix, 5; xiv, 6.

[134] D͡V DE|AB͡VLA|RE͡T DOM|NVS I PA|RADISV. Gen., iii, 8.

[135] Joan., viii, 12.

[136] PRIMVS| ABEL IVS|TVS| DEFERT| PL͡ACA|BILE MV|NVS.

[137] HIC PMIT| HIC P͡LORA͡T| GEMIT HIC| NIMIS ISTE| LABORA͡T

the firstlings of his flock; to the right, Cain approaches bearing a sheaf of wheat. (9) Cain brutally murders Abel, striking him over the head with a club (Plate 144, Fig. 2). (10) God speaks to Cain, and asks him where his brother is. In his hand he holds a scroll with the inscription: VBI EST| ABEL| FRAT| TVVS. The Deity appears to be grieved rather than angry, and He gently places His hand upon Cain's shoulder. Over the southern portal is depicted: (11) Lamech, wearing a Phrygian cap, who shoots an arrow that transfixes Cain (Plate 145, Fig. 3). The blindness of Lamech is well expressed by the sculptor. Cain, now bearded, supports himself on one knee, grasping with his right hand a limb of a tree.[138] (12) Noah's ark—a structure which recalls a Romanesque church—is seen upon the waters, indicated by a curious diaper-pattern (Plate 145, Fig. 3). From the two windows emerge the heads of Noah and his wife, who, like all the clothed female figures in these reliefs, wears a veil. (13) Noah and his three sons emerge from the ark. This is a highly dramatic relief. The two last sons (Shem and Japheth) talk to each other confidentially, while Noah and the first son (Ham), as Zimmermann has observed, are engaged in the discussion of some point about which they are not in complete agreement.

These reliefs are characterized by a peculiar technique of the drapery, which is indicated at times by incised lines, precisely as in the well known sculptures of Moissac (Plate 142, Fig. 1), at other times by folds very classic in style. Psychological touches, often surprisingly profound, are not lacking; as, for example, the gestures of Noah's sons as they emerge from the ark, or the shamefaced attitude of Adam and Eve when they stand before the Lord. These figures are thoroughly unarchitectural. The sculptor seems to have been interested in telling a story, and was impatient of all restraint imposed upon his fancy, whether by the architect or by the priest. Accordingly we find in these sculptures neither the monumental character nor the iconographic significance usually noticeable in the plastic art of the Middle Ages.

In the wall on either side of the central portal are inlaid two reliefs of Cupids with reversed torches. One of them, that to the north, is accompanied by what appears to be an ibis (Plate 142, Fig. 2). These reliefs seem to be without iconographic significance, and are probably reproductions of some Roman monument, since they are full of classic feeling. Also to the north of the principal portal is another relief of the prophets Enoch and Elijah (Plate 142, Fig. 2), here placed symbolically as forerunners of immortality, since they were both spared death. They support an inscription which has been cited above.[139] The sculpture of Enoch and Elijah is obviously by the

[138] The murder of Cain by Lamech is also represented in the mosaics of Monreale. In this case, Lamech is accompanied by a boy, Tubalcain, according to the apocryphal legend. Cf. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, 241.

[139] 15.

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same hand as the similar one at Cremona, which bears the date of 1107. It therefore results that the sculptures at Modena must have been executed before 1106, and that in 1107 Guglielmo went to Cremona, where he remained probably until the time of the earthquake in 1117.

The lions of the central portal are modern, but the ancient ones still exist in the cathedral museum. These appear to be not mediæval but ancient. It is probable that Guglielmo found them already made among the various Roman fragments which he employed for his work upon the cathedral. Indeed, it is not unlikely that his chance discovery of these lions suggested to him the idea of using them as supports for his columns, and that thus came into existence the motive of the Lombard porch repeated throughout the length and breadth of Italy for so many centuries by Guglielmo's successors.

On the façade of the western porch are two grotesque reliefs, representing, the one, two deer with a single head, and the other, a mélange of lions and serpents. On the jambs of the central portal are reliefs representing the prophets. They are all identified by inscriptions, and are disposed in the following order:

Habakkuk (ABACVC)	Moses (MOISES)
Ezekiel (IEZECHIEL)	Aaron (ARON)
Isaiah (ISAIAS)	Daniel (DANIHEL)
Jeremiah (IEREMIAS)	Zachariah (ZACHARIAS)
Malachi (MALACHIAS)	Micah (MICHEAS)
Zephaniah (SOPHONIAS)	Obadiah (ABDIAS)

These figures were evidently executed by the same hand as the reliefs of the façade. They are characterized by the same draperies, by the same over-large and crudely carved heads. They completely fill the niches in which they are placed, and at times have the appearance of almost overflowing. The prophets have all bare feet, are bearded or beardless; Habakkuk carries a vase, Aaron, a rod, Moses is represented without horns, Malachi is without attributes, and all the others have a book or a scroll. The selection of twelve prophets in this group is somewhat peculiar. The four major prophets, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, are naturally included. It is unusual, however, to class Moses and Aaron with the four major prophets, nor does there appear to be any especial reason why only six of the minor prophets are depicted. Notable in these sculptures is the absence of symbolism, of parallelism and of formalism. The rule of hierarchical precedence is unknown, the right-hand side is given no preference over the left, nor the upper part of the composition over the lower.

The Porta dei Principi is also rich with sculpture. At the bottom of the jambs on either side is a relief. To the right is a bishop, without halo, probably not S. Geminiano, but the donor of the portal. He is accompanied on the other side by a deacon or a priest bearing the eucharist. Among the

rineeaux of the jambs and the lunette are figures some of which seem purely grotesque, while others have a certain meaning or are inspired by other works which did. In the opposite jamb a centaur shoots a lion having a man's head. A naked wind-god—recalling Mareh—blows through a horn. A workman prunes the vine, as February often does in the eyele of the months. A man busily fiddles, while a bird attentively listens. A blacksmith works at his trade. The crane pulls the bone out of the throat of the fox. The Lamb, bearing a eross in his paw, tramples on the old enemy in the shape of a monster with bird's wings and elaws, animal's head and a serpent's tail. Finally—the most interesting of all—a master-builder seulptures a capital (Plate 142, Fig. 4). The artist is beardless and bare-headed, and wears a tunic which comes to about his knees. The capital is held upside down, and he works on it with a ehisel held in his left hand, while he pounds the ehisel by means of a square-headed hammer held in his right hand. He is seated on a three-legged stool, like the master-builder in the Bergamo relief. The facts that he has no eap and that his tunic is short, make it probable that we have here, not a full-fledged master-builder, but an *artifex* such as are depicted in the miniature of the *Relatio* (Plate 141, Fig. 3). Under the lintel is a medallion of the Lamb, supported by two angels: to the left, John the Baptist (IOHANNES BAPTISTA), with the scroll: ECCE AGN| DEI ECCE| QVI TOL|LIT PEC|CATA| MVNDI;[140] to the right, St. Paul, bearing the legend: QVICVQ BAPTIZATI SVMVS IN XPO IHV.[141]

On the lintel are a series of seulptures depicting the life of S. Geminiano (Plate 142, Fig. 4). The sculptor appears to have followed the longer life of the saint more closely than the shorter, but departs eonsiderably from both. The first panel shows the saint departing on horse-back, accompanied by an attendant on foot carrying his crosier, and an object which is probably a scroll. The leonine inscription: SCANDIT EQVV LET' DV TENDIT AD EQVORA PRESVL informs us that the relief represents the departure of the bishop from Modena to the sea. According to the shorter life of the saint, S. Geminiano, after he had become bishop, was tempted by the demon, but overcame him. Thereupon the demon, determined on revenge and full of confusion, fled to the palace of the emperor Gioviano, and seized upon his only daughter, and commenced to vex her cruelly. All attempts to cure the child were in vain, and the demon called out that he would not depart from that body unless the bishop Geminiano should come. Therefore the emperor sent and searched through all regions and provinces of his empire to find Geminiano, the saint of God. Having searched everywhere else in vain, the soldiers came at last to Italy and found him whom they were seeking not far from the city of Modena. Having heard the commands of the emperor, the saint told the messengers to precede him, and that with the help of God

[140] Joan., i, 29. [141] Rom., vi, 3.

he would follow them.[142] In this life, as in the second, nothing is said about the horse, nor about the attendant of S. Geminiano and the objects which he carries, all of which are doubtless products of the imagination of the sculptor.[143]

According to the shorter life of the saint, after he had arrived at the coast he embarked on a tempestuous sea and during the storm prayed to the Lord, who immediately sent favouring winds that brought him to his haven safely and serenely.[144] The longer life tells us that the saint rejoined the soldiers sent as messengers by the emperor at the shore, and embarked with them.[145] When the ship was far from the shore, in mid-sea, there appeared an horrid crew of demons eager to upset the boat, and a strong tempest arose and beat the sea into a fury. S. Geminiano, however, was sound asleep. The soldiers came to wake the bishop. The saint invoked Christ and the sea became quiet. God comes to his aid, the demons are put to flight, and a serene calm ensues.[146] In the second relief the scene of the storm is depicted. At the stern of the boat, steering, is the imperial messenger. He does not, however, appear to be dressed as a soldier. The saint, holding a closed book, raises two fingers in benediction, obviously to dispel the storm and the demons. To the left of the saint is seated the same attendant who appears in the previous relief. It now appears that this person, too, must be an ecclesiastic, since he holds a book. The scene passes with the greatest calm, and we must suppose that the tempest has already been dispelled by the prayers of the saint. The steersman looks upward and forward as if trying to peek around the sail to see better whither to direct his course. The full-set sail flaps lazily in the wind. The surface of the sea is broken only by little ripples, indicated by a diaper-pattern. The tempest through which the boat has passed is suggested only by the head of the devil introduced near the bow of the ship. Above this relief is the inscription: PASTOR P̄CLARV' M͡ARE T͡RA͡NSIT GEMINIANVS.

The shorter life tells us that when the saint reached the palace of the emperor at Constantinople, the demon began to cry out. Thereupon the saint

[142] Ite et precedite me; et, Domino comitante, ego quoque concite subsequar uos. (Ed. Bortolotti, 68).

[143] The second life merely says that the saint *cepit usque mare proficisci.* (*Ibid.*, 90).

[144] Ueniens autem ad mare, ingressus immanem in talasum undosum et tumidum, et inter aequoreas undas inuocabat Dominum. Dominus autem perduxit eum prosperis uentis flantibus ad portum cum salute tranquillissimum. (*Ibid.*, 68).

[145] *Ibid.*, 90.

[146] Et ecce iam longe a littore in medio thalasso apparuit horrenda uis daemonum nauim euertere cupientium; ualidaque tempestas turbidum mare procellosis exagitabat undis. At pater sanctus graui depressus sopore dormiebat. Concurrunt milites excitantes presulem: siquidem ferebatur nauigium oratione, non uiribus. Sed presul insignis, periculi inmanitate inuictus, statim inuocans Christum increpat oceanum. Adest diuinitas, fugantur inimici, tranquillitas serena subsequitur. (*Ibid.*, 90-91).

grasped the hand of the daughter of the emperor, and having called upon the name of Christ, cast out the unclean spirit.[147] The account in the longer life is more diffuse, but adds no new details, except that it mentions the daughter was "*patri et matri supra modum carissima*"[148]—a phrase which perhaps explains why the empress, as well as the emperor, is shown in our relief. S. Geminiano is seen taking the hand of the daughter of the emperor, whom the latter pushes over towards the saint. Behind S. Geminiano is seen the face of his trusty attendant. The evil spirit, in a form somewhat resembling an owl, emerges from the head of the emperor's daughter. Behind the emperor, the empress, wearing a crown, stands on a stool and raises her hand in an attitude of prayer. Above is the inscription: PRINCIPIS HIC NATA DAT PVLSO DEMONE SANAM.

In gratitude for the cure of his daughter, the shorter life tells us, the emperor offered the saint gifts—an altar-cloth, a copy of the Gospels, a chalice with patena, and other objects.[149] The saint thereupon begs permission to return to Modena again in order that he might build a basilica.[150] The longer life gives substantially the same account, but adds to the list of gifts a privilege.[151] In the fourth panel of the architrave, we see the saint, still accompanied by his faithful attendant, receiving from the emperor the Gospels and the chalice with patena, while behind the emperor is the empress, again standing on a stool. The inscription DONA CAPIT REGIS CALICE CV CODICE LEGIS would indicate that the book is not the Gospels, but a legal code. The sculptor, however, seems to have followed the lives so closely in the other details of this scene, that I think it more likely that the person who made up the inscription found himself obliged by the exigencies of the leonine verse to substitute *codice legis* for *euangelio,* rather than that by *codice legis* he wishes to signify the *privilegium* which was given according to the longer life.

According to the shorter life, when the saint returned to the city of Modena, he was met by a multitude of the populace, who praised God, and after this he built a basilica.[152] To this account the longer life adds no new

[147] Apprehendens sacerdos Dei manum puellae et inuocato Christi nomine, expulit immundum spiritum. (*Ibid.,* 68).

[148] *Ibid.,* 87.

[149] Accepit autem pallium et euangelium, sinul et calicem cum patena et cum reliquis, tradidit Dei famulo. . . . (*Ibid.,* 68).

[150] Quatinus . . . basilicam in sancto nomine eius [Dei] aedificaret. (*Ibid.*).

[151] Defertur ergo ante presulem euangeliorum textus nobiliter exornatus, calix quoque cum patena aureus gemmis multiplicibus adornatus, pallium quoque pergrande et optimum, reliqua etiam munera ecclesiastico cultui apta. Priuilegium sed enim contulit, etc. (*Ibid.,* 92).

[152] . . . reuersus est ad urbem Motinam. Occurrit autem ei multitudo populi . . . laudantes Dominum, etc. . . . Post haec . . . basilicam in honore Domini fabricauit. (*Ibid.,* 70).

details. In the fifth panel of the architrave, we see the saint returning to Modena, again on horse-back. He bears in his arms the imperial gifts, among which the Gospels may be clearly distinguished. Behind is his faithful attendant carrying the crosier, as in the first relief, and another person, perhaps intended by the artist to symbolize the rejoicing populace of Modena. Above, to the right, are seen the gates of the city of Modena. The saint is met by an ecclesiastic, who swings a censer. Above is the inscription: DVM REDIT E CTRA SIBI CVRRIT CTIO CVNCTA.

The obsequies of the saint are related at length only in the later life. To the funeral came, we are told, not only the entire population of Modena, but an enormous multitude also from the surrounding cities, and with hymns and tears they accompanied the corpse to the sepulchre. Among those present was S. Severo, the eleventh archbishop of Ravenna. S. Severo fell to sleep in his church at Ravenna while the deacon was reading the epistle. Subsequently, when awakened by the assistants, he told them that he had been present in the church at Modena, and had there commended the soul of S. Geminiano to God, and had seen the holy body placed in the sepulchre.[153] In the last scene of the archivolt, S. Severo, whose identity is clearly denoted by his archiepiscopal stole, swings a censer over the body of the saint as it is lowered into a sarcophagus, naïvely depicted as if merely the top emerged from the ground. Behind S. Severo is an ecclesiastic bearing a cross. The scene takes place in a church, but near the walls of the city, which are very clearly indicated in the background, and a gate in the city wall is represented by precisely the same convention which is used in the preceding scene. At the right-hand edge of the relief is the populace of Modena. One man holds his hand to his head in an eloquent gesture of grief. Above is the inscription: POST REDITV FORTIS P[ER]SOLVIT DEBITA MORTIS.

On the jambs of the portal are placed fourteen figures, as follows:

On the left-hand side, beginning at the top:

(1) Paul (bearded, bears a cross and a scroll).

(2) John the Evangelist (beardless; has book with inscription: IN| PRIN CIPIO| ERAT| VER BVM ET V|BVM).[154]

(3) Bartholomew (BARTHOLOMEVS; bearded).

(4) Matthew (MATHEVS; beardless, with scroll).

(5) Thaddeus (THADEVS; bearded, with book).

[153] In eius sancti obsequio funeris non modo Mutinensium turba, sed et uicinarum urbium tota simul irruit caterua; atque hymnidicis cantibus usque ad locum sepulchri, lamentuosa populorum congeries, lectica circumsepta defertur. Inter quos etiam uisus est beatissimus Seuerus, undecimus sanctae Rauennatis ecclesiae episcopus. . . . In sancta Mutinensi ecclesia eram, et ibidem fratris et coepiscopi mei Geminiani . . . omnipotenti Domino animam commendaui: et ibidem steti, quousque predictum sanctum corpus sepulchro poneretur. (*Ibid.*, 98).

[154] Joan., i, 1.

(6) Matthias (MATHIAS; beardless, with scroll).

On the right-hand side, beginning at the top, are:

(1) Peter (bearded; has keys and cross).
(2) James the Greater (IACOBVS; bearded, has scroll).
(3) Philip (PHILIOPVS; beardless, has book).
(4) Thomas (THOMAS; bearded, has scroll).
(5) James the Less (IACOBVS; beardless, has book).
(6) Simon (SYMON; bearded, has scroll).

The style of the sculptures of the Porta dei Principi makes it certain that they are by a different hand from those of the western façade. The composition is more crude and dry, and the technique inferior. Moreover, a certain restless character is noticeable in the rinceau as compared with the doorway of the western façade. This portal, besides, is not by the same hand as that of the Porta della Peseheria. The sea, it is true, is executed in both reliefs by the same convention, but the greatest difference of style is noticeable in the treatment of the horses and in many other details. These sculptures appear to be undoubtedly later than those either of the west façade or of the Porta della Peseheria, and their style, indeed, shows certain analogies with the southern portal at Piacenza, although they show no influence of the work of Nicolò.

To the east of the Porta dei Principi is a strange and interesting relief (Plate 145, Fig. 1). On the right is Truth, who transfixes the tongue of Fraud with a lance—a representation of the well known scene from Prudentius.[155] The inscription tells us: "Truth cuts the tongue from the mouth of Fraud." On the other side is a scene depicting Jacob—IACOB'—wrestling with the angel—ANGEL|VS.[156] The symbolism of this interesting and important sculpture has been explained above.[157] The relief is now obviously not in its original position. Its style shows it to be a production of Guglielmo's.

The Porta Regia, although more richly decorated than the other entrances of the church, contains less sculpture. On the capitals of the jambs, however, are four monsters: an aspic with wings and claws of a bird, the tail of a serpent and the head of an animal; a basilisk; a similar animal with the head of a cock; a dragon which resembles the aspic; and a lion. On the abaci above is the inscription: "The aspic, the basilisk, the lion and the dragon shalt thou

[155] VERIDICVS| LINGVAM| FRAVDIS| DE GVT|TVR ASTIR|PAT

[156] Above is the inscription:

DIMITE ME AURORA EST
RESPONDIT N̄ DIMITTA T̄E NI
SI BENE DIX[ERIS] ME (Gen., xxxii, 26).

[157] Vol. I, Part IV, Book IV, Chap. II.

trample under foot."[158] On the lintel is another inscription which advises all those who enter the church to bend their minds as well as their bodies. The lions of this portal hold between their paws a lamb and an ox.

The Porta della Pescheria (Plate 144, Fig. 3) is supplied with an archivolt that appears to be somewhat older than the jambs, since its span is less. Such an appearance, however, is deceptive. The sculptures of the archivolt and the jambs are contemporary. The sculptures of the jambs, very inferior in style to the reliefs of the prophets in the west portal, are not by Guglielmo, but by an assistant. The archivolt appears to be chiefly the work of this assistant also, but the hand of Guglielmo is apparent in certain details. The archivolt, therefore, may be considered as the product of Guglielmo and his assistant working together. This assistant is the same sculptor who executed the relief of Berta (Plate 29, Fig. 3) and the lunette of the northern portal at Borgo S. Donnino.

The archivolt contains reliefs of peculiar interest, because they constitute the earliest extant first-hand monument of the Arthurian cycle, not only in Italy, but in Europe.[159] Notwithstanding the careful studies of Foerster and Colfi, the subject of these sculptures remains unidentified, but it is certain that we have to do with some lost story of the Arthurian cycle.

In the centre of the archivolt (Plate 144, Fig. 3) is a circular donjon or castle, with windows and crenellated battlements. On the exterior wall of the castle hangs a shield.[160] A circular wall constructed of well cut ashlar masonry and crowned by a battlement, surrounds the donjon. In the free space between the donjon and the wall stand two figures, a woman—WINLOGEE—who holds her hands upraised beneath her cape in what seems to be a gesture of intense excitement or anguish, and who gazes eagerly towards the coming Arthur. The other, a man—MARDOC—grasps the tower with his left hand and looks back over his right shoulder towards Winlogee. Before the castle is a moat, the waves of which are represented by a conventional pattern; and at either side is a wooden tower, that to the right being evidently larger and stronger than the other. From the smaller tower issues on foot BVRMAITVS, who has rounded shoulders like a hunchback. He raises a pickax as if to strike Arthur. ARTVS DE BRETANIA approaches in complete armour and on horse-back. His banner is lowered to a point on a level with that of Burmaitus' head. Arthur is followed by ISDERNVS, who is the only one of the attacking party without helmet or armour, but who has a shield and a spear which he carries carelessly, point down. He turns

[158] SUP[ER] ASPIDEM [ET] BA|SILISCŪ ĀBULABIS| CONCULCABIS| LEONEM [ET] DRACONE (Ps., xc, 13).

[159] Colfi, 237. Raina has suspected that the *materia di Bretagna* spread in Italy as early as 1090, but absolute proof has heretofore been lacking.

[160] The hanging of one's shield on the wall of the tower signified alliance with the city on the part of the one who so hung it. See Ezech., xxvii, 10-11.

back on his horse as if to talk with an unnamed knight who follows him.[161] The latter, in full armour, also carries his lance carelessly, point down. From the stronger wooden tower on the right-hand side sallies forth on horseback CARRADO, in full armour. He is engaged in active combat with GALVAGIN', also in full armour and on horse-back. Like Isdernus and the unnamed knight who follows him, these cavaliers have no banners attached to their lances, whereas the other knights all have. Carrado is followed by GALVARIVN and CHE, both mounted and in full armour, but bearing their lances over their right shoulders. Colfi and Foerster have established that Isdernus must be Ider; Winlogee, Guenloie; Carrado, Carradoc; Galvaginus, Gawain; Che, Kay—all characters of the Arthurian cycle. Foerster has made up a story to fit the sculpture. The wife of Carrado, Winlogee, who does not love her husband, stands desolate in the castle. In this castle Mardoc is held prisoner by Carrado. To the rescue of Mardoc come, on one side, King Arthur, who is opposed by the dwarf Burmaitus, Isdernus—who falls from his horse—and an unnamed knight. On the other side Carrado engages in a duel with Galvaginus, who is followed by Galvariun and Che. Such may or may not be the story which our sculptor has illustrated, and in the lack of authentic documents no trustworthy interpretation is possible.

On the lintel are four reliefs. The second represents two cocks carrying a supposedly dead fox on a litter. In the fourth the fox comes to life and eats the hens.[162] The first, very classic in feeling, depicts a Cupid riding a sea-horse with the tail of a fish; the third represents two cranes warring upon a serpent. The rinceau of the outer face of the jamb has for the most part purely decorative figures (two sphinxes, two cowled figures, birds and animals), but two scenes show, the one the stork dining with the fox on a shallow plate, the other the fox dining with the stork out of a narrow-necked jar.[163] At the bottom, however, is a strange figure of a bearded man, dancing, and supplied with this still stranger inscription: . . . . . S MICHI FERT EI VIVIANTES. On the inner face of the jambs are depicted the months of the year. January—IAN—covered with a hood, is engaged in sharpening his hatchet; February—FEB[ER]—who is wrapped in a sheepskin, warms his feet and hands at a fire; March—MAR—prunes the vines; April—APRL—stands between two shrubs and holds in his hand two flowers; May—MAI—leads forth a horse; June—IVN—mows the grass; July—IVL—reaps the harvest; August—AVG—threshes; September—SEBTBR—treads the grapes; October—OCTB[E]R—holds a funnel for pouring wine into a cask; November—NOVB[ER]—sows; December—DECB[ER]—hews wood.

[161] Or does he fall from his horse wounded?

[162] Although it may be that this is rather the crane drawing a bone from the fox's throat.

[163] In one scene a bird and an animal seem to be having a sort of cock-fight. In another the bird (now broken away) is up in a tree, an animal below.

In studying the Porta della Pescheria it is necessary to remember the vicissitudes through which the Lombard porch has passed. The Este monument of 1820 was placed in the second story of an androne constructed outside the north wall of the church. The Lombard porch was transferred to the exterior face of the passage-way or androne which was placed beneath this monument. The porch in this position is shown in the old photograph reproduced in Plate 141, Fig. 1. In the recent restoration the Este monument was removed, the androne torn down, and the Lombard porch placed outside of the adjoining portal. It is, however, by no means certain that the vestibule which the restorers destroyed was entirely modern, or that the Lombard porch originally preceded the Porta della Pescheria. The lions of this porch are not mates, although they both hold rams.

The reliefs coming from the Lombard ambo represent the following subjects: (1) The winged bull of St. Luke—SCS LVCAS, and the eagle of St. John—SCS IOHANES. (2) The lion of St. Mark—SCS MARCVS—and the angel of St. Matthew—S. MATHEUS. (3) St. Augustine with a dove and St. Gregory with an angel—SCS AGVSTIN' ET S. GREGORI' DOCTORES. (4) St. Jerome—S IERONIMVS—inspired by an angel, and St. Ambrose—SCS AMBROSIVS—by a dove. (5) Christ seated on a throne between A and O—NON LVCE CERNIS TAM HICN [*sic* = hinc] LVX METE REFVLGET. (6) Christ returning from Gethsemane finds the two apostles, Peter, who is bearded, and John, who is not, asleep. Christ bears a scroll in his hand, with the inscription: ✠ SIMON DORMIS; N POTUISTI: UNA HORA UIGILARE MECUM.[164] There are distinct traces of colour still visible in this relief. The style of these sculptures is advanced, and the borders are characterized by classic balustrades and bead-mouldings. The undercutting is deep, and the execution excellent. Far more naturalistic in style are the reliefs of the second series, which come, perhaps, from the choir balustrade. They include: (1) Christ washing the feet of the apostles. This plaque is much mutilated. [MAN]DATUM'.[165] (2) The Last Supper, in which the figures are all labelled and disposed in the following order, reading from left to right: Thomas—THOMAS; Bartholomew—BARTHOLOMS; Thaddeus—THADEVS; James the Less—IACOBUS; Judas—IUDAS. with halo, to whom Christ gives the sop; St. John the Evangelist—IOHS EVG; Christ Himself—YC XC; Peter—PETRUS; Andrew—ANDREAS; James the Greater—IACOBUS; Philip—PHILIPPVS; Matthew—MATHEVS; Simon—SYMON. (3) Judas, without halo, kisses Christ—XPC A IUDA TRADITVR. IUDEIS., and Peter cuts off the ear of Malchus—PETR' ABSIDIT AVRE MALCHO. (4) Christ—XPC—before Pilate—PILATUS, and the flagellation. (5) Simon—SYMON

[164] Matth., xxvi, 40.

[165] Cf. Joan., xiii, 34, and Bertoni, *Atlante*, II, XIII.

CIRENEUS, bearing the cross, accompanied by a blacksmith—FABER, with hammer and nails. (6) Peter—PETR'—warms his hands at the fire—IGNIS, and denies Christ to the ANCILLA, while an exaggerated cock—GALLUS—crows lustily. (7) IUDAS—still with halo—receives the thirty pieces of silver from Caiaphas—CAYPHAS, while a chamberlain—CAMERARI'—sits by holding a large purse. These reliefs are all coloured and characterized by extreme realism of treatment. Only occasionally are the figures distinguished by attributes. Peter, it is true, has keys, James the Greater a turban, Thomas a curious head-dress, and all the holy personages, including even Judas (except in the scene of the betrayal), halos of which Christ's alone is inscribed. Most of the apostles, however, are without distinguishing characterization, and the sculptures are entirely free from symbolism. In the relief of the Last Supper, the fish, bread and wine cups are executed with a realism which seems Dutch, rather than Italian. These sculptures are all the work of an imitator of Benedetto, who was strongly influenced by the campanile sculptures.

The sculptures of the pulpit offer an interesting iconographic study, but they fall without the limits of this book, since they are works of the XIV century. Nor is this the place to describe the exquisite reliefs in the exterior of the south wall, depicting scenes from the life of S. Geminiano, and executed by Agostino di Duccio.

On the campanile are interesting sculptures representing the Dance of David. David is seated, crowned and playing the harp. On the south-east angle is a young man, beardless, dancing, lifting up his skirts so as to show his bare legs, precisely as in the capital already described. On the west face is a woman with a crown or band on her head, dancing and holding a flower. On the south face is a bearded man taking the hands of a woman and dancing, precisely as in the capital. On the east face is a warrior on foot. On the north face is a person playing a trumpet and another person holding in his hands what I think must have been a flute, although it is so broken it is difficult to say. These figures are so similar to those of the capital of the campanile that they must undoubtedly be by the same hand. On the west face is a figure of a man astride a lion. Being placed near the Dance, this figure may possibly here signify David, although similar figures usually depict Samson.

The walls of the church were doubtless once entirely covered with frescos. Of these only some fragments are still extant on the north side of the exterior arcade. They were discovered during the recent restoration, and are undoubted originals of the XII century. It is notable that these frescos include pure ornament, as well as figure subjects. The XIV century fresco discovered somewhat below this was ruthlessly destroyed by the restorers, and only some poor fragments are now preserved in the Museo Archeologico.

V. The fragments of Carlovingian carving found in and about the church, it has been seen, date from c. 775. The remains of the pre-existing cathedral recently discovered under the nave show piers analogous to those of Stradella, c. 1035, and other edifices of the second quarter of the XI century. This building may consequently be ascribed to c. 1035. Between 1099 and 1106 were erected, of the existing cathedral, the crypt and also part of the façade, with its sculptures, and the Porta della Pescheria, but the crypt and the Porta della Pescheria were subsequently very materially altered. The Porta dei Principi, later in style than the works of Guglielmo, appears to be about contemporary with the earliest works of Nicolò and, since it shows no sign of the influence of that master, may be ascribed to c. 1120. The construction of the nave doubtless proceeded slowly from 1106 onwards. The church was presumably substantially finished in 1167, when the campanile was begun. At the consecration of 1184 the church, as well as the campanile, was entirely completed, although the campanile was frequently altered in later times, and the church itself was also radically changed. In the early years of the XIII century the Porta Regia was erected, and the rose-window of the central façade is contemporary. From the inscription of the lectern it is certain that the ambo, of which there are four columns extant in the crypt, and the reliefs in the choir walls were executed between 1208 and 1225. Slightly before the ambo the alterations of the crypt were doubtless executed. As has been seen, there is abundant contemporary evidence that alterations and additions to the church were made constantly during the XIII and XIV centuries. Traces of these alterations are clearly to be seen in the building itself, but the long task of interpreting the stones by means of the texts must be left to specialists in the Italian Gothic style. The same must be said of the campanile, which was finished in 1219, struck by lightning in 1347, again damaged in 1354, and was in restoration in 1424, 1438, 1478, 1490, 1522, 1530, 1547 and 1587. In 1322 the pulpit was erected, and in 1338 the arch connecting the church and the campanile was built. In the first half of the XV century the nave was vaulted.

MONASTERO DI CAPO DI PONTE,[1] S. SALVATORE

(Plate 146, Fig. 1, 2)

I. Seven excellent half-tones and a brief description of the edifice were published by Canevali. One of the photographs was reprinted in Nebbia's review of this work.

II. The Cluniac priory of Monastero di Capo di Ponte was founded before 1095, since it was confirmed among other possessions to the abbey

[1] (Brescia).

of Cluny, by Urban II, in that year.[2] In the time of Faino, who wrote in 1658, the monastery had been suppressed, and the church depended upon the archdeacon of Brescia.[3]

III. This interesting Cluniac church is extraordinarily well preserved (Plate 146, Fig. 2), except that the interior (Plate 146, Fig. 1) has been covered with a heavy coating of whitewash. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 146, Fig. 1) three bays long, two side aisles, non-projecting transepts (Plate 146, Fig. 2), a choir of a single bay originally flanked by side aisles (which are now walled off), and three apses (Plate 146, Fig. 2). Over the crossing rises a cloistered vault, supported on arched squinches (Plate 146, Fig. 1) and this is surmounted externally by an octagonal tower (Plate 146, Fig. 2).

The church is at present entirely vaulted, but the groin vaults of the nave were erected in the barocco period, to replace the original timber roof. A proof that originally the nave was not vaulted is to be found in the lack of exterior buttresses to the clearstory, and in the placing of the clearstory windows (Plate 146, Fig. 2). The side aisles have crude groin vaults, of which the much loaded wall ribs and the groins disappear (except in the eastern bays, where a support is provided for them), while the transverse arches rest on the capitals of the main piers on one side, and are continued to the ground as side-aisle responds on the other side. These vaults are not domed. The groins are depressed, the transverse arches semicircular, the wall and main-arcade arches loaded. The vaults of the transept are of similar character, except that there are no wall ribs and some of the groins are continued to the ground. The choir has a groin vault (Plate 146, Fig. 1) rebuilt in the barocco period. It is very oblong in plan, all four ribs are continued to the ground, and are loaded. The groins are much depressed. The side aisles of the choir are covered with groin vaults, like all the others undomed, and without wall ribs. It is noticeable that in several of the side-aisle vaults, the wall ribs have been broken away in part, without in the least affecting the stability of the vaults themselves. The western bay of the northern side aisle, much narrower than the others, is covered by a barrel vault. This irregularity in plan is doubtless due to the exigences of the site.

It was evidently the intention of the builders to erect a fore-court or narthex before the western façade. Traces of this and of the amortizements of the vaults with which it was to be covered (Plate 146, Fig. 2) still exist.

The exterior walls are reinforced by salient buttresses in the side aisles and transepts (Plate 146, Fig. 2).

The supports of the nave consist of cylindrical or octagonal shafts. The

[2] . . . monasterium . . . Sancti Salvatoris de Valle-Camonicha. (Tomassetti, II, 158).

[3] Ecclesia S. Saluatoris, Monasterium nuncupata, de iure Archidiaconatus Brixiæ. (Faino, 200).

piers of the tower, on the other hand, are compound, and consist of simple rectangular members, except that the respond of the main arcade is a half column (Plate 146, Fig. 1). The transepts open upon the nave by means of an arch no higher than the main arcade, surmounted by a window (Plate 146, Fig. 1). The widely splayed and narrow windows have arcuated lintels. In the choir the clearstory consists of oculi, and other windows have the form of a Greek cross (Plate 146, Fig. 2).

The masonry consists of a rather rough ashlar (Plate 146, Fig. 2). Squared stones of irregular sizes are roughly laid in courses, the horizontal lines of which are often broken. There are numerous scaffolding holes. The mortar-beds are of moderate thickness. The clearstory on the southern side has been rebuilt.

IV. The capitals are decorated with grotesques (eagles, two animals with a single head, sirens, etc.) or with conventional ornament (scroll-patterns or simple acanthus leaves very classic in character). The central portal is in three orders and moulded. The imposts are adorned with anthemia, grotesques and ornament which recalls S. Ambrogio. The side-aisle walls have no cornice. The clearstory has a simple cavea moulding; the transepts, choir, nave and side aisles, flat corbel-tables (Plate 146, Fig. 2). The three apses have round arched corbel-tables, grouped two and two by shafts which rest on a podium (Plate 146, Fig. 2). These shafts have capitals that are cubic, carved with eagles, with cut-out angles, or with broad leaves.

The bifora of the central tower and façade are particularly graceful.

The southern absidiole retains clear traces of the original frescos in conventional patterns, with which it was ornamented externally. The white-wash of the interior covers figure frescos, traces of which are visible in many places.

V. The masonry of Monastero di Capo di Ponte is closely analogous to that of S. Benedetto di Lenno (Plate 102, Fig. 5), a surely dated monument of 1083. The use of flat corbel-tables and of a cavea moulding at Monastero di Capo di Ponte, although undoubtedly due to French influence, perhaps indicates that the latter edifice is somewhat later. We may, therefore, ascribe it to c. 1090.

MONASTERO DI PROVAGLIO,[1] S. PIETRO IN IAMOSA

(Plate 147, Fig. 1)

I. This Cluniac priory has never been published.

II. In the year 1083 Ambrogio and Oprando gave to the monastery of St.-Pierre at Cluny a church consecrated in honour of S. Pietro, and situated

[1] (Brescia).

at Provaglio, on condition that the church which was there to be built should always remain under the dominion of the abbey of Cluny.[2] The document seems somewhat contradictory in that in one place it speaks of the church as already built, whereas in another it states that it is *hedificanda*, or to be built. The explanation probably is, that a church already existed on the site, which it was the intention of the donors to rebuild, in connection with the foundation of the new priory.

The *monasterio . . . sancti Petri de Provallo* is included among the various possessions confirmed to the abbey of Cluny by Urban II in 1095,[3] but it is not mentioned in the similar bull of the same pope of 1088.[4]

The anniversary of the consecration of the edifice is celebrated on the first Sunday in September, but there are extant no documents to show in what year the dedication first took place.

In 1125 the monastery was again confirmed to Cluny by Honorius II.[5] In 1456 the edifice was adorned with frescos which still exist, as we learn from the painted inscription in the second bay from the east of the northern side aisle:

M . CCCC . lvj . die . p . (= prima) octob'.
hoc opus fecit fieri . in remedium anime sue .
et vxoris eius . strenuus vir alixandrin' de
piligrinis de matinego . ciuis brx̄ (= Brixiae) . et
pater venerabilis dn̄i dom Johīs ordis cluniacēn
p̂ior hui' monasterii . laus deo .

Another fresco of the church bears the date 1514. In 1536 the priory was united with S. Giovanni of Brescia, which was officiated by canons regular of the order of S. Salvatore. In 1548 a parish was erected in the church. All this is related by an inscription in the southern wall of the choir.[6]

In 1658 the church was described by Faino as still united with S. Giovanni of Brescia.[7] Since the French Revolution the church has been in the possession of the Bergomi family.

[2] Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo octoagesimo tertio, mense decembri, inditione sexta. Monasterium ęcclesie Sancti Petri quod est constructum in loco Cluniaco, nos quoque Ambrosius, filius quondam Teobaldi, et Opprandus, filius quondam Alberti de loco Tocingo, professi sumus nos ambo ex natione nostra lege vivere Longobarda. . . . Ideoque nos qui supra, scilicet Ambrosius et Opprandus, donamus et offerimus Deo in eodem monasterio Sancti Petri nominative ęcclesiam unam, quę est in loco qui dicitur Provallio, et est consecrata in honore sancti Petri, cum omnibus rebus pertinentibus eidem ęcclesie jure propritario . . . pro remedio animarum nostrarum et earum quę ibi sepulte sunt vel sepeliende erunt. . . . Tali itaque tenore ut nullus abbas de predicto monasterio Cluniacensi, qui nunc est vel pro tempore fuerit, neque aliqua prefate ecclesię habeat virtutem et potestatem predictam ęcclesiam, quę est hedificanda in jam nominato loco Provallio, submittere in alterius regimine ullo modo, sed semper maneat sub constitutione suprascripti cœnobii Cluniacensis. . . . (Bernard, IV, 763).

[3] Tomassetti, II, 158. [4] *Ibid.*, 121. [5] Tomassetti, II, 352.

III. The edifice consists of a nave four bays long, a choir terminating in an apse and flanked by two rectangular absidioles, and the southern campanile (Plate 147, Fig. 1). The nave, of which the wooden roof is supported on great transverse arches, is Gothic in style, as are the western bays of the side aisle. The choir is of the Renaissance. Only the two eastern bays of the northern side aisle (Plate 147, Fig. 1) date from the Romanesque period. A fragment of the old Romanesque central apse, still preserved, makes it evident that the original church possessed a single apse and was considerably narrower than the existing edifice.

It is evident that the Romanesque apse was not contemporary with the eastern bays of the northern side aisle, but is earlier. The masonry is much cruder, and is awkwardly joined to that of the side aisles. The addition of the northern side aisle, therefore, represents the first enlargement of the original church, which was in all probability of a single aisle. The nave and southern side aisle of the three-aisled church thus constructed was in turn destroyed to make way for the present nave. The third bay from the east of the northern side aisle seems to be contemporary with the nave, but the western bay is much later.

The two eastern bays of the side aisle are covered with undomed groin vaults. There are visible distinct traces of a solid board centering. The transverse and wall ribs are somewhat loaded.

6 PRIORATVS HVIVS ECCL. S. PETRI. VNITVS
FVIT PRÆPOSITVRÆ DIVI IOANNIS DE
BRIX. CONGRE. CANON. REGVL. S. SAL.
PER CESSVM R[EVERENDISSI]MI. D. D. ALEX. CARD.
CÆSARINI EIVSDEM CONGRE. PROTECT.
PROCVRANTE. R. P. F. INNOCENTIO CASARIO
NOBILI BRIX. TVNC SVE RELIGIO. QVARTO
GENERALATVS DIGNITATE FVNGENTE ET
IOANNE EIVS FRATRE PRÆPOSITO ANNO
INCAR. VERBI. M. D. XXXVI. PAVLO TERTIO
PONT. MAX. ANDREA GRITI DVCE VENETO
AB EODEM ETIAM. R. INNOCENTIO VNITA
FVIT VICARIA PRIORATVI. PER CESSIONEM. R.
. D. MARCI ANTONII. DE PAVARIS. TVNC
PRÆPOSITO. S. IOANNIS. R. P. F. CONSTANTINO
BRIX. M. D. XLVIII. PAVLO TERTIO PONT
MAX. ET FRANCISCO DONATO VENETO
DVCE

7 Ecclesia Proualei de Isæo quae S. Petrum Apostolum in euis titularem colit, quatuor habens Altaria, est Rectoria Parochialis vnita Monasterio S. Ioannis Canonicorum Regularium S. Saluatoris Brixiæ, quam in Matrem agnoscunt. (Faino, 250).

The supports, without capitals or bases, possess a rectangular spur for each member of the vaulting. The exterior is without buttresses (Plate 147, Fig. 1). The small windows—which were widely splayed and intended to serve without glass—had arcuated lintels, some of which, like those of Fontanella, are jointed in the centre of the arch.

The masonry consists of fine ashlar. Well squared blocks of stone are laid in courses generally very horizontal, but often broken. The mortar-beds are of moderate thickness. A study of the masonry makes it evident that the church was originally only two bays long, since in the exterior wall on the north side, traces of the finished west wall and of a raised gable like that of the east wall are still clearly evident where the third bay adjoins the second. The campanile is constructed of masonry similar to that of the northern side aisle, except that parts of the belfry and the cone in brick (Plate 147, Fig. 1) are evidently due to a restoration of a later epoch.

IV. The cornice of the flank of the eastern bays of the northern side aisle consists of a simple cavea. It is evident that the wall has been raised in a subsequent restoration, and it is altogether probable that originally the roof tiles were laid directly on the extrados of the vault. The northern side aisle terminated originally to the eastward in a gable slightly raised above the line of the roof. Clear traces of this are still extant (Plate 147, Fig. 1).

The apse still preserves in part its pilaster strips. The campanile is adorned with pilaster strips on the angles and with arched corbel-tables (Plate 147, Fig. 1).

In the interior are preserved notable remains of frescos of the Quattro- and Cinquecento.

V. Of the church built in 1083, there remains nothing except the fragments in the apse. This edifice was enlarged in the XII century by the addition of side aisles and a campanile. Of the new portions then erected, there are extant the two eastern bays of the northern side aisle, and the campanile. The masonry of these portions of the edifice is very analogous to that of those portions of Fontanella al Monte (Plate 93, Fig. 3) which were erected c. 1130. They may consequently be ascribed to this time. The remainder of the edifice was rebuilt in the Gothic and Renaissance periods.

MONCHIO,[1] S. GIULIA

I. This church, so far as I know, has never been published.

II. According to the local tradition, the church of S. Giulia was burned

[1] Frazione di Montefiorino (Modena). The chapel is three quarters of an hour's climb up the mountain from Monchio, and an hour and a half from the nearest carriage-road.

by Barbarossa, but this is exceedingly improbable. In the house of the hermit which adjoins the church, is the following inscription:

D. DOM. LOBIA . AR
CIPTE DI S. GIVLIA . RE
STAVRO QTO ALTRE LANO
1654.

It is therefore evident that in 1654 there was an archpriest, and it is consequently possible that the church at one time was a pieve and possessed a chapter of canons. It is at present officiated by a hermit.

It is evident that the edifice has been much restored. The date 1870 inscribed over the western arch on the northern side, probably indicates the epoch at which the edifice was vaulted and a new façade erected. In more recent times, the apse was repaired externally in a pseudo-Lombard style.

III. The church consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, a choir and an apse. Originally the nave was a bay longer than it is at present, and the side aisles terminated in two absidioles. Of these the northern is still extant, although walled off from the church.

The interior is entirely covered with intonaco. The side-aisle walls have been rebuilt, but the masonry of the apse is still original, and is formed of well squared blocks, laid in horizontal courses, separated by mortar-beds of moderate thickness. The widely splayed windows were intended to serve without glass.

The supports are cylindrical.

IV. The capitals have a low bell, almost as low as the abacus, and are carved with continuous anthemia of a type that recalls the capitals of Rubbiano. The bases, with griffes, are very high, and have many crude mouldings. In certain cases they almost resemble inverted capitals. The archivolts are of a single unmoulded order.

V. The style of the capitals and of the masonry of the apse shows that the ancient portions of S. Giulia must have been erected c. 1100.

MONGRANDO,[1] S. MARIA DEL CASTELLO

I. To the extent of my knowledge, this church has never been published.

II. The *Capella castri de Mongrando* is mentioned in an eleneo of the churches of the diocese of Vercelli, of 1440.[2]

III. This ruined edifice consists of a nave of a single aisle and an apse. It was originally covered with a barrel vault, the courses of which were

[1] (Novara). [2] Ed. Orsenigo, 406.

disposed in herring-bone fashion. Above were other apartments of the castle. The masonry consists of orderless rubble.

IV. The apse was originally adorned with pilaster strips, but the upper portions have been rebuilt in later times.

V. The masonry is entirely similar to that of the churches of Castel Seprio, which date from c. 1070. Our edifice may, consequently, be ascribed to about the same time.

MONTAFIA,[1] S. MARTINO AL CIMITERO

(Plate 147, Fig. 3)

I. The apse of S. Martino has been illustrated by Venturi.[2]

II. The castle of Montafia is mentioned in a document of 1191.[3]

III. The edifice consists of a modern nave of a single aisle (the western part of which has been walled off), and a Romanesque apse (Plate 147, Fig. 3). Part of the foundations of the northern side wall are also Romanesque. The masonry of the ancient portion of the edifice is polychromatic (Plate 147, Fig. 3). There is banding in red and white, and a red and white triangle motive, inlaid in the masonry, runs around the apse some distance below the windows. The small, well cut blocks of stone, and the regular bricks, are nicely laid in horizontal courses, but the mortar-beds are wide (Plate 147, Fig. 3).

IV. The apse is adorned with a cornice of simple arched corbel-tables, carried on shafts (Plate 147, Fig. 3). Grotesques are carved under the corbel-tables (Plate 147, Fig. 3), and there are quadruple billets above (Plate 147, Fig. 3). The apse windows are in three unmoulded orders, and are adorned with carved interlaces and string-patterns (Plate 147, Fig. 3).

V. The apse of Montafia (Plate 147, Fig. 3) presents close analogies with that at Cortazzone d'Asti (Plate 82, Fig. 4) in the quality of the masonry, in the billet cornices, in the grotesques introduced under the arched corbel-tables, in the shafts of the apse, in the carved patterns introduced about the windows, and in the triangular pattern inlaid in the masonry. Cortazzone dates from c. 1150. Montafia may consequently be ascribed to about the same time.

[1] The church of S. Martino lies about a kilometre to the west of the town of Montafia (pronounced Montafía), province of Alessandria.

[2] III, 9. [3] Ed. Sella, No. 784, III, 866.

MONTECCHIA DI CROSARA,[1] S. SALVATORE DI CASTELLO

(Plate 147, Fig. 2)

I. The church of S. Salvatore is situated in the Castello of Montecchia at some little distance from the commune. This interesting edifice is described in the guide of Simeoni[2] and has been the object of an excellent monograph by Salvaro.

II. In the north wall of the church, under the portico, is a broken inscription of 1115, recording a gift made to the church by the count Uberto Maltraversi.[3]

The Maltraversi family continued to be patrons and benefactors of the church. In the year 1400 Maltraverso dei Maltraversi caused frescos (which still exist) to be executed in the family chapel.[4]

In 1852 the church was modernized.[5]

III. The nave, the exterior walls, the campanile and the vaults of the crypt have all been remade in modern times. The crypt, however, still preserves four ancient columns, two with Ionic and two with Corinthian capitals, all pilfered Roman. The three apses of the upper church are somewhat better preserved. The southern one is ornamented internally with fine frescos of the year 1400, referred to above. The exterior of the northern absidiole (Plate 147, Fig. 2) is still well preserved. The masonry consists

[1] (Verona). Pronounced Montecchía.

[2] 394.

[3] . . . . . CIO EGO Q[VI]DE VBT COM OMIB: XPI F[I]DELIB: PSENTIB: SCILICET ET FVTV
. . . . . RE ET REMEDIV ANIME MEE DIMITTO IN HANC ECCL[ESI]A DNI SALVATORIS
. . . . . RIB: FRVCTIFERIS PRATIS CAPIS ARATORIIS VT OMS PBRI IBIDE SERVI
. . . . . HABERE DEBEAT ET OLEV AD I[L]LVMINACIONE ECLAE ID IN ODRONIA
. . . . . MONTEGLEDA QVANTV DE CONQVESTV HABEO ET DE IPSO BROILO
. . . . . SFERNIT ET DVOS DIE . . . . . DETR ARATORIA HOC E. IN DODOLICIO
. . . . . TA TRAS . . . . .
. . . . . NOM. CO . . . . .
. . . . . P DIV . . . . .
This inscription was first published by Simeoni, *Iscrizioni*, 7.

[4] Salvaro, 71-73. [5] *Ibid.*, 65.

of unhewn stones (Plate 147, Fig. 2) nearly square, nevertheless, and fitted together with a certain amount of care, so as to lie in courses which approximate the horizontal. The upper part of the central apse has been destroyed. It is evident that it was made over at a later epoch, perhaps when the campanile was built. At this period a new pointed half dome was erected. A fragment of wall to the west of the absidiole seems to show that the original church had transepts.

IV. The exterior of the north absidiole is decorated with large arched corbel-tables grouped two and two (Plate 147, Fig. 2). The lower part of the central apse still retains pilaster strips which show that it originally was decorated with exactly similar corbel-tables.

V. The corbel-tables of the apse are identical in character with those of Bagnacavallo (Plate 18, Fig. 5), a monument of c. 1000. Since the character of the masonry also accords well with this date, the remains of ancient architecture in the church of Montecchia may be ascribed to this epoch.

MONTECHIARO D'ASTI,[1] S. NAZARIO

(Plate 148, Fig. 3)

I. S. Nazario of Montechiaro d'Asti is included in the catalogue of ancient monuments published by the Italian Minister of Public Instruction and in the preparatory study for the same printed in the 'Acts' of the Archæological Society of Turin. In the 'Geography' of Strafforello may be found crude drawings of the edifice. The building has been declared a national monument and is carefully guarded against injury by the appointed *custode*.

II. Of the history of this edifice nothing is known.

III. The chapel (Plate 148, Fig. 3) consists of a single-aisled nave, a semicircular apse and a campanile which rises to the north-west of the façade. The nave is at present covered with a barrel vault, but this appears to have been added in the barocco period when the entire interior was covered with stucco and the imposts of the beautiful portal (Plate 148, Fig. 3) barbarously mutilated. The arch of this portal has a slightly horseshoe form (Plate 148, Fig. 3). The campanile consists of four stories, the upper two of which were lighted by bifora, the third by simple windows (Plate 148, Fig. 3). This campanile contains no vaults.

The chapel is one of the most perfect examples of polychromatic masonry extant in all Piemonte (Plate 148, Fig. 3). Closely fitted but rather irregular

[1] The little chapel of S. Nazario is situated in the vineyards about two and a half kilometres to the north of the commune, Provincia di Alessandria.

blocks of ashlar are relieved by bands of well made and skilfully laid bricks. Above the archivolt of the principal portal is a sort of a zigzag ornament formed of bricks inlaid on stone (Plate 148, Fig. 3), and in the campanile are numerous bits of checker-board work in brick and stone (Plate 148, Fig. 3).

A curious feature of the campanile is the fact that all four walls lean slightly inward, so that the structure has the form of a truncated pyramid (Plate 148, Fig. 3).

IV. The decoration of the campanile consists of single and double arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips (Plate 148, Fig. 3). The façade cornice is also formed of single and double arched corbel-tables supported either on pilaster strips or on shafts (Plate 148, Fig. 3). The north wall has flat corbel-tables, the south wall arched corbel-tables. The principal portal (Plate 148, Fig. 3) is richly moulded and ornamented with rinceaux and a grotesque capital. A curious ornament of uncarved leaves surmounts the corbel-table of the façade.

V. The chapel of Montechiaro is the most perfect example of polychromatic masonry of the Lombard period extant. The dull red bricks and the gray stone, softened by time, produce an effect of ravishing charm, and harmonize in the most striking manner with the lovely country-side in which the church is placed. The Lombard builders did not acquire such mastery of polychromatic masonry before the second quarter of the XII century. The flat corbel-tables also indicate a date at least as late as this. On the other hand the ornament is more dignified, more restrained and less extravagant than that of S. Secundo of Cortazzone d'Asti (Plate 82, Fig. 4)—c. 1150. The capitals and rinceaux recall those erected in Lombardy in the XI century, and prove how long the early Romanesque forms lingered on in country districts. In this Montechiaro recalls the Badia of Cavagnolo (Plate 51, Fig. 4), an edifice with which, indeed, it presents in other ways also close analogy. It may consequently be assigned to about the same time, c. 1140.

MONTECHIARUGOLO,[1] S. FELICOLA

(Plate 148, Fig. 1, 2)

I. This monument has never been published. In the Museo Civico di Belle Arti at Turin, there is a water-colour drawing of the cloister, made by Cav. G. B. Degubernatis (1773-1837). The west gallery is shown much as it is to-day. The north gallery, which has now entirely disappeared, was then still intact, except that some few of the coupled columns had lost one

[1] The desecrated ruins of S. Felicola lie to the south of Montechiarugolo (Parma), in the *frazione* sometimes known as Romolano.

of their shafts. On the south side there was not a gallery, but a series of arcades, apparently of the Renaissance. At the time the drawing was made the establishment was perhaps still inhabited by a religious order, since two monks or canons are shown in the cloister. The sketch bears the label: *Du^to di Parma. Chiostro di Sa^ta Fenicola. Antico Monastero di Canonici Regolari di Sta Maria di Reno. Romolano presso Montechiarugolo.*

II. In 924 the church of S. Felicola was a simple oratory dependent upon the cathedral chapter of Parma. This is evident from a document of that year, in which a certain Gotefredo is invested with the church by Azzo, prevosto of Parma.[2]

About the year 983, the body of S. Felicola was translated by the bishop Sigefredo into the church of S. Paolo at Parma. This fact is known from the life of S. Simeone, which mentions incidentally that S. Simeone happened to be present at that translation.[3]

About 1145, a chapter of canons regular of the order of St. Augustine, brought from S. Maria of Reno,[4] was established in the church. There is extant no document which determines precisely the year in which the new clergy took possession, but there exists a bull of Hadrian IV of 1158, in which that pontiff takes the church under his protection, following the example of his predecessor, Eugenius III (1145-1153). The bull also confirms various possessions which had been given to the church by Gerardo, abbot of S. Giovanni of Parma.[5]

[2] In nomine Domini Dei Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Rodulfus gratia Dei Rex anno Regni ejus. . . . Kalen. Aprilis Indictione XII. Placuit adque convenit inter cum Azone Diacono & Preposito Canonice & Xenodochio Parmense qui una per consensum & auctoritatem fratrum suorum ipsius Canonice & inter Gotefredus filius quondam Adelberti ut in Dei nomine dare deberet sicut & dedit ipse Azo Prepositus eidem Gotefredi vel ad ipsius hered. libellario nomine casa & Oratorium unum qui est in honore sancte Felicule cum casis et omnibus rebus illis quibus positi sunt in loco & fundo Romulano. . . . Qui autem Oratorium & terra . . . eidem Gotefredi . . . libellario nomine tradavit dat modo usque ad annos vigintinovem in eo tenore ut ibidem in ipsum Oratorium Missas & Orationes atque luminaria & incensum fieri faciat juxta qualitatem temporis. . . . (Affò, I, 331).

[3] Per idem quoque tempus inde [Borgo S. Donnino] digrediens, dum civitatem Parmam attingeret, [et] ejusdem urbis episcopus, Sigefredus nomine, beatæ Feliculæ [virginis] corpus a loco, in quo quiescebat, gloriosa celebritate transferens, in ecclesia sancti Pauli apostoli decentissime conderet; Dei nutu contigit, beatum Simeonem eidem translationi interesse. (*Vita S. Simeonis Monachi et Eremitae*, Cap. VI. Ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, 26 Julii, VI, 333).

[4] Affò, II, 188-189.

[5] Adrianus Episcopus servus servorum Dei. Dilectis filiis Gerardo Priori Ecclesie S. Felicule ejusq. fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris canonicam vitam profitentibus in perpetuum. . . . Ea propter dilecti in Domino filii vestris justis postulationibus clementer annuimus, & prefatam Ecclesiam in qua divino mancipati estis obsequio ad exemplar predecessoris nostri sancte recordationis Eugenii PP. sub B. Petri & nostra protectione suscipimus. . . . Ecclesiam S. Michaelis de Castiliculo, Ecclesiam S. Jacobi

The church is mentioned in an investiture of 1169.[6] In 1172 Gerardo, who had been prior of S. Felicola,[7] is mentioned as prior of S. Maria of Reno.[8] It is notable that both at Montechiarugolo and Reno the head of the chapter is consistently entitled in the documents *prior* not *prepositus*.

In the XV century, the church was given in commendam, and in 1460[9] passed into the possession of Lateran canons. It subsequently was placed under the jurisdiction of the hospital of Parma.[10]

III. Of the ancient ecclesiastical establishment there remains only one gallery of the cloister (Plate 148, Fig. 1), and the church. The latter has been divided into two stories, and in other ways severely damaged. It consisted originally of a nave of a single aisle, a rectangular choir, and the chapel to the north of the choir.

The nave had a wooden roof, but the choir, under the tower, still preserves its ancient rib vault (Plate 148, Fig. 2). This is oblong in plan, and is much domed, especially in the transverse sense. There are no wall ribs. The diagonals, of rectangular profile, 32 centimetres wide, at present disappear in the modernized wall (Plate 148, Fig. 2), and the supports can not be inspected except in the north-east wall where there seems to be a corbel set normal to the diagonal. The masonry is entirely covered with plaster, so that it can not be studied.

The nave had widely splayed, simple windows, placed high up. The masonry of the walls is peculiar. It consists for the most part of small, square blocks, like those characteristic of the churches of Como, but in spots alternate layers of enormous Lombard bricks are introduced, and the exterior of the choir, in its upper part, is entirely constructed of such bricks, which are laid in horizontal courses, separated by wide beds of mortar. Some of these bricks are nearly a metre in length. The brickwork of the cloister, on the other hand (Plate 148, Fig. 1), is of entirely different character. The bricks, of light yellow colour, are incised with parallel diagonal lines, and are laid in horizontal courses, separated by wide mortar-beds.

IV. The imposts of the apse arch (Plate 148, Fig. 2) are carved with foliage, an eagle, grotesques, and string-patterns, all admirably executed, but the design is somewhat stringy and weak.

sicut Gerardus Abbas S. Johannis eam vobis noscitur concessisse. . . . Statuentes quoq. ut ordo canonicus, qui secundum Deum & B. Augustini Regulam in eodem loco noscitur constitutus, perpetuus ibidem inviolabiliter observetur. . . . Dat. Laterani . . . VIII. Kalend. Maii Indictione VII. [*sic*] Incarnationis Dominice MCLVIII. Pontificatus vero DD. Adriani Pape IV. Anno IV. (Affò, II, 369).

[6] *Ibid.*, 370.

[7] According to Affò, II, 188, Gerardo had previously been *sagrista* of S. Maria of Reno.

[8] Affò, I, 256. [9] Affò, II, 190. [10] Molossi, 226.

MONTEFIASCONE, S. FLAVIANO

The capitals of the cloister (Plate 148, Fig. 1) are for the most part ornamented with crockets, and are frankly Gothic in style. The finely moulded archivolts (Plate 148, Fig. 1) are supported on coupled columns, except in the central opening, on either side of which are placed heavy single columns, as in the cloister of S. Ruffillo. Above the archivolt is a pyramid-flower executed in terra-cotta (Plate 148, Fig. 1).

V. The carving of the imposts of the apse arch (Plate 148, Fig. 2) is analogous in style to the decorative carving of those portions of the cathedral of Parma which were erected between 1130 and 1150. It may be considered certain, therefore, that the church was reconstructed when the chapter of canons regular was established, c. 1145. The cloisters (Plate 148, Fig. 1) are evidently more advanced in style than those of S. Ruffillo (Plate 204, Fig. 1), an authentically dated monument of 1178. They are also more advanced than the cloisters of the Celestines at S. Stefano in Bologna (Plate 25, Fig. 2), which date from c. 1180, or than those of S. Zeno at Verona (Plate 234, Fig. 4), which date from the last quarter of the XII century (notwithstanding the pointed arches introduced at S. Zeno), or even than those of the cathedral of Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 3), which are authentically dated 1187. The cloister of S. Felicola may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1200.

MONTEFIASCONE,[1] S. FLAVIANO

(Plate 149; Plate 150; Plate 151, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. S. Flaviano of Montefiascone has long been well known to archæologists. It was first illustrated in 1823, by Séroux d'Agincourt,[2] who assigned the Romanesque portions of the church to 1032, the Gothic portions to 1262. In 1845 Knight[3] published an engraving of the edifice, the oldest parts of which he assigned to 1032, on the basis of the inscription of the façade that he reproduced. The church was known to Enlart,[4] and also to Mothes.[5] The latter dismissed the edifice with the remark: "Das Ganze hat keinen Werth für die Geschichte der Stilentwickelung." Quite different was the opinion of Rivoira, who revived the thesis of Knight and Séroux d'Agincourt, that the church was an authentically dated monument of 1032. He consequently believed it to be a most important edifice, containing the earliest known example of a rib vault.[6] Salotti and Codini, in their sumptuous monograph on Montefiascone, have dedicated a number of pages and numerous half-tones to the church of S. Flaviano, but in regard to the architecture and its significance have merely followed in the footsteps of Rivoira.

[1] (Roma). [2] III, 36; IV, Plate XXXVI, Fig. 15, 16; Plate LXXII, Fig. 1-3.
[3] I, Plate XXV. [4] 156. [5] I, 386. [6] 259.

The local historian of Montefiascone, De Angelis, has gathered several notices relating to S. Flaviano, to which he devotes much space, republishing Séroux' plan, section and elevation. The work is, however, of comparatively slight value. Some historical notices of value are contained in the work of Cappelletti.[7]

II. The church of S. Maria of Montefiascone *ubi corpus b. Flaviani martyris requiescit* is mentioned in a bull of Leo IV (847-855).[8]

In the west façade of the church is the following inscription in leonine verses: "In the year 1032, as this inscription makes known to all, this temple was rebuilt, and made suitable once again for Christian worship, after it had lain in twofold ruin, caused by old age and fire. Admirable Lando immediately devoted his energies to the construction of the edifice, and at his initiative the lofty structure was erected. May God and our renowned patron saint, Flaviano, in whose honour the people of Montefiascone traced the foundations of this temple, aid Lando in his work. From the foundations be it understood the above-named master constructed all, inspired by God."[9] On the strength of this inscription Commendatore Rivoira has ascribed the Romanesque parts of the building to 1032. The style of the eastern portions of the church, however, as will be seen in the sequel, is of the XII, not the XI, century. The inscription is not in its original position, but is placed on the façade (Plate 151, Fig. 1), which is obviously Gothic in style and hence can not possibly be supposed to be of the XI century. The church erected in 1032 must have been at least in part rebuilt in the XII century, when a new east-end was constructed. The inscription in all probability remained in the XI century west wall. Subsequently, in the Gothic period, the remaining XI century portions of the edifice were rebuilt, but the inscription was

[7] V, 629.

[8] Campanari, II, 103; De Angelis, 92. The chronological notes of this bull are erroneous, since the sixth year of Leo IV (852) corresponds with the fifteenth, not with the fifth, indiction.

[9] ANNIS : M[I]LLIS : CVREGIB' [sic] : ATQ' : TRICENI
BINIS. ADIVTIS. OSTEDIT. PAGIA CVTI'
HIC TEPLV. FCM DENVO : VITVTIB' APTV
STRAGE IACES BINA VETEI. [CON]FLATE RVINA
AD Q[VOD] MIRAD' FVNDAD'. SVBITO LADVS
SE DEDIT. [ET] GTIS. ERIGE' S[V]BLIMIA RATIS
[C]VI DEVS. ADSISTAT SEP Q[VI] TALIB[VS] . INSTAT
ET PAT.' HI SCS. FLAVIAN' NOIE. TANT'
[A]D LAVDE. CVI FVNDAVIT LIMITES. HVI'
TEMPLI GEN' MOTI'FIASCOIS. PA[RIE]TE FOTIS
VIRQ[VE]. MAGRALIS. ITENDE NOIE TAL'
[CON]STRVX TOTV. S[V]BTIL'. CADINE MOTV

preserved and placed in the new façade. Montefiascone does not offer the only example of an old inscription preserved in a reconstructed edifice. The familiar epitaph of Ansperto at S. Ambrogio of Milan misled archæologists for many centuries just as the inscription at Montefiascone has misled modern scholars.

In 1261 the pope, Urban IV, built a pleasure villa at Montefiascone. He gave a throne to the church of S. Flaviano, and consecrated an altar of the church in the year 1262. The latter fact is recorded by an inscription still extant.[10] De Angelis maintains that Urban IV consecrated not only the altar, but the entire church, and cites in support of this opinion a bull of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).[11] In 1369 Urban V raised Montefiascone to the rank of bishopric, establishing the cathedral, not at S. Flaviano, but in its present site. S. Flaviano was baroccoized and whitewashed by the bishop Aldrovandi.[12] About 1883 the church was declared a national monument, and the restoration was begun by clearing the walls in part of their intonaco. Work proceeded slowly, and the renovation of the edifice is still incompleted. In 1896-1897 important frescos came to light.

III. The plan of S. Flaviano (Plate 149) is most peculiar. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 152, Fig. 3) two bays long; two side aisles (Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 2); an interior narthex of two bays, also flanked by side aisles (Plate 149); a polygonal choir of three aisles; three radiating apses, and galleries extending over choir, side aisles and narthex and so developed as to form in fact an upper church (Plate 151, Fig. 3, 4). The edifice is placed on the side of a mountain, so that at the east end the galleries are level with the ground and there is a direct entrance to them. The galleries and the nave are roofed in timber (Plate 151, Fig. 3), but the narthex, side aisles (Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 2) and choir (Plate 152, Fig. 3) have rib vaults frequently trapezoidal or triangular in plan (Plate 149). The two absidioles are really niches hollowed out in the east wall, which is of enormous thickness (Plate 149). The intermediate piers of the nave are columns (Plate 152, Fig. 3), the others compound piers of unsymmetrical and complex section (Plate 149). The responds of the side aisles consist of semi-columns engaged on pilaster strips.

Since the narthex and façade are obviously of the Gothic period, they need not be here described. The rib vaults of the Romanesque portions of the church (Plate 150) are domed and supplied with wall ribs. The wall ribs and transverse arches are all of rectangular section, except the westernmost transverse arch of the northern side aisle (Plate 152, Fig. 1), which is semicircular. The diagonals are also rectangular, except in the westernmost triangular bay of the north side aisle of the choir (Plate 151, Fig. 5), in

[10] This inscription has been published by Cappelletti, V, 630; Salotti e Codini, 31.
[11] De Angelis, 10. [12] De Angelis, 146-147.

which they have a torus section. The responds of the side aisle are supplied with only two members (Plate 150); consequently the diagonal ribs are splayed off and made to disappear as they approach the springing (Plate 150; Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 2). The same process is repeated in the piers of the nave in which diagonal shafts are also lacking (Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 2). The soffits of the vaults are at present covered with intonaco, so that it is difficult to see the masonry, but the construction is doubtless of ashlar, similar to that of the churches of Corneto. The walls of the Romanesque portions of the church are of enormous but exceedingly variable thickness (Plate 149) and on the south side are reinforced by triangular buttresses (Plate 149). The masonry is ashlar of the finest quality, quite similar to that of the XII century churches of Corneto. The upper part of the outside walls was made over in the time of the Renaissance, when the charming western loggia was added to the façade (Plate 151, Fig. 1), but the arcades of the upper part of the church (Plate 151, Fig. 3, 4) are contemporary with the corresponding portions of the lower church.

IV. The capitals of the Romanesque arcade of the upper story (Plate 151, Fig. 4) are obviously earlier than any others in the edifice. They are low and spreading and for the most part adorned with a single leaf in the corners. The type is entirely analogous to that familiar in XI century churches of Viterbo and Corneto. They were doubtless executed for the church of S. Flaviano erected in the XI century, and employed as second-hand material in the reconstruction of the XII century. It is probable, therefore, that the XI century church of S. Flaviano was a columnar basilica entirely similar to many contemporary edifices elsewhere in Umbria. Of very different style on the other hand are the capitals of the ground story (Plate 151, Fig. 2, 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). The abaci are adorned with graceful rinceaux and interlaces (Plate 151, Fig. 2, 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2, 3). The proportions are good, the execution somewhat dry, but the design is advanced. The capitals of the free-standing piers (Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2, 3) are adorned with grotesques, birds, animals, centaurs, or with acanthus leaves and volutes, Carlovingian in type, but skilfully executed and deeply undercut. In these capitals one feels an Umbrian artist of skill, somewhat hampered by Carlovingian tradition, struggling (not always with entire success) to imitate Lombard models. Certain leaves betray strong Byzantine influence, and others are characterized by the perforated technique of the Roman decadence. On one is a grotesque sculpture of a man stroking his beard, with the inscription: "Ye who admire my beard look instead at the temple. I am sculptured in the temple to amuse all fools."[13]

13 BA[R]BAM MIRANTES AVLA . VRAM RESPICITE
AVLE SV CVTO . P . SCVLTV DELVDERE STVLTO
(Aulae sum cuncto persculptus deludere stulto)

The capitals of the side-aisle responds are even more skilfully executed than those of the free-standing columns (Plate 151, Fig. 2; Plate 152, Fig. 4, 5). One is adorned with two eagles (Plate 151, Fig. 2), very classic in feeling. Others are Corinthianesque in type (Plate 152, Fig. 4, 5) with Carlovingian or Byzantinesque acanthus leaves. Two of the shafts of the side-aisle responds are spiral-fluted (Plate 150), and others show excellent imitation of antique fluting (Plate 152, Fig. 5). The bases are all of Attic profile, and those of the gallery have griffes. The archivolts of both the lower and upper church are in two unmoulded orders (Plate 151, Fig. 4; Plate 152, Fig. 3).

The string-courses of the apses are decorated with rinceaux entirely Lombard in character.

V. The capitals of the upper church are of a style which accords well with the year 1032 given by the inscription of the west façade, and may consequently be considered authentically dated examples of that period.

The remaining Romanesque portions of the building are of the XII century. The capitals are, many of them (Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2, 3), as Commendatore Rivoira has recognized, closely analogous to those of the church of Rivolta d'Adda (Plate 196, Fig. 1, 2), a monument which was erected c. 1100. The inscription on the abacus of one of the capitals recalls the similar inscription on the abaci of the Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan, an authentically dated monument of 1095, and of those of S. Savino of Piacenza, a church consecrated in 1107. The capital with the eagles of one of the responds of the choir (Plate 151, Fig. 2), is strikingly similar to several capitals in the apse gallery of S. Fedele of Como (Plate 63, Fig. 8), a monument which was erected c. 1115. S. Flaviano is, however, situated far from Lombardy, in a region where the new building forms discovered by the Lombards must be supposed to have arrived only after a considerable interval of time. It is rather with the churches of Corneto Tarquinia, situated only a few miles to the westward, that contemporary analogies to S. Flaviano should be sought. S. Maria di Castello, begun in 1121, has certain capitals strikingly similar to those of S. Flaviano. (Compare, for example, Plate 151, Fig. 2, with Plate 77, Fig. 4). Others, it is true, are quite as strikingly different, but these differences are easily explained by the divergent schooling of the sculptors. The master-builders both of Corneto and of Montefiascone were under the influence of Lombardy, and hence the analogies in their work. Those of Montefiascone, however, were also under the strong influence of the southern Italian school, from which those of Corneto seem to have been free. If the capitals of the northern porch of the cathedral of Aversa (Plate 17, Fig. 4), an authentically dated monument of 1080, be compared with those of S. Flaviano (Plate 152, Fig. 4), it will be evident whence the Umbrian artist derived his dry and Carlovingian-like technique. It will also be clear

that Montefiascone is half a century later, and not half a century earlier, than Aversa. The three radiating chapels and ambulatory of S. Flaviano recall the similar features at Aversa.

A study of the rib vaults leads us to the same conclusion. Those of Montefiascone, although lighter and somewhat less cumbrous, are still strikingly analogous to those of Aversa, which were erected between 1134 and 1160. (Compare Plate 150 and Plate 17, Fig. 1, 2). In technique and execution, the rib vaults of Montefiascone (Plate 150) are similar to those of S. Maria di Castello at Corneto (Plate 75) with the single exception that shafts are not supplied to carry the diagonal ribs. The ribs are somewhat lighter than are the ribs of S. Maria, but are of the same section. In the few cases in which a round profile is substituted for the square section, this was doubtless the result of alterations executed in the last part of the XII century, precisely as at S. Maria. In view of the close analogy presented by S. Flaviano to S. Maria di Castello at Corneto, and to the XII century churches of northern Italy, and on the other hand the complete lack of points of contact with other XI century edifices either in Lombardy or Umbria, our monument must be assigned, not to 1032, but to c. 1130.

MONTEMAGNO,[1] S. VITTORE

(Plate 152, Fig. 6, 7)

I. This monument has been illustrated by Venturi.[2]

II. An inscription in the campanile seems to record a restoration executed in 188–.

III. Of the ruined church of S. Vittore, situated in the vineyards outside of the town of Montemagno, there survive only the campanile and the apse (Plate 152, Fig. 6, 7). The monument is extraordinary because of the campanile, which is supported in part on the half dome of the apse, in part on a cylindrical pier (Plate 152, Fig. 6). This campanile leans noticeably to the northward (Plate 152, Fig. 6, 7). It is evident that the edifice possessed only a single aisle.

The polychromatic masonry is formed of cross-hatched bricks and finely cut blocks of ashlar, laid in horizontal courses, separated by wide beds of mortar.

IV. The capitals of the campanile are simply blocked out, with the exception of one which is adorned with a geometric motive that recalls the capitals of Gallarate (Plate 94, Fig. 3). The apse is adorned with a simple arched corbel-table with arcuated lintels. A pilaster strip is placed on axis

[1] (Alessandria). [2] III, 18.

(Plate 152, Fig. 7). The campanile also has arched corbel-tables and saw-tooth mouldings (Plate 152, Fig. 6, 7).

V. Because of the similarity of one of its capitals with those of S. Pietro of Gallarate, a church of c. 1145, our monument may be ascribed to about the same time.

MONTE S. MARTINO,[1] S. MARTINO IN CULMINE

I. The monument has been published by Giussani. A criticism of this publication by Cavagna Sangiuliani appeared in 1903.

II. Of the history of the chapel but little is known. Giussani believes that the church belonged to a priory of Umiliati, and that it perhaps depended directly upon the branch at Cuvio. Direct proof of this is, however, lacking. In 1571 the order of the Umiliati was suppressed, and the church, after being officiated at the expense of various private owners, was finally secularized and desecrated. In the early years of the XX century, on the initiative of Giussani, and of Don Carlo Cambiani, the local priest of Duno, a most lamentable restoration was undertaken. This was just being completed when I visited the church on July 13, 1913. The interior had been covered with plaster painted to imitate stone, and covered with conventional frescos of the worst possible taste. The masonry of the exterior had been entirely made over.

III. The edifice consists of a single-aisled nave four bays long, covered with groin vaults, and a modern sacristy to the south of the church. The vaults of the nave are very slightly domed, and are supplied with wall ribs and transverse arches in two orders. Both wall ribs and either order of the transverse arches have extradoses which describe a higher curve than the intradoses. The responds possess certain members of which the central one is a segment of a circle in section. There is thus a support provided for the groin and for each order of the ribs. The vaults are reinforced externally by heavy salient buttresses.

The masonry is formed of a rough sort of ashlar externally, but the interior facing is of rubble.

IV. The capitals—if they may be called such—are formless affairs, of which several approach the type of a cubic capital, with low angular cushions. One has broad, flat leaves scratched in the angles. The bases, if they exist, are not now visible.

The exterior is ornamented with arched corbel-tables. The portal is in three orders, moulded.

[1] The chapel of S. Martino is situated on top of the Monte S. Martino, a climb of an hour and a half on foot from Duno in the Varesotto (Como).

V. The double orders of the transverse arches and the extradoses, higher than the intradoses, show points of contact with S. Savino at Piacenza (Plate 185), an authentically dated monument of 1107. At S. Savino of Piacenza, however, the arches treated in this peculiar manner are in the main arcade, whereas at S. Martino they are in the transverse arches. S. Martino may, therefore, well be later than S. Savino, and may be ascribed to c. 1120, a date which agrees well with the character of the masonry and the elaborate section of the responds.

MONTEVEGLIO,[1] S. MARIA ASSUNTA

I. This monument has been published by Maestri,[2] and is mentioned by Melani.[3]

II. The church of S. Maria of Monteveglio was given in 793 by the bishop of Parma to the bishop of Bologna.[4]

A long inscription, still extant in the church at the west end of the southern side aisle, records that the chapter of canons regular was established by the countess Matilda in 1092.[5] This inscription dates from 1658, and was hence

[1] (Bologna). [2] *Rubbiano*, 55 f. [3] 212.

[4] This text has been cited above under S. Stefano of Bologna, Vol. II, p. 135.

[5]
MEMORIÆ PERENNI
MATILDIS COMITISSÆ
DOMINATIONE POPVLORVM ET PROVINCIARVM IMPERIO
REGIBVS ÆQVIPARATÆ
HEROIDVM CLARISSIMÆ,
VIRAGINVM FORTISSIMÆ
APOSTOLICI THRONI, ET PONTIFICÆ POTESTATIS
ADVERSVS IMPERATORES PERSECVTORES HENRICOS,
LICET CONSANGVINEOS
TVTELARI GLORIOSISSIMÆ :
PATRIMONY DIVI PETRI,
POST AVGVSTOS CONSTANTINVM,
ET CAROLVM MAGNOS
LARGITRICI MVNIFICENTISSIMÆ :
QVOD CASTRVM HOC, ET COLLEGIVM
ANTIQVISSIMIS CANONICIS REGVLARIBVS
AD CLERICALEM DISCIPLINAM CONSERVANDAM
ANNO MIIXC [= 1092]
STABILIERIT, ET OPIBVS CVMVLARIT,
GRATITVDINIS TESSERVLAM HANC
PRÆDECESSORVM CORDIBVS DVDVM IMPRESSAM
SVCCESSORES YDEM CANONICI P.
EXPOSVERE VERÒ ANNO DOMINI
MDCLVIII.

cut long after the events to which it refers. Probably about the same time was incised the inscription in letters of the Renaissance, placed on the abaci of the capitals of the main arcade, on either side of the crypt:

MCIII CAN . REG . LAT .

It is not altogether apparent why this inscription was erected, but an inspection of the style makes it evident that the capitals upon which it is placed do not date from 1103.

That the chapter regular was founded in 1092, however, is not at all improbable, and this was certainly the tradition during the Renaissance. It is recorded, not only in the inscription we have cited, but in another (also of the Renaissance), placed upon a stone in the centre of the nave:

CANONICI
REG .
ANNO . M . X . CII

In 1150 the pope, Eugenius III, confirmed to the *archipresbitero ejusque fratribus . . . regularem uitam professis* of S. Maria of Monteveglio all their possessions, specifying that the rule of St. Augustine should be observed.[6] According to Maestri,[7] the church was much damaged when the castle of Monteveglio was stormed in 1179, and in 1185 this damage was still unrepaired.

In 1435 the Augustinian canons were replaced by Lateran canons from S. Giovanni in Monte of Bologna, in whose jurisdiction the church remained until the Revolution.

III. The edifice consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, a highly raised choir of two bays flanked by side aisles, three apses, and a crypt extending under the choir and its side aisles. A Gothic campanile rises over the northern absidiole.

The nave and side aisles are roofed in wood. The roof of the northern side aisle has been raised, so that now the old clearstory windows open from the side aisle on to the nave. The choir and its side aisles are covered with groined vaults with pointed wall ribs. The apses have half domes. The groin vaults of the crypt, with disappearing ribs, have obviously been made over in the period of the Renaissance, but some of the original Romanesque wall ribs are still in part extant. It is evident that the apses were anciently covered with groin vaults like those of S. Zama at Bologna, and that the supports were placed much closer together than at present. At the end of the XII century the church seems to have been completely rebuilt, and even the crypt was radically altered. At this period were added the western bays of the crypt (in which the transverse arches are stilted and in one case pointed), and the supports were made fewer and farther between.

The barn-like upper church with its pointed archivolts in two orders,

[6] Savioli, 221. [7] 60.

its small Romanesque clearstory windows, its system consisting of a flat pilaster strip in the choir, its characterless capitals, its cigarbox-like exterior (of which the monotony of the brick walls is relieved only by the arched corbel-tables and an occasional buttress), and the continuous mouldings of the western portal, all show clearly the result of Cistercian influence.

North of the church is a cloister of the XV century, but the second cloisters, in two stories, and in ruin, are infinitely more attractive and beautiful because unrestored.

The central apse dates entirely from the XV and XVI centuries. The brickwork of the main body of the edifice is of a very advanced character. The individual bricks are small. In contrast is a piece of the ancient masonry of the XI century, preserved in the northern absidiole. Here the bricks are large, but carefully laid.

IV. The capitals of the crypt are for the most part of the late XII century. Those which date from the earlier period of construction are without much character. The capitals of the nave in certain cases almost resemble inverted bases. They have a square abacus corresponding to a plinth, below which are cylindrical turned motives, the profile of which is Attic.

Notable is the ornament of diamonds introduced between the arched corbel-tables and the projecting moulding in the cornice of the later portions of the edifice.

V. The scant remains of the earlier church may be considered as an authentically dated monument of 1092. The style of the later portions of the edifice is entirely in accord with the documentary evidence that the structure was rebuilt after 1185.

MONTIGLIO,[1] S. LORENZO

(Plate 153, Fig. 1, 3, 4)

I. This important monument was first published in 1873, by the indefatigable Mella. His fine drawings show a wooden roof above the vaults. The details of the windows were illustrated in the same author's *Elementi*.[2]

II. In a list of the churches of the diocese of Vercelli, dating from 1440, is the entry:

> Plebs de Montilio
> Capella eiusdem sive castri Montilii[3]

Since there is no indication that S. Lorenzo was ever situated in the castle, it is probable that it was at this period the pieve of Montiglio.

[1] (Alessandria). [2] Tav. X. [3] Orsenigo, 408.

About 1834 the ancient church appears to have been modernized.[4] The side aisles were transformed into octagonal chapels, and a new façade was erected in the classic style. In 1905 a further restoration must have been carried out, since this date is inscribed on the façade. The church now serves as the chapel of the cemetery.

III. The edifice consists at present of a nave (Plate 153, Fig. 1) four bays long and an apse. On either side of the nave are three chapels constructed in modern times of ancient materials. These chapels in plan are semi-hexagonal, and are covered by half cloistered vaults. The barrel vault of the nave is also modern. It is evident that originally the edifice possessed a nave and two side aisles roofed in wood. That the piers anciently stood free, is evident from the fact that in several instances the continuation of the capital on the outer side may be seen behind the masonry which has been built against it.

The piers were of compound section, and somewhat different on the opposite sides of the nave. On the north side, the central member facing the nave was semicircular (Plate 153, Fig. 3), on the south side, it was rectangular with chamfered corners (Plate 153, Fig. 1). There is no system. The pilaster strips or colonnettes on the side of the piers facing the nave support only the projecting mouldings of the archivolts (Plate 153, Fig. 1, 3).

The ancient masonry consists of ashlar of good but not superlative quality. The joints are not very fine; the courses vary considerably in width. The apse, in which brick predominates, has obviously been reconstructed. Many of the stones of the interior are cross-hatched.

IV. The capitals (Plate 153, Fig. 1, 3, 4) are of varied and interesting type. The grotesque element, which is conspicuous, is represented by eagles (Plate 153, Fig. 4), two birds with a single head, sirens, nude human figures, two lions with a single head, etc. Other capitals are of Corinthianesque type, with carved or uncarved acanthus leaves, interlaces, rinceaux, etc. (Plate 153, Fig. 3). The abaci are ornamented with anthemia, rinceaux (Plate 153, Fig. 3), or eggs and darts (Plate 153, Fig. 4). Certain ones have round balls, perhaps intended to be carved with leaves on the corners. An extraordinary feature is the introduction of a band of carved ornament—rinceaux, interlaces, carved diamonds, etc.—beneath the necking. The necking itself is frequently carved with a rope, bead or fret moulding, the latter two very classic in character. One capital is crocketed, and completely Gothic in type. The bases are Attic, with griffes, or adorned with a series of tori, either superimposed or separated by scotiæ.

The original apse arch (the existing one is modern) must have been at least in two orders, and must have been moulded, to judge from the supports which still survive (Plate 153, Fig. 1). There were two string-courses running

[4] Mella, 164.

around the apse, decorated with triple billets, rinceaux, eggs and darts, and other ornaments of similar character. The apse windows internally are in three orders. The archivolts of the arcade (Plate 153, Fig. 1, 3) are in two orders, with projecting mouldings, ornamented with triple billets (Plate 153, Fig. 3, 4), or eggs and darts (Plate 153, Fig. 1).

The apse has a cornice of flat corbel-tables, surmounted by a diamond motive and a quadruple billet, but it is evident that this part of the edifice has been reconstructed. The clearstory has double arched corbel-tables on the south side. The old south side-aisle wall with some of its windows, is still preserved. On the north side the wall of the side aisle and the clearstory have been masked by a sort of loggia. Only the east end of the clearstory survives, and is adorned, not with double, but with single, arched corbel-tables. These corbel-tables are, however, peculiar in that the spandrels are cut out. Above these corbel-tables, and above those on the south side, is a band of elaborate decoration, consisting of interlaces, anthemia, etc. The corbels offer an infinite variety of decoration. In fact, this church is one of the most exuberantly ornamented of all the monuments of Piemonte. Every available space is covered with sumptuous carving. The windows of the chapels of the interior are in two orders and often moulded. Certain ones are surmounted by a solid block of carved decoration. These chapels all have cornices made of pilfered fragments, ornamented with rinceaux, interlaces, diamond motives, etc.

V. The exuberant and somewhat wild decoration of Montiglio indicates that the monument dates from about the middle of the XII century. The projecting mouldings of the archivolts adorned with billet-mouldings, recall those of Cavagnolo (Plate 51, Fig. 5), an edifice of c. 1140. The capitals of Montiglio, however (Plate 153, Fig. 3, 4), are far more advanced than those of Cavagnolo (Plate 50, Fig. 6; Plate 51, Fig. 4). The eggs and darts and classical motives of Montiglio recall those of the narthex of Casale Monferrato, a monument of c. 1150. The mouldings and certain of the capitals show close analogy with those of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (Plate 215, Fig. 3), an authentically dated monument of 1148. The church at Montiglio may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1150.

MONT' ORFANO DI MERGOZZO,[1] S. GIOVANNI

I. To the extent of my knowledge this monument has never been published.

II. I have found no documents which illustrate the history of the building.

[1] (Novara).

III. The church consists of a single-aisled nave two bays long, projecting transepts and an apse. The crossing is covered by an octagonal cloistered vault, carried on conical squinches. The nave and transepts have domed groin vaults, oblong in plan. The vaults are supplied with transverse and wall ribs, highly loaded at the crown. The middle system of the nave has five members, the central one of which is semicircular. The responds at the western angles have three rectangular members. The system at the east adjoining the transepts has a single semicircular member, which carries the great arch separating the nave and transepts. This arch is placed much lower than the level of the vaults. There is a wall rib spanning the nave above. This, like all the longitudinal wall ribs, is supported on corbels. The walls were reinforced externally by massive buttresses which project about 60 centimetres. Above the cupola is a modern lantern. Aside from this and some barocco stucco, the church is in perfect preservation.

The masonry consists of ashlar of good, but not superlative, quality. Carefully squared blocks of granite from the neighbouring quarries are laid in courses, the horizontal lines of which are at times broken. Certain stones have elbows. The blocks are large, and the mortar-joints vary from 1 to 5 centimetres in depth. Bricks are occasionally introduced in the arched corbel-tables and elsewhere. The masonry of the apse is notably inferior to that of the façade.

IV. The capitals of the interior are of a peculiar fan-like type, and consist of a simple bell which projects widely in a wild, bulging curve. These capitals are similar to certain ones of Panico. The bases are either omitted altogether or else of a very peculiar type which consists of two tori, of very small dimensions, separated by a long piece of cylindrical shaft. The lower torus has a griffe. Lying on the floor of the church, and coming I know not whence, is a capital with leaf-shaped incisions in the angles, and a geometric ornament that recalls Gallarate.

The exterior is adorned with simple and double arched corbel-tables. The corbels are carved, and sometimes have fine mouldings at the angles. The apse cornice is formed of a little gallery.

The dome is masked externally, and is lighted by windows pierced in the vault. The other windows of the church, widely splayed and with arcuated lintels, were intended to serve without glass. Some are moulded and in several orders. The portal, in two orders, is shafted. One of its capitals has a circular abacus with leaves scratched upon it. The other capital is cubic. The capitals of the apse gallery are analogous to those of Gallarate (Plate 94, Fig. 4).

V. Gallarate dates from c. 1145. Since Mont' Orfano shows analogies with this edifice, not only in its capitals, but in the quality of its masonry, it may be ascribed to about the same epoch.

MORIMONDO,[1] BADIA

(Plate 154, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4)

I. The most important source for the hitherto unexplored history of the abbey of Morimondo is a manuscript of Bonomi, preserved in the Brera,[2] which contains transcriptions of many important and inedited documents relating to the abbey. The XVI century choir-stalls of the church possess, among other intarsie, one which represents St. Robert, founder of the Cistercian order: S. ROB[ER]TVS: FVDATOR PRI' ORDIS CISTERCIV. Below is seen a church which is evidently that of Morimondo as it was in the XVI century. Cavagna Sangiuliani has published the inscription of the façade, and a crude engraving of the west front as it was before the restoration. Another engraving of the façade is contained in the *Grande Illustrazione*.[3] The monograph of Sant'Ambrogio, with one poor illustration, is far from being exhaustive. Porro has published documentary evidence of importance for the history of the building. The church itself has been for some time a national monument, and is still open for worship under the title of Madonna del Rosario. The monastic buildings are in part used as a house for the priest, in part have been made over into houses inhabited by contadini.

II. The monastery of Morimondo was founded on October 12, 1134, at a place called Coronago. The monks remained here until November 11, 1136, when they removed to a new site called Campo di Fulcherio, the present Morimondo, where they established themselves on November 11, 1136. These simple facts are proved by a mass of documentary evidence which, although entirely consistent, is extremely confusing.

The facts are stated in a document (unfortunately of unknown date) published by Porro,[4] in an inscription probably of late date, now destroyed but preserved in copies of Puccinelli[5] and Ughelli,[6] as well as in an inscription of 1650, still extant on the façade.[7] From a bull of Alexander III of 1171, we learn the name of the new site whither the monastery was transferred in 1136.[8] That the site of the first monastery was called Coronago results from

[1] Circondario di Abbiategrasso, Provincia di Milano.

[2] *Morim. Coen. Tab.*, Brera MS., AE, XV, 36.

[3] I, 825.

[4] VI Idus octobris in hac die anno MCXXX quarto venerunt primitus habitare monachi ad abbatiam de Coronato sitam in valle Ticini.

III Idus novembris in hac die anno dni MCXXXVI venerunt primitus habitare monachi in hanc grangiam que vocatur Morimundus.

[5] *Zodiaco*, among the inscriptions at the end of the volume, cap. VII, No. 5, p. 38.

[6] Anno Domini MCXXXVI. Patres Cistercienses ex prima Abbatia Morimundi præfati Ordinis hoc sacrum Cœnobium à fundamentis erexerunt, & die X. Novembris habitavere qui primitus per biennium in Grancia Coronatæ steterunt tempore Sanctissimi Domini nostri Innocentii II. (Ughelli, V, 141).

several of the documents already cited, from the Cistercian chronicle[9] and from authentic documents of the year 1136.[10] That the new site, Campo di Fulcherio, was near the original site of Coronago is proved by several authentic documents.[11] It may be conjectured that the monks brought from France were established temporarily in the parish church of S. Ambrogio at Coronago until the buildings of the new monastery had been sufficiently constructed to be habitable. In later times we shall find the chapter of Casolate engaged in a lawsuit with the monks of Morimondo, and this

[7] D. O. M.
MAGINFREDVS ET BENONVS DNI DE OZENO
CLARISSIMI ATQ. PIISSIMI
FRES NOBILES MEDIOLANENSES S. BNAR.DI
SVASV MONACIS CISTERCIENSIBVS CHARISS.IS
A CORONAGO IN HVNC LOCV TRANSLATIS
ROBALDO MEDIOLAN. ARCHIEP. APPROBATE
MONASTERIV HOC MORIMVNDI PROPE TICINV
SUB. GVALGHETIO P.O ABB. SALVT. ANNO
MCXXXVI FVNDARVT
ANTONIVS LIBANORIVS ABBAS ET COMES
MONACHI Q[VI] MORIMVNDIENSES OMNIB'
SVIS BENEFACTORIBVS
HOC GRATITVDINIS ARGVMENTV P. C.
MDCL

[8] Among the possessions confirmed to the abbey in this bull, is *eundem locum qui Morimum dicitur. olim dictus campus Fulcherii* and *grangiam ubi prius abbatia fuit. nomine Morimundum.* (Bonomi, *MS. cit.*, f. 433). This bull has been published by Ughelli, V, 146; Tomassetti, II, 752; Puricelli, *Dis. Naz.*, 535; see also Giulini, III, 739. In another bull of the same pope, dating from March 29, 1179, the abbey is called *monasterii Sancte Marie de Coronato,* and mention is made of *grangiam de Morimundo vetere.* (Bonomi, *MS. cit.*, f. 501).

[9] Eodem anno [1134], sexto Idus Octobris, [fundata est] Abbatia de Coronato (Cistercian Chronicle, cited by Manrique, I, 284).

[10] One of these is a donation of April 6, 1136, in which we read: . . . monasteri qui uocabatur de Murimundo et quod edificabatur in honorem sanctorum beate Marie et Ambrosii in loco et fundo Coronago. (Bonomi, *Morimund. Coen. Tab.,* Brera MS., AE, XV, 36, f. 139).

Another is a document of the same month and year, which contains the phrases: Anno Dominicae Incarnationis Millesimo centesimo trigesimo-sexto, mense Aprilis, Indictione quarta-decima, Placuit atque conuenit . . . vt in Dei nomine debeat dare, sicut à præsenti dedit, idem Ambrosius eidem Anselmo ad partem de Officialibus Monasterii de Murimundo, constructo in loco Coronago, ad habendum & tenendum, seu . . . . . reddendum libellario nomine etc. (Ed. Puricelli, *Dis. Naz.*, 534). A similar phrase occurs in a third document transcribed by Bonomi. (*MS. cit.*, f. 143).

[11] Among these is an investiture: . . . facta in Fragerium, Monachum Monasterii Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ dicitur de Murimundo, quod est constructum super fluuium Ticini propè Colonago, ad partem ipsius Monasterij etc. Factum est hoc Anno ab

controversy seems to have arisen through the temporary residence of the monks in the church of Coronago.

The story of Lampugnano de Legnano that the monastery was founded by one of the Lords of Castel Seprio is evidently fabulous.[12]

In a *charta libelli* of 1141, mention is made of the *prata et sedimina, ubi edificium suprascripti monasterii, desuper est edificatum.*[13] The abbot Pietro of Morimundo appears in a lawsuit between the canons and monks of S. Ambrogio in 1144.[14] A document of January 10, 1158, speaks of the *monasterii de Morimundo constructo prope locum de Ozano.*[15] It will be remembered that the inscription of the façade speaks of two lords of Ozano (or Ozeno) as instrumental in the foundation of the monastery. A deed of November 14, 1167, is dated: *actum infra claustram abaticie Murimundi.*[16] The word *claustram,* however, is here probably employed in its broadest sense of monastery, and does not necessarily imply that the cloisters themselves were finished at this time. The bull of Alexander III of 1171 specifies that the Cistercian rule shall be observed in the monastery. In 1174 Barbarossa granted a diploma in favour of the abbey.[17]

According to an inscription preserved by Puccinelli, the church was begun in 1182 and completed in 1296.[18] That Puccinelli's transcription is substantially correct is proved by the fact that Ughelli copied it in almost precisely the same form, except that he read the last two words *idib. Nov.* instead of *in Domino.* It is difficult, however, to reconcile this inscription with another one preserved in a copy of Puricelli, in which it is flatly stated that the church was begun in 1186.[19] The date of neither inscription is known, but it is to be suspected that both are comparatively modern. Perhaps they were derived from an older monument, of which the date MCLXXXVI was misread

Incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi Millesimo centesimo tricesimo-septimo suprascripto die, Indictione quintadecima. (Puricelli, *Dis. Naz.,* 534). A sentence of 1154, also published by Puricelli, refers to the monastery as near Coronago, as do also numerous documents transcribed by Bonomi. (*MS. cit.,* f. 144 f.). After 1138 the monastery is sometimes called simply *Morimundum,* sometimes *monasterium quod dicitur Morimundum prope Coronagum constructum.*

[12] . . . namqz dux vnus Xosus . . . Morimundo construxit, cui multa regalia derelinquid et hic dux erat sub Imperatore vnde abbas de morimundo Impr. tenetur vsqz hodie ad certu censium. (*Chronica* di Lampugnano de Legnano, MS. Amb., H 56 Sup., f. 64).

[13] Bonomi, *MS. cit.,* f. 184.

[14] MS. Amb., *Codice della Croce,* D. S. IV, 6/I, 6, f. 204.

[15] Bonomi, *MS. cit.,* f. 401. [16] *Ibid.,* f. 467. [17] Ughelli, V, 164.

[18] ✣ An. Domini MCCLXXXXVI. completa fuit Ecclesia tempore Michaelis Abbatis, quæ primitus MCLXXXII. fuit fundata in Domino. (Puccinelli, *Zodiaco,* inscriptions at end of volume, Cap. 7, No. 8, p. 38).

[19] Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis Millesimo centesimo trigesimo sexto, decimo die Nouembris, venerunt Monachi habitare in Grangia, quæ vocatur Morimundus.

Et anno Millesimo centesimo octuagesimo-sexto fundata est hæc Ecclesia, quinto Idus Martij. (Puricelli, *Dis. Naz.,* 533).

MCLXXXII by the author of the Puccinelli-Ughelli inscription. The later date, 1186, seems more probable in view of the fact that, between 1185 and 1187, a lawsuit was brought against the monastery on the ground that the new church of the latter was constructed on land belonging to the parish of S. Ambrogio. This lawsuit was doubtless provoked by the beginning of works of construction upon the church.

The inedited documents of this lawsuit preserved by Bonomi[20] are of the utmost importance for the history of the architecture of the church. The first document is a letter of Pope Innocent [III] dated May 11, of the second year of his pontificate [1199]. The pope relates that there has arisen a controversy between the *prepositus et fratres de Casolate* and the monastery of Morimondo *super quedam manso terre sedimine cimiteriis ecclesiarum sancto*^{rum} *Georgii et Ambrosii decimis uiis ornamentis ecclesie sancti Georgii ac quibusdam aliis ex altera questio,* and that this question had been submitted to *magistrum G*[*ibuinum*] *nunc primicerium mediolanensem et Henricum archipresbiterum decumanorum* to be arbitrated by mutual consent. The decision of these worthies, however, was appealed from; the pope *quia igitur nobis de rei veritate non constat* appoints Petro Gaspari and Giustamonte della Torre, canons of Milan, to retry the case.

Then follows a mutilated fragment of the testimony given. The first witness in behalf of the chapter of Casolate swore that the church of Casolate owned *sedimen I iuxta ecclesiam* [*sancti Ambrosii*] *in partem cuius plantata fuit uinea a monachis et factum fossatum et quod Muzaluganici habitauerunt in sedimine I prefate plebis ibi ubi fit ecclesia nova morimundi aut ibi prope. De ecclesia sancti Ambrosii et de terra ubi est Morimundum et ubi fit ecclesia noua . . .* [*dixit*] *quod ecclesia sancti Ambrosii cum suis possessionibus fuit benefitium unius clerici de Casolate.*[21]

It is evident that the controversy centered upon the question of the possession of the church of S. Ambrogio, which is probably the church of Coronago, in which the abbey had been first established. This church was claimed by both parties. The field on which the new church of Morimondo was being erected belonged to the church of S. Ambrogio, and was hence claimed by the chapter of Casolate. A witness goes on to testify: *audiui quod monachi dimiserunt laborare terram sancti Ambrosii propter placitum quod dedit eis presbiter Bruniolus sub archiepiscopo Uberto* [1185-1187]*.et postea guerra superueniente. audiui quod laborauerunt.*[22] The following witness mentions: *de manso terre iuxta ecclesiam* [*Sancti Ambrogii*] *uel ibi prope. et de sedimine iuxta ecclesiam. et de terra ubi est Morimundum. et ubi ecclesia noua fit. . . . Borcius de loco Casolate iuratus dixit a destructione Mediolani infra semper habeo uisum clericos et populum de Casolate ire ad letanias ad ecclesiam sancti Ambrosii.*[23] He also speaks of the church of *Castri Farcbasilianc et postea questio fuit idest sub archiepiscopo Galdino* [1166-

[20] *MS. cit.*, f. 568 f. [21] f. 570. [22] f. 570. [23] f. 572.

1176] etc.[24] This witness also mentions *sedimen I ibi ubi fit ecclesia noua in quo habitauerunt Muzalaganici.*[25] Another witness testifies: *et presbiter Bruniolus dixit Non est modo tempus inquirendi talia propter guerram. Olda coniux quondam Petri Laurentii de Roxate iurata dixit Eo tempore quo Mediolanum fuit destructum iui cum uiro meo habitatum ad locum Colonagum.*[26] The phrase about the new church is reiterated by all the witnesses. *Euertius diaconus plebis de Casolate reuersus dixit. ab annis. II. infra et ab uno supra fui ibi ubi Paganus prepositus Casolate nuntiauit magistris et operariis ecclesie noue Morimundi ne facerent illud opus, quia super terra plebis fiebat et ego et prepositus proiecimus lapides supra illud opus. in ipsa nunciatione. Interrogatus de die qua fuit uel mense. Respondit non recordor. . . . Tutobenus titulatus in ipsa plebe reuersus dixit. a tribus annis infra et ab uno supra fui cum preposito Pagano ibi ubi ecclesia Morimundi fit. et ibi magistri et operarii laborabant. explanabant terram et piccabant petras. et tunc prepositus interdixit eis ex parte archiepiscopi ne facerent opus illud quia super terra plebis de Casolate et eius plebatu erat. Interrogatus de die et mense quo fuit dixit non recordor. set flore habebant Pira et Poma. sicut credo.*

These documents are followed in Bonomi's transcription by a lawyer's brief without chronological notes, but which probably dates from about 1200. This document makes it evident that the controversy was not new, and that it had been previously twice aired before Gibuino and the archbishop Uberto. This is evidently Uberto I, who afterwards became pope under the title of Urban III, and held the archbishopric of Milan from 1185 to 1187. Since the controversy first arose in his time, it is probable that the inscription which gives the date of the commencement of the church as 1186 is correct, rather than that other one which refers the event to 1182, as it is to be presumed that the controversy arose when the church was first begun. The lawyers conclude: *Nam Decretalia concedunt quamlibet congregationem honestam posse hedifficare ecclesiam in qualibet parrochia. . . . Unde dicimus abbatem non teneri ad ecclesiam remouendam.*[27]

On the same page begins the judgment of the papal legates, dated *Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo die martis undecimo die Mensis ianuarii indictione tertia.* Resuming the claims of the chapter they say: *peto [ego prepositus] ut non [monachi] hedifficent nouam ecclesiam quam hedifficare ceperunt. et hedificatā remoueant quia etiam dico illam construi infra terminos plebis mee. et supra terram prefate ecclesie sancti Ambrosii.*[28] Then follows the testimony of the monks, dated October 25, 1199. One swears[29] that the papal legate when appealed to at Verona, quashed the decision of Gibuino. *Interrogatus quid inde habuit ipse cardinalis. Respondit, nescio. quod aliquid inde haberet et a missis monasterii nichil habuit. . . .*[30] Asked what were the questions at issue in this suit he says[31] they were the same as in

[24] *Ibid.* [25] *Ibid.* [26] *Ibid.*, f. 573. [27] *Ibid.*, f. 578.
[28] f. 579. [29] f. 580. [30] f. 581. [31] f. 582.

the present, and goes on to enumerate: *et de sedimine I et de ecclesia ipsius monasterii de qua dicit in parte fore hedifficatam super territorio plebis de Casolate. et in territorio de Farizola iacet ille mansus et sedimen . . .* Another witness of the monks testified *de decima et terra credo quod foret causa illa* [the one before Gibuino appealed to the papal legate at Verona] *et de abatia ipsius monasterii ibi ubi est hedifficatum ipsum monasterium* etc.[32] In this judgment rendered by the arbiters,[33] we have again the phrase (resuming the complaint of the prevosto): *ut abbas ecclesiam nouam quam hedifficare cepit non hedifficet et quod hedifficatum est remoueat;* and resuming the defense of the monks: *Petitioni uero quam fatiebat prepositus ut nouam ecclesiam non hedifficent uel hedifficatam remoueant breuiter respondebat dicens unicuique et maxime congregationi monachorum licere in suo allodio oratorium conseruere.*[34] Sentence was finally given in favour of the monks on Monday, January 10, 1200.

From these documents it is evident that the construction begun in 1186 was interrupted by an injunction in 1197; and that at this time the works of construction upon the new church were in full progress. It is altogether probable that these were recommenced immediately after the decision of 1200 was rendered.

In 1202 the abbot of Morimondo was made count of Fara Basiliana by the emperor, Otto IV, in return for his services rendered against the rebellious counties.[35]

In 1237 the monastery was sacked by the Pavesi. A contemporary account of the destruction, written by one of the monks, has been published by Ughelli.[36] From this we learn that the monastery was entirely burnt *praeter domum fabrorum, & paupcrum Hospitale, & alia pauca loca.* It is certain, however, that the church was not destroyed, for the monk goes on to say that the brothers defended the cloister where they were slaughtered by the enemy, fearing lest the church should also be burnt. The Pavesi violated the host and stripped one of the monks naked in the choir. They then proceeded to sack the altars. It is clear, however, that the church-building itself was not injured, or the indignant monk in his full account of the outrages committed, would not have failed to mention so flagrant a sacrilege. His narrative makes it evident that the church was in use at this time. The sack by the Pavesi and the destruction of the monastic buildings gave such a blow to the economic prosperity of the monastery, that it is probable many years elapsed before the monks could repair the damage done, and proceed with the construction of the church.

The sack of 1237 was followed, on October 11, 1245, by another sack, perpetrated this time by the army of Frederick II.[37] The wealth and importance of the monastery, which contained one hundred,[38] or some say even two

[32] f. 584. [33] f. 586. [34] f. 580. [35] Giulini, III, 250.
[36] V, 183. [37] Giulini, III, 250. [38] Ughelli, V, 145.

hundred, monks,[39] made it an attractive prey for the wandering bands of soldiers who infested Lombardy at this period. In 1266 the church was again sacked by the Pavesi.[40]

Owing to these misfortunes, the church was finished only in 1296, as is proved by the inscription cited above.

In 1314 the monastery again fell a prey to the Pavesi.[41] At the end of the XIV century, the abbey must have already fallen into decline, since it is rated at only 300 lire in a tax-list of 1398 published by Magistretti, whereas the rival establishment of Chiaravalle is rated at 1500 lire. In 1450 the monastery had already been given in commendam. In 1481, according to an inscription preserved by Ughelli, monks of Settimo Toscano were introduced.[42] The superb intarsia choir-stalls were erected in 1522, according to the inscriptions.[43] In 1556 the church was united with the Ospedale Maggiore of Milan, and deprived of its abbatial dignity; but the monks lived on under a prior with the title of abbot. In 1565 Pius IV assigned certain of the revenues to the chapter of the cathedral at Milan.[44] On the lintel of the choir-screen is an inscription which establishes its date as 1591.[45]

According to the inscription, the barocco altar was erected in 1704.[46] In 1730 the edifice was restored, as is known from an inscription on one of the pilasters of the southern side aisle near the choir.[47] The monastery was

[39] Giulini, III, 250. [40] *Ibid.* [41] Ughelli, V, 198.

[42] An. MCCCCLXXXI Leo Pontifex Max. tunc Prothonotarius Apostolicus, & Clericus Florentinus Commendatarius hujus loci per Monachos degentes in Abbatia Septimiana Tusciæ hoc sacrum Cœnobium reformavit tempore S. D. N. Innocentii Octavi Anno VIII. (Ughelli, V, 145).

[43] PERFECTÆ| FVERṼT . HAE̅ . SE|DES . DEGE̅TIB'. HIC| FAVETIB'Q. SEPTI|MIANIS . MOA̅CHIS| . A. D. MDXXII

FRA̅CISCVS GIRAMVS ABIA|GRASSINVS FAB|ER . MONACHORVM| INPENSIS HOC| OPVS FECIT.

[44] Aristide, II [*Dei Documenti*, I], 154.

[45] HOC SACRV SACELLV OMNIPOTETI DEO DICATVM FA
CIENDVM MANDAVIT REVEREN. D. INNOCENTIVS PINIVS
FLORENTINVS ABBAS MORIMVNDI. ANN. DNI. M.D.LXXXXI

[46] ABB. D. D. LAV CITERNI FLO'
FIERI FECIT
A. D. MDCCIV
BENE. DIE 24 XBRIS.

[47] D. O. M.
RESTAVRATA TEMPORE RMI PRIS
D. D. FRANCI LONATI
MEDIOLANENSIS ABBATIS
MORIMVNDI
ANNO DNI M DCCXXX

suppressed in 1797, and the church became a simple parish.[48] The restoration of 1833, recorded by an inscription on one of the pilasters, probably consisted in whitewashing the building.[49]

III. The imposing church of Morimondo is a typical example of the Cistercian Romanesque style. It consists of a nave (Plate 154, Fig. 3) eight bays long, two side aisles, transepts (Plate 154, Fig. 4), a square apse and a low octagonal tower (Plate 154, Fig. 4) rising over the crossing. There were originally four square eastern chapels opening off the transepts, but these have been replaced by new baroque structures. Clear traces of the ancient dispositions exist, however, on the east side of the north transept.

The edifice is vaulted throughout. The nave is covered with highly domed, oblong rib vaults (Plate 154, Fig. 2, 3), the southern side aisle (Plate 154, Fig. 3), the first and third bays of the northern side aisle with similar rib vaults, and the remainder of the northern side aisle with groin vaults. The light diagonal ribs have a semicircular section, except in the two western bays of the nave, where the torus has been grooved. The transverse arches of the nave vaults are in two unmoulded orders (Plate 154, Fig. 2, 3). The vaults have sculptured keystones.

Pointed arches are consistently used in the transverse and wall ribs (Plate 154, Fig. 2), and in the arches of the main arcade (Plate 154, Fig. 2, 3). The windows of the upper stories of the façade are consistently pointed (Plate 154, Fig. 1), and in some cases trilobed. The portal of the façade was also originally pointed, as is clear from the representation of the church in the intarsia of the choir-stall. On the other hand, the clearstory windows are round, except where they have been obviously remade, and round also are the triforium openings (now walled up), one of which was placed in the centre of each bay. The windows of the clearstory (Plate 154, Fig. 2, 4), and those of the side aisles are so large that they must have been glazed. A bit of stained glass is preserved in the rose-window of the north transept, but it is not earlier than the XV century.

The easternmost and westernmost pairs of piers are compound and contain numerous members. The third pair from the east are octagonal (Plate 154, Fig. 3), the rest are semicircular (Plate 154, Fig. 2, 3). The aisle responds contain five members, of which the central one is semicircular (Plate 154, Fig. 2). The system is uniform (Plate 154, Fig. 3), and consists

[48] Giulini, III, 250.

[49]
D. O. M.
RESTAURATA
TEMPORE QVO ERAT PAR.US
R. D. MELCHIOR LONGHI
AD EXPENSAS
BENEFACTORUM
ECCLESIÆ
ANNO DNI MDCCCXXXIII

of seven members, which rise from the abaci, except in the case of the compound piers (Plate 154, Fig. 2). The nave vaults are reinforced by transverse buttresses, projecting above the aisle roofs (Plate 154, Fig. 4). The side-aisle walls are strengthened by heavy, square buttresses (Plate 154, Fig. 4).

The walls and vaults are constructed of brickwork of excellent character. The large, regular, well formed bricks—which are not cross-hatched—are laid in horizontal courses, separated by wide mortar-beds.

The monastic buildings to the south of the edifice have been almost entirely rebuilt in the barocco period. The ancient chapter-house is, however, still extant, and consists of a rectangular edifice of three aisles, three bays long. It is covered with undomed rib vaults. The arches are all round, the diagonals have a torus section, but the transverse arches and the wall ribs are rectangular. The piers have eight semicircular members, and are crowned by stilted cubic capitals. The Attic bases have griffes.

The cloisters appear to be a work of the XV century.

IV. The cylindrical piers of the nave are crowned by circular imposts which serve as capitals (Plate 154, Fig. 3). In the western bays of the nave, these imposts are supplied with a flat corbel-table. The capitals of the side-aisle responds and of the compound piers are cubic. The capitals of the vaulting shafts in the eastern bays (Plate 154, Fig. 2, 3) are carved with flat leaves and simple volutes, and show, perhaps, the influence of the transitional architecture of France. Those of the two western bays (Plate 154, Fig. 3) have Gothic crocketed capitals, but are not of pure French type. In the façade there remains only one capital, which is in the central biforum (Plate 154, Fig. 1). It is of Gothic type.

The clearstory wall is ornamented externally with a simple arched corbel-table surmounted, however, by elaborate mouldings. The same cornice is continued in the transepts and central tower (Plate 154, Fig. 4). The cornice of the northern side-aisle wall and of the northern absidiole is formed of flat corbel-tables surmounted by similar mouldings (Plate 154, Fig. 4). The arched corbel-tables of the façade are in two orders. The little arched corbel-tables of the southern buttress of the façade are trilobed (Plate 154, Fig. 1), and the rose-window of the façade is surrounded by intersecting arched corbel-tables (Plate 154, Fig. 1). The elaborate upper cornice of the façade (Plate 154, Fig. 1) includes, among other ornaments, a singularly beautiful leaf motive. The windows of the façade are supplied with mouldings completely Gothic in character, and the rose-window has even a hood-moulding (Plate 154, Fig. 1).

The edifice contains four rose-windows—one in either transept, one in the façade and one in the choir. All are elaborately moulded, and it is evident that they were originally filled with tracery. That of the façade was of a simple rayonnant design, as is shown by the intarsia of the choir-stall. That

of the northern transept was entirely similar, as is proved by remains of the tracery still extant (Plate 154, Fig. 4). The rose-window of the southern transept still retains its original tracery, which consisted of four simple columns, radiating from a central circle. The church contains a holy-water pila of the XIII century.

V. A study of the building reveals the fact that it consists of four distinct parts, each of which differs from the others in the style of its architecture. Of these the oldest is undoubtedly that formed by the choir, the transepts, and the four eastern bays of the nave. The next is formed by the two succeeding bays of the nave, which differ from the preceding portion of the church in that flat corbel-tables are added below the imposts of the piers. The two western bays of the nave, of which the vaulting capitals and the diagonal ribs are of different and more advanced character, are evidently still later. Finally, the façade is latest of all, and the only part of the church uncompromisingly Gothic. It is not difficult to assign to each of these portions of the edifice a definite date with the aid of the documentary evidence brought forward above. The choir and the eastern bays of the nave must be the portion of the church built between 1186 and 1197. The two following bays were probably erected immediately after the conclusion of the lawsuit in 1200. The western bays may well have been finished before the church was sacked by the Pavesi in 1237. The misfortunes of the succeeding years doubtless delayed the construction of the façade until 1296.

MUCENO,[1] MADONNA DEL MARZO

I. The picturesque ruins of this monument, situated in a charming spot overlooking Lago Maggiore, have never been published.

II. I know of no documents which illustrate the history of this church.

III. The edifice consisted of a single-aisled nave and an apse. To the south-east rises the campanile, which is remarkable because oblong in plan.

IV. On the broad face this campanile has a biforum in the top story, and simple windows in the two lower stories. On the narrow side, it has a simple window in each of the three stories. It is crowned by a low pyramidal roof.

V. Notwithstanding the crude character of the masonry, the building appears to be a homogeneous structure of c. 1150.

[1] (Como).

NONANTOLA,[1] S. MICHELE

(Plate 156, Fig. 1)

I. The pieve of S. Michele has been referred to incidentally by most of the authors who have studied the abbey of S. Silvestro.

II. According to the catalogue of the abbots of Nonantola, the church of S. Michele was built by the abbot Teodorico, who died in the year 870.[2] In 1011 a chapter of canons was established in the church.[3]

In 1101 the members of the clergy of S. Michele, either of their own free will or under compulsion, subscribed, together with various other clergy, to an agreement the purpose of which was evidently the reform of ecclesiastical discipline.[4] A donation of 1163[5] in favour of *ecclesie sive plebi sancti michaelis de Nonantula* was dated: *actum in claustro predicte plebis feliciter.* Alexander III in 1177, at the petition of the canons, issued a bull by which it was decreed that until the goods of the chapter should be increased, the chapter should not be obliged to receive more than twelve members.[6] The church is called *plebis sancti michaelis de Nonantula* in a document of 1187,[7] and a similar phrase is repeated in a document of 1188.[8]

III. The edifice has been entirely modernized, and the ancient architecture is visible only in the apse and the southern absidiole (Plate 156, Fig. 1). The crypt has been filled up. The masonry, of rather rough quality, is formed of cross-hatched bricks, which are laid in courses frequently broken. The size of the bricks shows remarkable variation.

[1] (Modena).

[2] Theodoricus annos XVII. Ordinatus anno Domini DCCCLXX. Obiit Kal. Martii. Hic aedificeavit ecclesiam sancti Michaelis foris castrum, ibique sepultus est in arca saxea, ubi beatissimi sancti Silvestri pape corpus nunc habetur. (*Catalogo degli Abbati di Nonantola,* ed. Bortolotti, 144).

[3] Sergius Episcopus servus servorum Dei. . . . Quapropter notum fore volumus omnibus Christianis fideiibus, qualiter Rodulfus venerabilis Abbas Ecclesiae sanctae Nonantulensis, una eum omni Congregatione Fratrum seniorum Monachorum . . . nostram deprecatus est magnificentiam, ut constitueret de jam dictis Decimis nostro largimine unam Canonicam, suae etiam Abbatiae subjectam, in qua Clerici diurnis ac nocturnis horis Domino, & ibidem convenienti Populo sollicite divina exhiberent obsequia. . . . Denique constituta est in honore Sancti Michaëlis Canonica, ordinati sunt Clerici, Archipresbyter . . . . . lis, cui etiam Archipresbytero hanc potestatem concessimus, ut de criminalibus culpis ipse judicium iudicat poenitentibus. . . . Eidemque verò Archipresbytero cura sit pro omnibus, in divinis videlicet officiis, in luminariis, in architectis, in hospitibus, in decimis etc. . . . Datum . . . Anno Domini Millesimo undecimo, VI. Kalendas Junii, Indictione VIIII. (Ed. Muratori, A. I. M. A., *Dis.* 64, ed. A., XIII, 131).

[4] Tiraboschi, *Nonantula,* II, 216.

[5] *Ibid.,* 281. [6] *Ibid.,* 302. [7] *Ibid.,* 313. [8] *Ibid.,* 317.

IV. The principal apse (Plate 156, Fig. 1) is adorned by arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips. Below there are blind niches in two orders, of which the outer is carried on colonnettes engaged between the niches (Plate 156, Fig. 1). The absidiole has arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips, surmounted by an open-work zigzag and a flat corbel-table (Plate 156, Fig. 1). The latter was evidently added in a reconstruction of the Gothic period.

V. The cornice of the absidiole (Plate 156, Fig. 1) shows close analogy with that of the east gable of Fontanella al Monte (Plate 93, Fig. 1), a monument which was consecrated in 1090. The masonry of S. Michele, however, is so advanced in style that the edifice can not be earlier than the early years of the XII century. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that it was reconstructed in consequence of the reformation of the clergy in 1101.

NONANTOLA,[1] S. SILVESTRO

(Plate 155, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. The primary source for the history of the abbey of Nonantola consists of a group of three ancient documents which have fortunately been made the object of an admirable critical study by Bortolotti. Of these documents the most important from an historical standpoint is undoubtedly a catalogue of the abbots, which dates in its present form from 1053-1059, but which contains citations from an earlier catalogue of the VIII century known as the *Catalogus Domni Anselmi.* The second document is the *Vita Sancti Anselmi,* which contains, among a mass of statements justly suspected of being more or less apocryphal, citations from older documents of which the authenticity can be clearly shown.[2] This life was first published by Ughelli, who, noticing that the pope Hadrian was named at a time when Stephen was really reigning, substituted throughout the name of Stephen for Hadrian, without mentioning to his readers the liberty he had taken.[3] Somewhat better editions were published by the Bollandists, and Tiraboschi[4] contributed a critical study. The most valuable edition and critique, however, is undoubtedly that of Bortolotti. The *Vita* is founded upon three earlier and now lost sources: the *Catalogus Domni Anselmi,* already described, a chronicle *De Fundatione Monasterii Nonantulani,* of the end of the IX century, and a legend of S. Silvestro.[5] It adds, however, numerous new and fabulous details. This *Vita* was assigned by Tiraboschi to the XI or XII century, but Bortolotti has shown that it was composed between 1053 and 1059.[6] The *Vita* contains a

[1] (Modena). [2] Bortolotti, 32 f.
[3] Ughelli's version was reprinted by Muratori.
[4] I, 56. [5] Bortolotti, 137. [6] *Ibid.,* 75.

supposititious bull in which the pope Hadrian is made to narrate how, at the prayer of the Lombard king, he had given S. Anselmo the body of S. Silvestro, and had conferred upon him and his abbey the privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of Modena. From this bull the object of most of the forgeries contained in the *Vita* becomes clear. The writer wished to authenticate and justify the possession of the body of S. Silvestro by the abbey, and to assert the monastery's independence of the bishop of Modena.[7] Bortolotti, however, doubts whether the false bull is the work of the hagiographer himself. It is, perhaps, the creation of an earlier falsifier, which was simply inserted in the *Vita*.

The third important source for the history of Nonantola is the so-called life of S. Adriano written by a hagiographer probably in the XI century. This author confuses the pope St. Hadrian I with the pope Hadrian III, who died in 885 and was buried at Nonantola. It appears, however, that the hagiographer of the XI century added of his own only the first part of the life, which refers to Hadrian I. The latter part, which deals with the death of Hadrian III, appears to be taken verbatim from an older source, probably of the X century.[8]

In addition to these ancient manuscripts of the monastery of Nonantola, there is preserved in the Archivio Parocchiale of Fanano a manuscript of the XVIII century, by Nicolò del Nome di Maria, entitled *Istoria della terra di Fanano nel Modenese,* which contains some important notices on Nonantola.

Tiraboschi's classic history of Nonantola, although superseded in certain details by the critical studies of recent times, is nevertheless a most important publication, which will always continue to be of great value for the study of the history of the monument. In this work[9] is contained an engraving which shows a view of the *Chiesa Cattedrale di S. Silvestro* with a façade entirely barocco. Now, the marble Romanesque portal of S. Silvestro which at present exists in the façade, bears every evidence of being in its original position, and there is no other evidence to indicate that the façade was ever entirely baroccoized. It is known that Tiraboschi did most of his work on Nonantola when he was living at Modena, and simply had various documents of the archives copied and sent to him by an amanuensis at Nonantola. This method of composition is doubtless responsible for not a few errors and shortcomings in the work of the great historian. I suspect that his engraver worked on the same principle, and made a drawing of the façade of the church without having taken the trouble to visit it. That the ancient Romanesque portal was visible in his time is absolutely proved by the fact that Tiraboschi cites and studies at length the inscription.[10]

Cappelletti[11] has published a résumé of the history of the abbey, and a

[7] *Ibid.*, 21.

[8] Bortolotti, 82-83. This legend was first published by Ughelli, II, 94.

[9] I, 77. [10] I, 123. [11] XV, 332 f.

series of the abbots. For an account of the abbacy of S. Carlo, Sala's *Vita*[12] should be consulted. The volume entitled *Memorie Nonantolane* contains a popular résumé of the history of the abbey. Much more serious is the work of Cesari, which constitutes a real contribution to the bibliography of the monument. The author, however, is over-brief, and neglects to cite his authorities, faults for which the copious bibliography and Cesari's evident familiarity with the Nonantola archives do not altogether compensate. The sculptures have been studied by Venturi[13] and by Zimmermann.[14] The first of these critics believes them the work of Nicolò and Guglielmo, the latter assigns them to the XIII century.

II. The history of the abbey of Nonantola has been complicated by the discovery of a document purporting to be of 726, in which mention of the monastery is made.[15] Notwithstanding the arguments advanced by Troya,[16] Tiraboschi[17] has shown that the document does not merit faith.

In the *Vita Sancti Anselmi* we read: "Therefore in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 749, in the one hundred and eightieth year after the coming of the Lombards into Italy, when the glorious Astolfo (his brother Rachis, after the fall of Pentapolis, having, at the persuasion of Pope Zacharias, become a cleric at Rome) was strenuously wielding the sceptre of the Lombards; whose wife was queen Giseltruda, the most worthy sister of the excellent man Anselmo, abbot of this monastery (formerly duke); by the intercession of this queen, Giseltruda, the king, Astolfo, in the first year of his reign [749] conceded by his decree to the venerable man Anselmo, the place which is called Fanano, in which that same man of God, Anselmo, erected a monastery in honour of God and of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and established there regular monks. There he built, with great zeal, a hospice for receiving strangers and pilgrims. . . . Moreover, in the third year of his reign, the afore-mentioned king gave to the illustrious abbot Anselmo the place of Nonantola in the province of Emilia, which by the aid of heavenly mercy the same venerable Anselmo and his monks by the labour of their hands brought from brambles and desert to the acme of perfection. Here he laboured to erect the foundations of the church and the cloister of the monastery and the other buildings. Now, in the fourth year of this same reign [753] the consecration of the church was celebrated by Geminiano, bishop of the holy church of Reggio, in honour of the holy Mother of God and of S. Benedetto, the abbot, by order of Hadrian, pope of the Roman church and of the world. Moreover, in the same year, at the request of the afore-mentioned king, and of the abbot Anselmo and of the entire community of monks, Sergio, archbishop of Ravenna, came and consecrated the church and the altar in the name and to the honour of all the holy apostles. By order

[12] III, 789, Memorie di Nonantola. [13] III, 172. [14] 168.
[15] This donation has been reprinted by Troya, III, 444.
[16] III, 444. [17] I, 61 f.

of the afore-mentioned pope, Hadrian . . . the aforesaid venerable father, Anselmo . . . approached the king, Astolfo, by means of his sister, Giseltruda. . . . In response to her prayers, the king had constructed not long before three not unimportant monasteries, and had filled them with monks. For the greatest of these monasteries, which was called Nonantola, and which possessed the largest number of monks, Anselmo wished to acquire the body of S. Silvestro, and therefore, in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord, 753, he sought the presence of the above-mentioned king, and begged him as a suppliant that, in order to second his appeal and forward this most important business, he should go together with him to Rome. The king consented, and the abbot went accompanied by his brethren to the man most blessed in everything, Hadrian, who was then ruling the Roman and apostolic church [*sic*]. By him they were kindly received, and he gave to them the treasure which they sought according to the writing which here follows: 'Hadrian, the servant of the servants of God, to all his venerable brothers and co-bishops and to all the religious Christians who serve God in the kingdom of Italy and in the Roman Patriarchate: While we were residing with several bishops on the thresholds of Peter and Paul, princes of the apostles, and holding a synodal council, there came Flavio Astolfo, a most excellent man, king of the kingdom of Italy, to the threshold of the aforementioned apostles. Among other gifts which he brought to the church of

[18] . . . . . Igitur anno dominicae incarnationis septingentesimo XLVIIII, centesimo vero octogesimo ingressionis Longobardorum in Italiam, vir gloriosissimus Aystulfus, Ratchis germano suo devicta Pentapolim suasu domni Zachariae papae facto Rome clerico, sceptrum Longobardorum strenue regens; cui Giseltruda excellentissima regina, Anselmi preclari viri abbatis olim ducis soror dignissima, in coniugio herebat; cuius interventu idem Aystulfus rex in primo anno regni sui per suum preceptum concessit venerabili viro Anselmo locum qui nuncupatur Fanianus in quo idem vir Dei Anselmus monasterium ad honorem Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi construxit, et monachos ibidem regulares constituit, atque hospicium ad suscipiendos hospites et peregrinos magno cum studio illic aedificavit. . . . *Tertio autem anno regni sui predictus rex* eidem *Anselmo* eximio *abbati* in finibus Emilie *locum Nonantule dono dedit,* quem *adiuvante superna pietate idem* venerabilis *Anselmus suique manachi propriis manibus laborantes,* de sentibus et *de deserto ad perfectionis culmen perduxerunt.* In quo *fundamentum templi et monasterii claustra* cum ceteris aedificiis fundare studuit. *In quarto autem anno regni eiusdem huius templi conseeratio facta est* per *domnum Geminianum sancte Regiensis aecclesiae episcapum,* ad honorem *sancte* Dei Genitricis *Mariae et beati Benedicti* abbatis, per iussionem domni Adriani summi pontificis romanae aecclesiae et universalis papae. *In ipso autem anno per deprecationem predicti regis* et ipsius Anselmi abbatis *ac totius congregationis advenit domnus Sergius archiepiscopus sedis Ravennatis aecclesiae et consecravit templum et altare ad nomen et honorem sanctorum omnium apostolorum* per iussionem predicti domni Adriani pape. . . . Praefatus vero venerabilis pater *Anselmus* . . . eundem *Aystulfum* adiit *regem, per sororem scilicet suam Giseltrudem. . . . Huius namque impetratu tria non modica intra collationem paulo ante idem vir construxerat coenobia fratrumque decorarat agminibus, in quorum maximo quod Nonantulae actenus vocitatur monachorumque prepollet phalangiis, cum sanctissimi vellet aretus adquirere Silvestri, dominicae*

St. Peter the Apostle, was a parchment in which it was written that because of reverence for our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the holy Apostles, he had erected a monastery in the territory of Modena, in a place called Nonantola, and that he had given the same parchment to the venerable Anselmo, abbot; and since the said Anselmo was there present with him, Anselmo also offered the parchment upon the very holy body of St. Peter the Apostle, and thus donated the afore-mentioned monastery to the Holy See of Rome, which, by the grace of God, we are seen to rule. The afore-mentioned king begged our generosity that we should deign to give the body of the most blessed pope Silvester and other relics of the saints to the abbot Anselmo, for the afore-mentioned venerable monastery; and that as a benediction we should forthwith consecrate him abbot with our own hands, and invest him with the cowl according to the rule of St. Benedict, and duly place in his hands the pastoral staff and the sandals. With a glad countenance we grant his very holy petition, . . . and moreover we command Sergio, archbishop of Ravenna, that he carry the body of S. Silvestro and the other relics of saints personally to the above-mentioned monastery, and that he place them there, and that he consecrate both the altars and the church by our apostolic authority.' "[18] This false bull is followed by another which confirms the possessions of the monastery. Then comes a privilege of Astolfo of 753,

incarnationis anno DCCLIII supradictum petiit regem, suppliciter rogans, ut causa orationis maximeque huius negotii una secum Romam venisset. *Rex annuit, et abbas fratribus stipatus* Romam advenit ad virum per omnia beatissimum Adrianum, qui tunc romanam et apostolicam gubernabat ecclesiam. A quo benigne suscepti sunt, et eos thesauro quem petierunt, in hunc tenorem sicuti hic legitur, ditavit:

"Adrianus servus servorum Dei.

"Omnibus venerabilibus fratribus et coepiscopis cunctisque religiosis christianis Deo deservientibus regno italico et patriarchio Romano. Residentibus nobis cum plurimis episcopis ad beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum principum limina, synodale commonente concilio, venit Flavius Aystulfus, vir excellentissimus, rex Italici regni ad predictorum apostolorum vestigia. Inter caetera quae contulit dona beati Petri apostoli aecclesiae optulit preceptum unum, in quo continebatur, quod ob reverentiam Domini Salvatoris atque beatae virginis Mariae omniumque sanctorum apostolorum construxisset monasterium in territorio Motinense loco nuncupante Nonantula, ipsumque preceptum concessisset viro venerabili nomine Anselmo abbati; et eundem virum Anselmum cum secum haberet, optulit illum pariter et preceptum supra sacratissimum corpus beati Petri apostoli, sicque dotavit prefato monasterio sanctae sedis Romanae, quam Deo auctore regere cernimur. Petiit predictus rex nostram munificentiam, ut corpus beatissimi papae Silvestri cum aliis sanctorum pignoribus eidem Anselmo abbati ad predictum venerabile monasterium deferre concederemus et per benedictionem. protinus nostris manibus consecraremus ipsum abbatem et cuculla indueremus secundum regulam sancti Benedicti, eius manibus traderemus simul et baculum pastoralem et pedules secundum ordinem. Cuius sanctissimam petitionem ylari vultu, quam petebat concessimus. . . . Precepimus ei etiam, ut predictum sanctum corpus beati Silvestri et alias sanctorum reliquias per se ipsum ad iam dictum coenobium deferret et recondceret altariaque simul et aecclesiam nostra apostolica auctoritate consecraret. . . .' " (*Vita S. Anselmi,* ed. Bortolotti, 123-137).

confirming, among other possessions, *Monasterium Sancti Salvatoris* [*sic*], *situm in Fananum*.[19] The chronicle continues: "This servant of God, Anselmo, had under his rule a thousand, one hundred and forty-four regular monks, as well as boys and bell-ringers, who are not constrained to the rule . . ."[20] As has been intimated, the text of the chronicle offers great difficulties. In the first place, in the year 749 not Hadrian, but Stephen, was pope; in the second place, it is known that Astolfo was the enemy of the pope Stephen, and to such an extent that he besieged him in Rome. Tiraboschi and Bortolotti have conjectured that it was during this siege of the Holy City that the Lombard king became possessed of the body of S. Silvestro, which he donated to his monastery at Nonantola. It is known that at this time many of the bodies of the saints were stolen from the cemeteries about Rome. It is obvious that it would be a little embarrassing for the monastery of Nonantola to confess that it acquired its chief treasure, the body of S. Silvestro, by means of theft. The story of the visit of Astolfo and Anselmo to Rome, and of the giving of the body of S. Silvestro by the pope, was accordingly coined. The fact that the monastery possessed the body of the pope, Hadrian III, and the fact that this pope had been confused with St. Hadrian I, doubtless led to Pope Hadrian being substituted for Pope Stephen in the legend. If the body of S. Silvestro was given to the monastery by some pope, why should not that logically be by the pope Hadrian, whose body was buried at Nonantola, and who might be assumed to have taken an especial interest in the monastery? Stripped of its fictitious embellishments, the *Vita Sancti Anselmi* preserves for us several important facts. There is no reason to doubt that Fanano[21]

[19] The document also contains the following curious piece of information, which probably refers to some now unknown monastery of S. Giustina in the Modenese, rather than to the monastery of the same name at Sezzè: "Item aliud ille dignus Pater [Anselmus] constituit Xenodochium ex suis propriis rebus in loco, qui dicitur Susonia, ubi fieri jussit oraculum Sanctæ Justinæ Martyris, in quo etiam Monachos semper adesse voluit. (*Ibid.*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., I, pt. 2, 189. Cf. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 30).

[20] Habuit namque hic Dei famulus sub suo regimine monachos regulares mille centum quadraginta quattuor, exceptis parvulis et pulsantibus, qui non constringebantur ad regulam. (*Ibid.*, ed. Bortolotti, 129).

[21] I. The church of S. Silvestro at Fanano has been studied and illustrated by Maestri, who assigns the capitals of the destroyed church to the Carlovingian epoch. Toschi (463-465), however, is more cautious in dating these remains. For the history of the church, Troya (IV, 387) and Sigonio (t20) should be consulted, as well as the important XVIII century manuscript in the local archives, cited above. See also the pamphlet entitled *Ricordo della Consacrazione.*

II. It has been seen that Astolfo first founded a monastery at Fanano in 749. Anselmo, and at least some of his monks, very shortly afterwards moved to Nonantola, where they founded another monastery, but it appears that an abbey continued to exist at Fanano, and was dependent upon Nonantola. The XVIII century manuscript above referred to states: ". . . sopra gl'Architravi delle porte di essa Chiesa prima che diroccasse leggevansi alcune Iscrizioni in lettere Gotiche, che mostrava la fabbrica molta antica." There is much uncertainty regarding the site of the ancient abbey, and

was founded in 749, that in 751 Anselmo and his monks moved to Nonantola, and in the same year began the construction of the church and monastery; that in the following year the church was dedicated, and that the body of S. Silvestro was acquired in 756. The authentic portions of the *Vita* are confirmed by the ancient catalogue of the abbots: "But we wish that your Serene and Royal Clemency should know how this place of Nonantola was built, as we still have it written in the catalogue of the abbot Anselmo in our archives. For this place of Nonantola was given by King Astolfo in the third year of his reign to the abbot Anselmo to found a holy monastery; by the help of God in the above-mentioned year Anselmo laid out this place together with the foundation of this church and the cloister of the monastery, and this abbey, with the aid of God, Anselmo himself and his monks, labouring with their own hands, brought from a desert to the acme of perfection. And in the fourth year of the reign of Astolfo, the abbey was consecrated by Geminiano, bishop of the church of Reggio. The consecration of the chapel and of the altar of S. Maria and S. Benedetto took place on the eighth day

whether or not it is that occupied by the existing church. Among the stones found in the crypt in recent times is one which bears the inscription: [AB]BACIE FA . . . . . which has been interpreted to prove that the existing church of S. Silvestro does occupy the site of the abbey. The XVIII century manuscript, however, leads us to believe that the site of the abbey had been more than once changed: "Io però entro nel parere di certo accreditato Scrittore delle cose di Fanano, il quale appoggiato alla tradizione de' Vecchi, e fondato su'alcune Memorie ritrovate in Casa Rinaldi da Se vedute e lette, aparisce francamente che i Monaci mutasero più luoghi e che prima abitassero vincino all'Alpi allo Spedale, ma che poi spinti dalla necessità, non potendo reggere all'acubezza de' freddi cagionati dalle nevi che in gran copia cadono, e perpetuansi in quelle boscaglie . . . furono astretti a cercar aria più temperata, e in Monte Luzi detto da Paolo Menila *Mons Lucius,* dove sappiamo esser stata Chiesa dedicata a Santi Senesio e Teopompo; e in Fanano." (Cap. VII). According to an inscription on an abacus of a capital, the edifice was remade in 1206. The upper part of the existing church, with cylindrical piers and wooden roofs, doubtless dates from this epoch. It is probable that this reconstruction was occasioned by the introduction of Franciscan monks to supplant the Benedictines in the church. Certain it is that in 1337 the Franciscans were already installed. In 1369 the church appears as a pieve (Tiraboschi, *Nonantula,* II, 446), so that the occupation of the Franciscans must have been of short duration. In a catalogue of 1463, the pieve of Fanano appears as exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Modena, and as the head of eighteen churches. (Maestri, 30). In 1502 the Renaissance portal was added. In 1615, according to the author of the manuscript chronicle (Cap. IX), the edifice was burned. In the restoration necessitated by this fire, the orientation of the church was reversed and, in fact, traces of the crypt and of the old choir were discovered under the present west end of the church in the restoration of 1903. The edifice was baroccoized from 1612 to 1616, and the Gothic upper portion of the façade was added in the XIX century.

III, IV, V. The existing edifice is entirely without interest, but in 1903 there were discovered numerous fragments of capitals and other bits of carving which evidently came from an earlier church. The capitals, which show close analogy to those of the crypt of Modena, must date from the first quarter of the XII century. These fragments are now collected in the southern vestibule.

of the month of October. Moreover, in the fourth year of the reign of Astolfo, Sergio, the archbishop of Ravenna, invited by the king and by the holy community of monks, came and consecrated the church and altar in the name of the holy apostles on the ninth day of June, and he remained here three days."[22] Most of the critical students of the history of the abbey have believed that this extract from the *Catalogus Domni Anselmi* may be literally accepted. I suspect, however, that even here there may be some falsifications. It is known that in later times the abbey strove to free itself from the yoke of the bishops of Modena. The very explicit and emphatic mention, therefore, that two consecrations were performed by other bishops at this very early time, gives reason to suspect that the ancient text may have been tampered with in the interest of the temporal advantage of the monastery.

The main facts of the foundation of the monastery, as we have traced them amid the falsifications of the *Vita*, are confirmed by an ancient catalogue of the privileges of Nonantola, which dates from 1279, and which has been studied by Tiraboschi.[23] From this it appears that in the XIII century there were still extant in the archives of the monastery four diplomas of Astolfo, confirming to Anselmo and his monks of Nonantola, S. Silvestro of Fanano and other possessions. It appears that the diploma in the *Vita* is really a sort of composite of these four original diplomas which served the forger as a basis around which he wove his interpolations. These diplomas were also confirmed by Desiderio in a diploma with erroneous chronological notes, but apparently of 758.[24]

The spurious donation of 753 has already been mentioned.[25] The facts of the foundation are narrated in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, which was written in the X century[26] in the *Chronica Sigeberti* of the XII century,[27] by Siccardo,

[22] Quin etiam scire volumus serenissimam ac regalem misericordiam vestram erga nos, qualiter locus iste Nonantule edificatus est, quem admodum in catalogum domni Anselmi abbatis apud nos scriptum habemus. *Donatus est locus iste Nonantulensis per domno Aistulpho rege* domni *Anselmi abbatis*, ut hic sanctum construeret monasterium *anno regni eius tertio.* Et *adiuvante superna dextera*, per ipso domno Anselmo praedicto anno designatus est locus iste, et *fundamenta templi huius et monasterii claustra*, quod ipse, prestante Domino, *de deserto cum suis monachis, laborantibus omnibus cum ipso, suis manibus ad perfectionis culmen perduxit. Quarto regni eius anno per domno Geminiano Regiense ecclesie episcopo consecratio facta est* octavo die mense Octobrii, *oratorii et altarii sancte Marie et beati Benedicti.*

Item quarto anno regni eius ab ipso rege invitato et tota congregatione venit hic domnus Sergius archiepiscopus sedis Ravennate ecclesiae et consecravit templum et altare ad nomen et reliquias sanctorum omnium Apostolorum, die nono mense Iunio, et *fuit hic per triduo.*

[23] II, 1. [24] This diploma was published by Biancolini, IV, 723.

[25] See above, p. 88.

[26] Idemque [Aystulfus rex] et fecit monasterium in fines Aemiliae, qui dicitur Mutina, loco qui nuncupatur Nonantula, per eius cognato, abbate Anselmo, virorum coenobium fundatum est. (*Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. M. G. H., *SS.*, III, 475).

[27] Anselmus vir illustris, cuius soror erat uxor Haistulfi regis, transfert corpus

who also wrote in the XII century,[28] in the *Chronica Albrici*,[29] probably written about the same time, by Ricobaldo, who wrote in the XIII century,[30] in the *Continuatio* of Paolo Diacono,[31] composed in the XIII or XIV century, in the chronicle of Bologna,[32] and by Fra Jacopo da Acqui.[33] In view of this large number of documents, and of the fact that the knowledge of the early history of Nonantola was widely diffused in the Middle Ages, it is strange that the XI century chronicler Arnolfo should have improvised a history of his own, founded upon nothing more authentic than the resemblance between the words *nonaginta* and *Nonantola*.[34] Galvaneo della Fiamma repeated this fabulous story almost verbatim.[35]

sancti Silvestri papae ad coenobium Nonantulam a se fundatum. (Sigeberti, *Chronica*, ad Ann. 752, ed. M. G. H., *SS.*, VI, 32).

[28] Anno Domini DCCLV tempore Astulphi Regis & VIII anno Domni & Silvestri Papæ primi translatum est Corpus Beati Silvestri Nonantulam. (Sicardi Episcopi, *Chronicon*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., VII, 577).

[29] Anchelmus vir illustris transfert corpus Sancti Silvestri pape ad cenobium Nonantulam a se fundatum. Est autem Nonantula in Lombardia inter Mutinam et Parmam. (*Chronica Albrici*, ed. M. G. H., *SS.*, XXIII, 709).

[30] Anselmus Dux frater uxoris Aystulfi Regis, relicto seculo factus est Monachus, de suis opibus fundavit Monasterium Nonantulanum agro Mutinensi, titulo Apostolorum, ubi pater fuit CCC Monachorum; illic mox de Roma adduxit corpus B. Silvestri Papæ. (Ricobaldi Ferrariensis, *Comp. Chron.*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IX, 231).

Hoc tempore Anselmus Dux frater uxoris Regis Astulfi, relicto seculo & pompis ejus, agro Mutinensi Nonantulanum construxit Monasterium, & Ecclesiam ibi dedicavit ad honorem omnium Apostolorum. Id Monasterium ex suis ditavit opibus, & ex aliis acquisivit, in quo MCC. Monachis pater fuit. Qui mox ad Pontificem Romanum profectus, inter cetera ab eo obtinuit Corpus Beati Silvestri Confessoris, quod in ea Ecclesia hodie conditum reservatur, ubi etiam Adriani Papæ, & Martyrum Senesii ac Theopompi Corpora in pace quiescunt. (Ricobaldi Ferrariensis, *Historia*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IX, 107).

[31] Qui quidem Anselmus vir illuster cenobium Nonantulam fundavit, quo transtulit corpus sancti Silvestri pape. (Waitz, *Pauli Continuatio Tertia*, M. G. H., *SS. R. L. et I.*, 209).

[32] Anxelmus dux frater uxoris Arstulfi regis Longobardorum monachus fit et construxit monasterium Nonantulanum diocesis Mutine, quo transtulit corpus beati Silvestri. (*Cronaca A, Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, Muratori, ed. Carducci, XVIII, pt. I, 373. Similar account *Cronaca B, ibid.*, 390).

[33] Hoc tempore [c. 718] Anselmus dux Mutinensis cognatus Aystulphi regis Longobardorum exemplo Rachis quondam regis supradicti relicto seculo et pompis eius in comitatu Mutinensi Nonantullanum monasterium construxit. et ecclesiam ibi dedicavit ad honorem omnium apostolorum. et illud monasterium ex suis dotavit opibus. in quo monasterio ducentorum monachorum extitit pater. . . . Predicto enim Anselmo abbati pro magna gratia papa Zacharias dedit corpora sanctorum confessorum Silvestri et Adriani et Genessii et Theopontii qui in eodem monasterio Nontullano conditi reservantur. (Frate Jacopo da Acqui, *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi*, ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, V, 1482).

[34] Factum est autem ut conventione dignæ satisfactionis [Hugh of Burgundy, King of Italy] concederet Ecclesiæ pro nonaginta interfectis Abbatiam Nonantulæ,

Bortolotti, from a study of the falsified documents of the abbey, has come to the conclusion that Anselmo did obtain from Hadrian I in 776 a bull which more or less formed the basis of the bull in the chronicle.[36] However this may be, there is extant a diploma of the year 780, indubitably authentic, which refers to the abbey under the title of *omnium Apostolorum et beati Silvestri*.[37] The translation of the body of the saint consequently took place before this. Some time during the VIII century, the abbey must have passed through troublous times, for we hear of an exile of S. Anselmo, although nothing is known of the cause. There is little doubt that the monastery early acquired great power. The statement of the hagiographer that there were a thousand, one hundred and forty-four monks under S. Anselmo is undoubtedly exaggerated, and Ricobaldo is nearer right when he places the number at three hundred than when he puts it at twelve hundred. His correction is, however, probably unintentional, and I suspect is due to his having misread MCC as CCC. Jacopo da Acqui reduces the number to two hundred.

The life of S. Anselmo states that the saint died during the reign of Charlemagne, and that not long after his death the monastery of Nonantola was entirely destroyed by fire.[38] It was possibly in consequence of this disaster that Charlemagne made to the monastery a donation which is recorded by Ricobaldo,[39] and in the catalogue of 1279.[40]

The catalogue of Nonantola states that in 918 or 919 (the chronological notes are confused), on the seventh of March, the abbey was completely destroyed by fire.[41] Critics are universally agreed that the date given by the

quæ propter nonaginta sui juris Curtes sic vocata perhibetur. (Arnulphi, *Hist. Med.*, I, 3, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IV, 8 and note).

[35] Tunc Hugo Imperator [after having slaughtered ninety nobles who opposed the intrusion of his son into the archbishopric of Milan] tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus, quandam nobilem Abbatiam construxit, quam à numero 90. occisorum Mediolanensium Nonantulam appellavit, & Archiepiscopo Mediolanensi donavit: Haec Arnulphus. (Galvanei Flammae, *Manipulus Florum*, CXXX, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 605).

[36] Bortolotti, 26.

[37] Tiraboschi, I, 68.

[38] Post multum non longum temporis spacium iuste Deo de nostrorum reatibus peccatorum ulciscente (*sic*) ut Nonantule monasterium penitus igne cremaretur. (*Vita di S. Anselmo*, ed. Bortolotti, 131).

[39] Idem Karolus [Charlemagne] Monasterio Nonantulano contulit Bondenum, quod situm est in agro Ferrariensi, non longè à Pado fluvio. (Ricobaldi Ferrariensis, *Comp. Chron.*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IX, 235).

[40] Tiraboschi, II, 1.

[41] Regnante Berengario augusto anno tertio imperii eius, die prima mensis Februarii indictione VII, apparuerunt per totam noctem igneas in caelo acies super universum orbem. Et die septimo intrante mense Mar. propter culpam incurie combustum est ab igne monasterium Nonantul. a summo usque deorsum. Similiter et Parma igne cremata est. Et regnante Berengario et regnante Rodulfo a paganis civitas Papia igne cremata est mense Mar. indictione XII. (*Catalogo degli abbati di Nonantola*, ed. Bortolotti, 146).

catalogue can not be accepted. The author of the legend of S. Adriano tells us that the body of Adriano was placed in another tomb when all the people had determined to rebuild the church of S. Silvestro.[42] This reconstruction Bortolotti conjectures took place in consequence of the fire. Now Hadrian III died in 885, so that the fire and the reconstruction must have occurred subsequently to this date. On the other hand, in 899 the monastery was again destroyed by the Hungarians, as we shall see. The accidental fire consequently occurred between 885 and 899. Bortolotti thinks the difficulties are best explained by assigning the accidental fire to the year 890[43] and in this he is in agreement with Tiraboschi[44] and Cesari.[45]

In the catalogue of the abbots we read: "Leopardo was ordained in 899, sat for thirteen years, two months and nineteen days, and died on June 20. In that very year [899] the Hungarians came into Italy in the month of August, the third indiction.[46] On September 24 the Christians joined battle with the Hungarians at the river Brenta, where many thousands of the Christians were killed, and the rest put to flight, and the Hungarians came as far as Nonantola, and killed the monks, and burned the monastery, and destroyed by fire many codici, and devastated the entire place. Moreover, the aforesaid venerable abbot, Leopardo, with the rest of the monks, took flight, and lay in hiding for some time. After that they came together again, and refounded the church and the monastery. After that he sent to the pope, Sergius [III, 904-912], who was then governing the Roman and apostolic see, asking counsel concerning the consecration of the church of his monastery, and concerning the various losses which it had suffered at the hands of the barbarians and other bad men."[47] The catalogue continues with a letter purporting to have been written by the pope on this occasion. The pontiff

[42] Cumque sancti Silvestri aecclesiam omnis populus renovare destinasset, sancti Adriani corpus in alio sepulchro recondere coepit. (Ed. Bortolotti, 157).

Aecclesia sancti Silvestri iure colendi,
Corpus [of Adriano] cum luctibus est tumulatum.
(*Ibid.*, 159).

[43] 81. [44] I, 85. [45] 25.

[46] The third indiction corresponds with the year 900, not with 899.

[47] Leopardus annos XIII, menses duos, dies XVIIII. Ordinatus anno Domini DCCCXCVIIII. Obiit XII Kal. Iul. In ipso anno venerunt Ungari in Italia de mense Augusti indictione III. VIII Kal. Octob. iunxerunt se christiani cum eis in bello ad fluvium Brentam, ubi multa millia christianorum interfecta sunt ab eis, et alios fugaverunt: et venerunt usque ad Nonantulam et occiderunt monachos et incenderunt monasterium et codices multos concremaverunt atque omnem depopulati sunt locum. Predictus autem venerabilis abbas Leopardus cum ceteris aliis monachis fugierunt et aliquandiu latuerunt. Postea vero recongregati sunt et recondiderunt monasterium et ecclesiam. Et misit ad Sergium papam, qui tunc Romanam et apostolicam gubernabat sedem, consulendo de consecratione aecclesiae sui monasterii et de diversis erumnis, quas passus est a barbaris atque ab aliis malis hominibus. (Ed. Bortolotti, 146).

rehearses the ruin of the monastery which the barbarians had burned by fire, but exhorts the abbot to strain every effort in order that "after so many disasters the church of the monastery may be rebuilt." The pope thereupon takes the monastery under his protection, and forbids the abbot to invite to consecrate it anyone except Giovanni the venerable bishop of Pavia, or Guido of Piacenza, or Elbuneo of Parma.[48] The latter part of this document, with its pointed reference to the exemption of Nonantola from the authority of the bishop of Modena, sounds apocryphal, but is proved to be authentic by a letter written by Giovanni, archbishop of Ravenna, and addressed to the abbot of Nonantola about 909. The archbishop is enraged because Nonantola, in escaping from the jurisdiction of Modena, escapes also from that of Ravenna. The missive, moreover, contains a distinct reference to the former consecration of the church by the archbishop of Ravenna, Sergius.[49]

The destruction of Nonantola by the Hungarians, although the chronological notes of the catalogue are confused, undoubtedly took place in 899. Such is the unanimous opinion of Bortolotti,[50], Muratori and Tiraboschi.[51] The letter of Sergius is without date, but must have been written after 904, when Guido became bishop of Piacenza. Muratori ascribes the letter to the year 908, probably because Ughelli—though without citing his authority—says that the consecration of the church was actually performed by Guido in the year 909. Sigonio also seems to have knowledge of this fact.[52]

According to Sigonio, the bodies of the saints Senesio and Teopompo were translated to Nonantola from near Treviso in 912.[53]

In the last part of the X century we find the monastery of Nonantola in open warfare with the bishops of Modena over the question of its right to

[48] *Ibid.*, 146-149. The text of this letter as published by Ughelli is as follows:

SERGIUS EPISCOPUS
Servus Servorum Dei.

Leopardo religioso Nonantulani monasterii Abbati. Visis humilitatis tuæ litteris condoluimus satis de cœnobio Nonantulanensi tibi commisso, eoque sub cura tui regiminis commissus tibi grex nonnullis afficitur indigentiis. Siquidem Barbarorum gladio vastan (*sic*): tuumque monasterium ab eisdem igne crematum, malorum hominum infestatione te ipsum cum tuis turbatum audimus; sed misericordiæ omnipotentis Dei esto fisus, Beatorumque Apostolorum suffragiis adjustus, quod ad hoc prævaluisti, ut post tot flagella tui laboris certamine Ecclesiam ipsius tui monasterii usque ad culmen levares, quam cum toto suo monasterio sub Apostolica nostra tuitione . . . decernimus esse. . . . De cætero si ad consecrandum tui monasterii Ecclesiam Episcopũ quæris, hoc tempore nolumus, ut aliquem ad consecrandam ipsam Ecclesiam roges, nisi Joannem venerab. Ticinensem Episcopum, aut Vvidonem Placentinum vel Elbungum Parmensem . . . (Ughelli, ed. C, II, 204-205. Compare also Muratori, A. I. M. A., *Dis.* I, ed. A., I, 27).

[49] . . . . . a die memorie Sergio Sanctissimo Archiepiscopo Ravenne ecclesie, cui deo auctore presumus, consecratum & sanctificatum fuerit primigene constructionis effectu. (Tiraboschi, II, 93).

[50] 79. [51] I, 87-88. See also Cesari, 25. [52] 246.

[53] 247. See also Muratori, R. I. S., I, pt. 2, 195-196.

exemption from the episcopal authority. A diploma of Otto II, without date but assigned to 982, states that the monastery for more than fifty years had been desolated and reduced to almost nothing by the bishops who held nearly all its lands in benefice.[54] Tiraboschi considers that this document is authentic, but believes that there is much exaggeration in its description of the oppression by the bishops.[55] In the year 1003 the emperor Henry II conferred the abbey upon the bishop of Parma, doubtless to aid it in its struggles against the bishop of Modena.[56]

In 1013 the unfortunate abbey was again destroyed by fire. This is recorded in the catalogue of the abbots.[57]

In 1077 the pope, Gregory VII, spent Easter in the monastery.[58] At this time the abbey enjoyed the warm support of the powerful countess Matilda and of the popes. In 1113 Paschal II issued in favour of the abbey a most ample bull, in which all its pretentions against the bishop of Modena were fully sanctioned. From this bull we learn also that the countess Matilda had made important donations to the monastery.[59] It is from an exaggerated account of these donations that comes the notice in the chronicle of Bologna to the effect that the countess had built the monastery.[60]

On the architrave of the portal of Nonantola is an inscription which may be translated: "The lofty temple of great Silvestro fell after 1117 revolutions

[54] [Otto dei] gratia Romanorum imperator augustus. [Omnibus] nostris fidelibus. Notum vobis esse potest omnibus in Italico [regno] degentibus. quod Natulense monasterium iam per quinquaginta annos et amplius propter episcopos qui pene totam ipsius monasterii terram pro benefitio tenuerunt, desolatum et ad nichilum prope redactum sit; nos vero cum dei adiutorio id restaurare et redintegrare cupimus, etc. (M. G. H., *Diplom.*, II, pt. I, 329).

[55] I, 94. [56] Affò, I, 379.

[57] Rodulfus abbas ann. XXXIIII. Ordinatus ann. Domini mill. II. Anno ordinationis sue XII, anno Domini mil. XIII, regnante Heinrico primo anno X, monasterium Nonantul. igne crematum est totum. (Ed. Bortolotti, 152).

[58] Cesari, 27.

[59] Paschalis Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio, Johanni, nostris per Dei gratiam manibus in Abbatem Nonantulani Monasterii consecrato. . . . Quapropter . . . censuimus, ut Nonantulanum Monasterium, cui Deo auctore praesides, quod ab ipso fundatore, Aistulfo videlicet Longobardorum Rege, Apostolicae Sedi oblatum est. . . . [Confirms possessions]. . . . Confirmamus . . . quae Comitissa Mathildis de oblatione, quam Sancto Petro & Romanae Ecclesiae dederat, vobis nuper dedisse cognoscitur, sub Censu scilicet annuo unius aurei. . . . Crisma, Oleum Sanctum, Consecrationes Altarium, sive Basilicarum, Ordinationes Monachorum, qui ad Sacros fuerint Ordines promovendi, sive Clericorum, Monasterio, Cellis, vel Ecclesiis pertinentium, a quo malueritis Catholico accipietis Episcopo. . . . Data Tiberiae, . . . Quarto Idus Novembris, Indictione VI. Incarnationis Dominicae, Anno Millesimo Centesimo Decimo Tertio, Pontificatus autem Domni Pascalis II. Papae Anno XIV. (Ed. Muratori, A. I. M. A., *Dis.* 64, ed. A., XIII, 133).

[60] Anno Christi MC6 morì la contessa Mathelda la quale fè hedificare Nonantula. . . . (*Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, Muratori, ed. Carducci, XVIII, pt. I, II, 4).

of the sun had marked as many years from Christ. The reconstruction of this temple was commenced four long years[61] afterwards."[62] These leonine verses are, however, ambiguous. No less an authority than Tiraboschi read the date, not as 1117, but as 1170.[63] Bortolotti,[64] as a result of a study of the epigraphy of the letters, suspected that the date must be 1117, not 1170. Cesari[65] referred the inscription to 1117, and to this year it appears to belong indubitably. Not only does the style of the sculptures and of the letters of the inscription require such an interpretation, but the Latin itself is much more easily construed to mean 1117 than it is to mean 1170. Moreover, it is known that in 1117 there was a severe earthquake in northern Italy which destroyed numerous churches.

During the XII century the strife between the abbey of Nonantola and the bishops of Modena became so embittered that in 1148 the pope, Eugenius III, suppressed the diocese of Modena to punish the Modenesi who had burned and destroyed Nonantola.[66] There is no evidence that the church-building suffered damage at this time, but such exciting events doubtless resulted in retarding the construction of the edifice begun in 1121. There is evidence that the new building was not completely finished before 1162. In the wall of the archivio is preserved a fragment of an inscription which reads:

. . . . . C̄STRVXIT.
. . . . . DNS REGN̂A POLOR

This fragment comes from a long metrical inscription which was seen in 1606 by Spaccini, who copied it. This copy is preserved in the Modena archives.[67] It is evident that Spaccini did not understand what he was copying, and therefore the interpretation of this leonine verse offers grave difficulties, but the first two lines and the word *renovatum* or *renovatur* of the third line are clear, thus:

Anno mitle simutatque centeno bis quoque triceno
Cum aliis binis coadiunctis Sancti Sylvestri
. . . . . est renovatum (or renovatur) . . . . .

What part of the church of S. Silvestro it was that was restored in 1162 remains, however, entirely uncertain. Cesari interprets TRIS PSES as an abbreviation for *turris praesens,* and takes it to mean the campanile, but this

[61] For the technical meaning of *magnus annus,* see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.,* II, 8, §40. Here, however, I think the term is not used in a technical sense.

[62] ✠ SILVESTRI CELSI CECI DERVN̂T CVLMINA T̄EPL.
MILLE REDEPTORIS LAPSIS VERTIGIN̂E SOLIS
ANNI CEN̂TENIS SEPT̄E N̄EC NON QVOQ. D̄ENIS.
QVOD REFICI M̂AGNOS CEPIT POST QVAT̂VOR ANNOS.

[63] I, 123. [64] 59. [65] 60. [66] Saccani, 59; Tiraboschi, III, *Cod.,* 21; Cesari, 5.

[67] Spaccini, *Chronica,* Codice of early XVII, S. N., Archivio storico communale di Modena, Vol. II, second folio from end, Sotto 30 Dicembre, 1606. The inscription

is open to doubt, and, in any case, the latter part of the inscription remains entirely unexplained. It is also uncertain whether the metrical lines which mention Gervasio of Ferrara form part of this inscription or belong to another. Nothing is certain besides the fact that some part of the abbey of Nonantola was reconstructed in 1162.

In the latter part of the XII century the abbey, once so powerful, had considerably fallen, apparently chiefly because of the long and exhausting conflict with the bishops of Modena. In a document of 1170 the papal legate speaks eloquently of the sad state of the monastery.[68] Nevertheless, in 1215 works of construction were in progress at Nonantola, as is clear from two documents published by Tiraboschi. The first of these speaks very clearly of expenses incurred in erecting the walls of the church.[69] The second document seems to refer more especially to works in the sacristy.[70] In 1220 the church was supplied with a small new bell.[71]

is drawn in what is intended to be a facsimile which is reproduced below as exactly as is possible in type:

"1606. Adi 30 Decembr'. . . . Memoria d'una pietra antica nell'Abbadia di Nonantola, e sono tale, etc.

✠A. M.' SIM[V]LATQ. CNT E NO
BIS QVOQVE TRICENO CVALIIS BINIS
COADIVCTIS SCI SILVRI TRISPSESRE
NOVAT A SACISTISTIS DO NOAT LB TOSIGE
ZONEQ. DE VERACE . FE . REGNA TE

E in una altra pietra u' è l'Infrascritte lettere:

✠FERARIEMSIS GERVASIVS CSTRV
XIT . HOC OPVS . FACTORIB KOR VDET
DNS REGNA PoLoRVM

E uol dir cosl. Ferrariensis Geruasius construxit, hoc opus. factoribus quocundam et dominus regna polorum e ui aggiungano qsta coadiuncto.

[68] Tiraboschi, II, 289.

[69] Et hec omnia predicta pro CX. libris Bonon. in utilitate prefati Monasterii sancti Silvestri posuisse, scilicet in emptione petrarum pro murare ecclesiam, & pro solvere domino Redolfino de tebaldis de salario placiti, quod habuit sacrista cum certis hominibus, ac de octoginta libris Bonon. securitatem fecerunt solvere eis a martio proximo antea quandocumque laboraverint ad laborerium dicte Ecclesiæ, sicuti continebatur in Laudo facto a dicto domino Redolfino, etc.

[70] Esso è la rinnovazione dell'Enfiteuse di alcune terre in Zola fatta al Monastero di S. Procolo di Bologna, in cui si cita la prima concessione e il primo contratto fattone dall'Ab. Raimondo per rogito di Bonifacio Guascone a' XII di Giugno MCCXXI. e si dice, che questo Abate avea perciò ricevute da' Monaci di S. Procolo trenta lire, quos omnes denarios predictus dominus Abbas confessus fuit se recepisse . . . . . pro expendendis in Sacristia dicti Monasterii Nonantulani noviter refecta & reficienda. (Tiraboschi, I, 123).

[71] Cesari, 55.

About the end of the XIV century, the monastery was in full decadence, and the church, almost fallen into ruin, was well-nigh deserted by the monks. In 1398 there was only one monk residing at Nonantola.[72] A restoration was undertaken by the abbot Pepoli, who probably repaired the roof of the church. Because of the humidity the crypt was closed at this epoch, and the body of S. Silvestro was translated into the southern absidiole. The northern absidiole was turned into a sacristy.[73] In 1449 the abbey was given in commendam.[74] Documents of 1461 and 1466 note expenses incurred in remaking a great part of the exterior walls of the apses and the northern wall of the church, as well as for vaulting the church and raising the level of the pavement.[75] The capitals with the escutcheon of the Estensi in the existing edifice, doubtless date from this epoch.[76] In 1475 the marble tomb for the saints Adriano, Anselmo and Fosca, which had formerly served as an altar, was placed before the new altar erected in this year. From the Acts of the pastoral visit of 1475, it is clear that at this epoch the church was vaulted and that the choir, which embraced the two eastern bays of the nave, was entirely paved with mosaic. In the early years of the XVI century the crypt was reopened.[77] In 1514 the Benedictine monks were replaced by Cistercians.[78] The existing area of S. Silvestro was built from 1568 to 1572.[79] In 1674 the old campanile was torn down, and a new tower was raised upon the vault of the central apse. In 1688 the pavement of the church was raised, the choir was lowered, the interior covered with intonaco, and the roof repaired.[80] In 1715 the abbey was raised to the rank of a cathedral.[81] The façade was baroccoized 1774-1777.[82] This restoration is recorded by an inscription still extant on the porch. In 1798 the monks were suppressed.[83] In 1801 the Seminario which had been founded by S. Carlo was reopened, and in 1802 the abbey was officiated by an abbot and a chapter of canons.[84] In 1891 a restoration was carried out. The roof was renewed, and the barroco intonaco stripped from the nave.[85]

III. The existing edifice consists of a nave eight bays long, two side aisles and three apses. Originally the nave possessed nine bays, but when the apses were rebuilt in the XV century the choir was radically altered, two long bays being substituted for the original three shorter ones, the foundations of which may still be seen. The system is uniform, and the piers all have a quatrefoiled section, excepting in the choir, where the original piers, like the XIV century ones that have replaced them, omitted the colonnette on the side facing the nave. From this it may be argued that the ancient choir was barrel-vaulted. The clearstory of the nave was originally much loftier than at present. Its upper part was reduced in height when the vaults were

[72] *Ibid.*, 55. [73] *Ibid.*, 56. [74] *Ibid.*, 30. [75] *Ibid.*, 56.
[76] *Ibid.* [77] *Ibid.*, 58. [78] *Memorie Nonantolane*, 25; Cesari, 41.
[79] Cesari, 58. [80] *Ibid.*, 59. [81] *Ibid.*, 32. [82] *Ibid.*, 59.
[83] *Ibid.*, 9. [84] *Ibid.*, 10. [85] Faccioli, 59.

added. It is probable that there were originally transverse arches, since the system of a single shaft is hardly calculated to support the vaults. The side-aisle responds were all much made over in the XV century, so that it is impossible to say whether even the side aisles were vaulted. I think it is more likely that there were merely transverse arches. The original dome of the principal apse still exists high above the existing dome of the XV century. Originally the crypt extended not only beneath the three apses, but beneath the three eastern bays of the nave as well. It was in part destroyed and replaced by brick barrel vaults supporting the choir above. This alteration took place probably in the XV century. Under the eastern apses, however, the crypt is still preserved, as are also some of its original XII century vaults (Plate 155, Fig. 2). These vaults are of the groin type, very slightly domed and supplied with disappearing ribs. In the crypt the fact that the existing apses are a later reconstruction is particularly evident, for the old apse, while it does not altogether correspond with the present one, is still in part clearly visible. The XII century masonry of the apse consists of bricks laid in horizontal courses, and is so good that it can almost be confused with the XV century work of the apses, although a close examination suffices to show that it is in reality more primitive. The main body of the edifice has been made over so many times and so radically that it is difficult to determine the character of the original masonry. The bricks, however, appear to be less regular in size, and less well laid than those employed in the cathedral of Modena. It is a singular fact that at Nonantola the bricks of the XII century are without cross-hatching, while those of the XIV century have it.

IV. In the archivio are preserved some fragments of the Carlovingian epoch. One capital with a very widely splayed abacus must have served as the intermediate support of a biforum in a very thick wall. The decoration, strongly Byzantine in character, recalls the capital of S. Benedetto at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 227, Fig. 1), certain capitals of S. Giovanni in Fonte of the same city, and fragments "A" of the Chiesa d'Aurona at Milan (Plate 114, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 115, Fig. 1). It is probably a relic of the very earliest church at Nonantola, and if so shows that in the first half of the VIII century the old Byzantine style still lived on among the Lombards, essentially unaltered. The interlace appears to be contemporary. The capitals are later in style and doubtless belong to the XII century edifice. In this same archivio are also preserved some fragments of Gothic terra-cottas and a few other insignificant bits of Carlovingian work.

The capitals of the interior of the existing edifice—in so far as they are original—are of developed cubic type. Those of the crypt are for the most part Corinthianesque, and are remarkable for the deep undercutting of the volute, which is supported on a little rest standing on one of the acanthus leaves (Plate 155, Fig. 2). Of these capitals certain acanthus leaves are of

the curious heavy type which recalls the ciborio of S. Giorgio at Valpolicella, erected between 712 and 743 (Plate 198, Fig. 4), while the technique of the volutes recalls the capital in the cloister of the cathedral of Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 2), executed c. 780. Other capitals of the crypt have an extremely bulging form and very Byzantinesque acanthus leaves which recall the capital in the archivio, already described. Still other capitals are Corinthianesque with uncarved leaves entirely of the type of the capital of the cloisters of the Verona cathedral.

The Lombard porch (Plate 155, Fig. 5) has capitals with projecting acanthus leaves, like those of the triforium of the cathedral of Modena. The lions of this porch hold each an ox in his paw. On the inside of the jambs is a rinceau with figures which I take to be purely grotesque, and purely grotesque also appear to be the figures in the rinceau over the lunette. The roll-moulding is covered with diapering, and there is a heart-leaf motive above. Notable is the absence of small and fine mouldings. The side-aisle walls are adorned with simple arched corbel-tables, and the archivolts of the main arcade are in two unmoulded orders, of which the extra order is carried on the spur of the piers.

The principal portal is adorned with notable sculptures. In the lunette are reliefs representing Christ holding a book in His left hand, His right hand raised in benediction. On either side are two angels each carrying a flowered sceptre, and a paten with four hosts. Around are the symbols of the four Evangelists. The angel of St. Matthew bears a scroll and a book, on which is incised the word LIBER.[86] The eagle of St. John has also a book, inscribed with the letters IN PRI.[87] St. Mark—MARCVS EVG—has a book as has also the winged figure of St. Luke—LVCAS EVG. These reliefs appear to be not in their original position, and were doubtless here placed at the time the façade was made over.

On the jambs are a series of important reliefs which I describe, beginning at the bottom and with the left-hand jamb, just above the caryatid: (1) Two men, both bearded, are seen talking together and gesticulating with their hands. The meaning of this relief is not altogether clear, and in the historical documents of the monastery which have come down to us there is nothing to give a clue to its interpretation. One of the men is doubtless S. Anselmo, and it is natural to suppose that the other is Astolfo. If this be so, the scene may represent the first discussion of the plan of the foundation of the monastery, which took place before Astolfo ascended the throne. S. Anselmo obtains from the future king a promise of aid in the plan which he has formed.[88]

[86] Matth., i, 1. [87] Joan., i, 1.

[88] However, in the manuscript at Fanano cited above, it is stated in chapter VII that when Anselmo became a monk, his first step was to resign his temporal power into the hands of his son. It may be that this is the subject of the first relief, although both men appear to be of about the same age in the sculptures.

(2) S. Anselmo, bearded and bare-headed, is seen talking and gesticulating with the crowned Astolfo (Plate 155, Fig. 1). The latter holds in his hand the sphere of empire. S. Anselmo is doubtless reminding the king of his promise of help, and obtaining from him the gift of land at Fanano.[89] (3) This relief depicts the successful accomplishment of S. Anselmo's purpose. In the foreground is the church of the abbey of Nonantola, constructed and finished. Back of it stands the saint, now shaved and tonsured, and in monastic garb (Plate 155, Fig. 1). (4) This relief represents the visit of S. Anselmo and of Astolfo to the pope at Rome, who grants them the body of S. Silvestro and a privilege.[90] The pope, Adriano, in a low bishop's mitre, sits upon a stool. His right hand, with two fingers raised, is extended in blessing. S. Anselmo kneels before Adriano placing his left hand on the pope's knee, and holding in his right hand a crosier, signifying thereby that he is the direct vassal of the pope. The abbot is accompanied by two of his monks and by Astolfo, who is dressed as a pilgrim, and holds in his hand the privilege of Adriano. (5) This relief—unfortunately broken—represents the translation of the body of S. Silvestro to Nonantola. The bier on which rests the body of the saint is suspended between two horses, only one of which remains. (6) This relief—also broken—represents the interment of the body of S. Silvestro—CORPVS S̄. SILV . . . . .—in a tomb in the abbey church. A lamp hangs over the sepulchre. (7) This relief represents the death of S. Anselmo—TRANSITVS AD . . . . .—as described in the life of that saint. The sainted monk sits upright in bed, and holds a book. His brethren, among whom he expires, stand about, one swinging a censer, another reading in a book. In the life of S. Anselmo we read that in the year 804, in the fiftieth year of his abbacy, S. Anselmo, being made aware of his approaching end by a divine revelation, called to him all his sheep, and he raised his heart and his eyes to heaven, saying: "Lord Jesus Christ grant that I may be one with Thee and with Thy elect." And then the reverend father, as well as he was able, began himself to sing the Psalms, and this was about the hour of tierce; and similarly at the sext he sang the Psalms again; and when he had finished them raising up on his bed he blessed his monks, and in the arms of his brethren he migrated from this world to the heavens.[91] (8) This

[89] See text cited above, pp. 87 f. [90] See above, p. 89.

[91] Regnante domino et maximo Karolo imperatore hic in Italia anno XXXmo regni sui ipsiusque magnifici Anselmi abbatiae quinquagesimo, eius imminente die mortis, cum divina misericordia eum [Anselmum] ad sideream vocare voluit mansionem, ipse non inscius sui obitus, divina revelante gratia, ut bonus et pius pastor oves, quas Domino foverat, ad se vocari fecerat; . . . et cor et oculos ad caelum levavit, dicens: Domine Iesu Christe . . . concede mihi . . . tecum et cum electis tuis una esse. . . . Tunc ipse venerandus pater . . . et prout poterat . . . cum esset hora dici tertia, ipsius hore psalmos per se ipsum coepit decantare; qua expleta, simili modo, per se ipsum sextae horae psalmos decantans; quibus expletis, in lecto status sui residens benedixit eos, et inter manus fratrum monachorum ex hoc seculo migravit ad coelos. . . .

relief[92] shows the body of S. Adriano being transported to Nonantola. A bier is suspended between two horses, just as in No. 5. Behind the body follows the abbot with crosier. Behind are four other figures, one of whom puts his arm around the bier, as if to seize it, while another seizes the coat of the first. It is probable that these details refer to some attempt on the part of the Modenesi to obtain the valuable body, but the historical documents are silent in regard to such an episode. The life of S. Adriano simply tells us that the body of the pope was brought to the monastery of S. Silvestro at Nonantola and honourably buried.[93] The inscription makes clear the general meaning of the scene—S ADRIANI D̂EFERTVR [CORPVS]. (9) Six monks, one of whom bears a cross, another a censer, and a third a book, place the body of S. Adriano in the tomb—S ADRIAN' SEPELITVR.[94] (10) This relief shows Samson with long hair, astride the lion. The metrical inscription:

Ê̂T D̂E FORT̂E DVLCEDO
D̂E COM̂ED̂ENT̂E CIBVS.

seems to be a paraphrase of the riddle propounded by Samson in regard to the lion.[95] On the right-hand jamb are sculptured, beginning at the bottom above the caryatid: (1) The Annunciation. Mary—MARIA—is standing to the right. Gabriel—GABRIEL—also standing, holds a book. (2) The Visitation (Plate 155, Fig. 3). S. MARIA stands to the left, Elisabeth—HELISABET—stands to the right. Both figures are haloed. (3) The bathing of the Christ-Child—XPC LAVATVR. The Virgin is seen in bed, while the midwife is seated below and washes the Christ-Child (Plate 155, Fig. 3). (4) The Christ-Child, in swaddling clothes, is seen in the manger—PRESÆPIVM. Above are the ox and the ass. (5) The angel appears to the shepherds—PASTORES—who are kneeling. Below are seen seven sheep. (6) The adoration of the Magi—MAGI AD XPM. Only one of the Magi is bearded. Mary's halo is double, although in the preceding scenes is it single. (7) The Presentation in the Temple—TEMPLVM . DOMINI. Mary—S MARIA—has again a double halo. Joseph—

Tunc flentes fratres et psallentes super beati viri corpus totam illam diem et sequentem noctem in eius exequiis perdurantes usque ad horam alterius diei sextam, et condiderunt illud in marmoreo lavello, infra oratorium beatae Dei Genetricis virginis Mariae. (*Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. Bortolotti, 130).

[92] Adriano died at a hunting lodge between Spilamberto and S. Cesario on the Panaro when he was journeying to join the emperor Charles III. His death is thus described in the legend: Hic [Adrianus] etiam dum ad regem Karolum pergeret, ut veterum pandit memoria, in locum qui Spinum Lamberti vocatur vitam finivit, octavo idus Iulii. . . . (Ed. Bortolotti, 156).

[93] . . . et ad ecclesiam monasteriumque beati Silvestri, qui Nonantula dicitur, perductus honorifice sepultus est. . . . (Ed. Bortolotti, 156).

[94] Sepulto itaque summo pontifice et universali papa Adriano, apostolicis infulis involuto, uti mos est Romanorum sepelire episcoporum, etc. (Ed. Bortolotti, 156).

[95] Judic., xiv, 14. I am indebted to Mr. Dundas for the identification of this text.

IOSEPH—brings two turtle-doves. Joseph is without halo, as is also Simeon—SIMEON. (8) The angel warns Joseph to fly into Egypt—ANG[E]L[V]S . ALLOQ[VI]TVR IOSEPH.

The style of these sculptures makes it evident that they are not by the hand of any of the artists who worked at Modena. Compared with the work of Guglielmo the sculptures of Nonantola show less crowding, better composition, a greater feeling for space, and heads better proportioned. The horses are quite unlike either those of the Porta dei Principi or the Porta della Pescheria. The eyes were all inlaid, and some are still preserved, while in other cases the inlaying material has fallen out and simply left the incision. It is evident, nevertheless, that the sculptor of Nonantola was well acquainted with the work of Guglielmo da Modena. The caryatids, if not identical, are very similar. The rinceaux present remarkable analogies, and the drapery shows many points of contact. The figure of S. Anselmo in the second relief of the left-hand jamb (it is the figure to the right, below—Plate 155, Fig. 1) is extremely analogous to Guglielmo's Enoch at Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 2). The sculptures in the lunette, on the other hand, appear to be by a different hand from those of the jambs, and are later. The fine draperies recall those of certain figures of the Porta dei Principi at Modena, while the Japanese wave movement of the bottom of the garments is closely analogous to the work of Nicolò at Piacenza. The bare feet are without the strong accentuated cords characteristic of the work of Guglielmo.

V. The existing church of Nonantola contains the remains of several different epochs. (1) Of the first abbey church, consecrated in 753, appear to be the capitals of the crypt and the capital and fragments in the archivio. These fragments show the coexistence at Nonantola of the new Lombard decoration and of the old Byzantine style carried over from the VI century. (2) Of 1121 and the years immediately following are the western portal, the southern side-aisle wall, the western bays of the northern side aisle, the piers of the nave and the crypt vaults. (3) Of the works executed in the early years of the XIII century nothing is now extant. (4) Of the XV century are the apses, the nave vaults, the northern wall and many of the piers. (5) The façade is of 1777 and campanile of 1674.

NOVARA, BATTISTERO

(Plate 156, Fig. 2, 3)

I. In the Museo Civico of Novara is preserved an old drawing which shows the baptistery of the Duomo as it was before the construction of the existing atrium. In this drawing the interior niches are shown as expressed externally. Apparently, therefore, Osten's plan (Plate 156, Fig. 2) is

incorrect. Osten's elevation[1] shows a cornice of flat corbel-tables at the level of the top of the niches. The architecture of the edifice has recently been studied by Rivoira.[2]

II. Of the history of the baptistery nothing further is known beyond what is said below in connection with the cathedral.

III. In plan (Plate 156, Fig. 2) the structure is an octagon, one of whose sides is occupied by the entrance, the other seven by niches alternately rectangular and semicircular,[3] separated by pilfered Roman columns placed on very high pedestals and supporting the archivolt. A cloistered dome masked externally surmounts the edifice.[4]

The structure has been so covered with Renaissance stucco that it is exceedingly difficult to determine the character of the ancient masonry. On the back of the edifice, however, some of the masonry of the other part is still visible. It consists of small, very red uncross-hatched bricks, laid in horizontal courses and separated by wide mortar-beds. The bricks themselves resemble those of S. Vincenzo at Milan (Plate 135, Fig. 3), but the laying is

[1] Plate XIV. [2] 219. [3] Cf. S. Ponzo Canavese.

[4] In connection with the baptistery of Novara, it is interesting to study the baptistery of S. Giovanni at Baveno (Novara). This baptistery adjoins the parish church of SS. Protasio e Gervasio. An inscription to the left of the choir of the latter edifice states that the church was consecrated in 1843. The interior of SS. Protasio e Gervasio was entirely made over at this epoch. Nothing of the ancient Lombard church remains but the portal of the façade and a fragment of the north wall. It is evident that the church was constructed of rather coarse ashlar, of which the roughly squared blocks are laid in courses frequently departing from the horizontal. The mortar-beds vary from one to three and a half centimetres in depth, with the average of about two. The portal, in three orders, has a roll-moulding and several small mouldings. The capitals are adorned with foliage. One is cubic and carved with leaves. The façade has simple arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips, but the arched corbel-tables of the north flank are double. On the façade are the remains of a fresco representing St. Christopher, beneath which a Roman inscription is used as second-hand material. The campanile, constructed of rubble, is earlier than the church, but has been much made over. It was characterized by arched corbel-tables separated by pilaster strips into groups of three or more. The church may be assigned to c. 1135, and the campanile to c. 1050. From inscriptions it is evident that the existing choir was erected in 1607, the sacristy in 1747.

The baptistery was restored in 1795 and 1888, and the west portico was added in 1628. All this is recorded in inscriptions still extant. From all these reconstructions the edifice has emerged having lost everything ancient except its plan and a few corbels. The plan is peculiar and recalls ancient Roman monuments. Externally, the lower story is square, but internally, an octagonal area is surrounded by niches alternately rectangular and semicircular, so disposed that a semicircular niche is placed in each corner. The upper part of the structure above the niches of the ground floor is octagonal. The vault is lobed, and has wall arches of rectangular profile, segmental in elevation. The corbels which support these wall ribs are carved with classic heart-leaf motives, and appear to be about contemporary with the capitals of the principal portal of the church. The baptistery also may in consequence be ascribed to c. 1135.

far superior and there are no herring-bone courses. Below the level of the arched corbel-tables (Plate 156, Fig. 3) the masonry is formed of bricks identical in character, but very much more roughly laid. It appears, therefore, that the lower part of the structure dates from the IX century, and that the cornice was rebuilt in the XI century with the old materials. At this time were probably added the angle buttresses (Plate 156, Fig. 3). The lantern is obviously an addition of the Renaissance.

IV. The exterior (Plate 156, Fig. 3) is ornamented by a cornice of blind niches in two orders, surmounting a row of arched corbel-tables and placed beneath a line of flat corbel-tables. The arched corbel-tables were added in a restoration of the XI century, the flat corbel-tables at a later epoch.

The mosaic pavement of the baptistery which, according to Racca,[5] is referred to in the acts of pastoral visits of 1590 and 1594, has entirely disappeared. The urn of the font, however, is still extant, and is evidently pilfered from some Roman monument, since it bears the inscription:

VMBRENAE
A F POLLAE
DOXA LIB
T F I[6]

V. It is extremely difficult to establish the date of the baptistery of Novara, owing to the scanty evidence available. The peculiar plan strongly suggests a Roman origin, although it is paralleled in the baptistery of Arsago, an edifice of c. 1120, and has points of contact, as we have seen, with the baptistery of Baveno, which dates from c. 1135. On the other hand, the cornice is precisely similar to that of the baptistery at Agliate (Plate 5, Fig. 6), of which the arched niches are of c. 900, and the arched corbel-tables added in the XI century. Although such niches continued in use long after the X century, and are found, for example, in the apse of S. Nazaro at Milan, 1075-c. 1093 (Plate 128, Fig. 3), in the later examples they are of a different type, being placed close together, whereas in the baptisteries of Agliate and Novara they are widely spaced. I am consequently inclined to believe that the baptistery of Novara is approximately contemporary with that of Agliate, and was constructed c. 900, a date which agrees well with the character of the masonry. Subsequently the vault was rebuilt, and at this epoch the arched corbel-tables and the second order of the niches were added. The masonry of this upper part of the baptistery is identical with that of the campanile, and it may consequently be assumed that this restoration took place c. 1040. The flat corbel-tables and the lantern are even later additions.

[5] 69.

[6] This inscription is thus interpreted: Umbrenae A[gustae] F[iliae] Pollae Doxa lib[erta] t[otis] f[ecit] i[mpensis] (Giolli).

NOVARA, CATHEDRAL

(Plate 156, Fig. 2; Plate 157; Plate 158)

I. Since the important Romanesque cathedral of Novara was almost completely destroyed in the XIX century, it is necessary to have recourse to old drawings and descriptions to study the architecture. In the recently opened Museo Civico of Novara are preserved some drawings of no very great importance. Of the published descriptions the earliest is that of Bescapè, written in 1612, but unfortunately very brief. It is, however, possible to gather from it that pilfered Roman materials were used second-hand in the Romanesque basilica.[1] The controversy between the canons of the cathedral and those of S. Gaudenzio reached such an acute stage at the end of the XVIII century that it occasioned the publication of two controversial works, the first of which, by Francia, appeared in 1793, the second, by Gemelli, in 1798. Both are of slight value for the archæologist, but Gemelli happens to speak of the pointed arches which, he says, were added at a subsequent epoch to strengthen the original semicircular transverse arches of the nave.[2]

Far more important is the work of Bianchini, published in 1836. From this author we learn that the intermediate supports of the arcades were marble columns, that the choir was raised, that there were galleries, and that the transverse arches of the side aisles were pointed.[3] Bianchini, moreover, gives a detailed description of the mosaic so important that I reprint it entire.[4] About the middle of the XIX century, Osten made his drawings

[1] Ecclesia Cathedralis ampla satis ad honorem B. Virginis dicata est, cuius Assumptio in ea praecipue colitur. Epistylia marmorea, basesq;, ac alia fragmenta, artis antiquæ monimenta, veterumq; ædificiorum ruinæ varijs Ecclesię locis adiectę sūt. porphyretica, & id genus alia frusta locis alijs inserta. (Bescapè, 10).

[2] . . . . . pochi archi acuti aggiunti per rinforzo a preesistenti archi semicircolari nella nave di mezzo (11).

[3] 6-7.

[4] Il primo campo, salendo a sinistra per la gradinata al presbiterio, di figura quadrilungo, vedesi in fondo nero, lavorato a foggia di una grata composta di anelli che si aggruppano; quello di mezzo è compartito a croci bianche risultanti da intersecazioni di tanti cerchii eguali; il terzo è lavorato come il primo, ma in fondo bianco; nel centro del primo e del terzo campo avvi un quadrato di porfido ad indicare il sito di collocare i legii per canto dell'epistola e dell'evangelio nella messa solenne; quello di mezzo, un tondo pure di porfido contiene, sul quale stava il diacono quando a' catecumeni leggeva la professione di fede, e poco sopra un' ampia croce di porfido anch' essa, ornata alle sue estremità di piastrelle di serpentino, si vide . . . a' sovra descritti tre campi, grottesche di fogliami di zucche e di lappola giran d'intorno. De' tre successivi scompartimenti, quella di mezzo fu sempre nudo, imperocchè venne lo spazio dal primitivo altare, che nella cappella di S. Agabio ancora si serba, occupato; ed alloraquando l'altro di rame dorato con colonne spirali ed ombracolo fu costruito, una parte della medaglia rappresentante Adamo ed Eva è stata nascosta. Lo spazio

which we reproduce in Plate 156, Fig. 2, Plate 157, and Plate 158. These are, on the whole, the most complete and best record of the ancient cathedral as it was before its destruction. In 1861 appeared the monograph of Pareto, with a description of the cathedral and a drawing of the façade. Nothing is contained in this work that is not known from other sources. The drawings of Hübsch (Plate LIII, Fig. 3, 4), published in 1862, confirm those of Osten in all important particulars. The atrium appears to have been vaulted only in the east gallery, and terminated to the west (the side facing the baptistery) in a plain wall. The side aisles had groin vaults, erected on very oblong plans. In the perspective view the vaults of the nave are shown as groined, but this is doubtless an inaccuracy.

In the same year (1862) appeared the important work of Racca, which deserves special praise because of the author's splendid, if ineffectual, efforts to save the ancient cathedral from destruction. Racca believed that the exterior narthex with its gallery, the façade, and the vaults of the nave, were all later

già dagli antichi altari occupato si è quello ove in oggi venne raffigurata la Croce armena coll'Agnello, ec. Una greca da figure simboliche interrotta ricinge i due quadrati esistenti in ambo i fianchi delle are distrutte; negli angoli de' quadrati medesimi sono figurate le cornacchie e i venti; circondate da fascie a dentelli emergono poscia le quattro medaglie, nelle quali gli alati animali simboleggianti gli Evangelisti sono rappresentati. Terminava l'antico musaico coll'abside della Basilica mercè di due linee, l'una continua e l'altra spezzata; i campi laterali erano in fondo bianco lavorati a croci nere, risultanti anch'esse da intersecazioni di cherchii; ma prolungato in oggi il presbiterio, l'abside antica scomparve; con savio accorgimento però, mediante pezzetti di rosso marmo, il luogo dell'abside stessa viene indicato. Conservossi il grande quadrato di mezzo, composto egualmente da greca interrotta da figure simboliche con un rombo da semplici linee nere in fondo bianco formato, nel di cui centro una medaglia rappresenta Adamo ed Eva dappresso all'albero proibito, ed al cui tronco si avviticchia il maligno serpente; quei nostri progenitori mostrano di avere diggià contravvenuto al divino comando, dacchè hanno di foglie ricinti i lombi. Dai quattro canti del rombo semplicemente delineati diramansi de' tondi, ne' quali sono effigiati degli omicciatoli versanti acqua dalle anfore, per significare i fiumi Geon, Phison, Tigris ed Euphrates che circondavano il paradiso terrestre; qui il vetusto mosaico finisce. Sorta ne' tempi longobardi la costumanza di rappresentare i dogmi ed i misteri della Religione per mezzo d'immagini umane e di animali in ogni stravagante maniera, si copersero delle medesime le fronti, le pareti ed i pavimenti delle Chiese. Anche il musaico novarese da gran copia di quelle raffigurazioni venne adornato; ad indicare i quattro Evangelisti disegnaronsi i mistici animali alati, secondo la visione di Ezechiele profeta. . . . Da vicino ai simboli degli Evangelisti si dipinse la cornacchia, augello foriero del vento, ed i Venti stessi in atto di soffiare, per notiziarci che il vangelo in un tratto per tutte le parti del mondo si sparse; molte colombe furono egualmente delineate, sia a ricordare la pace data da Dio alla terra dopo il diluvio, sia per rappresentare il divin Paracleto; veggonsi anche dei pesci, onde dinotare che il cristiano rinasce coll'acqua, nè può senza l'acqua salvarsi, che è quanto dire, se le promesse fatte nell'atto del suo battesimo non mantiene ed osserva; sono in fine delle lepri inseguite dai cani e dai cacciatori a ricordarci che il vizio della libidine si debbe fuggire. . . . La edificazione del nuovo coro elittico importò la necessità di estendere l'opera musaica, tanto davante che di retro al sontuosissimo altare che venne or ora a finimento condotto. Chiamato

additions to the original structure.[5] The same author tells us that the church had no crypt,[6] that the atrium had been used from time immemorial as a cemetery,[7] and that there were three doors leading from the atrium to the church, although originally there had been five, two portals having been closed when the chapels were erected.[8] From this it is evident that the cathedral originally possessed not three, but five side aisles, and that the outer side aisle was subsequently converted into chapels. That such was the case might be deduced also from Osten's plan (Plate 156, Fig. 2). Racca speaks of the beautiful tribune in two orders which adorned the central portal on the interior,[9] and this is shown also in Osten's section (Plate 158). He describes the "surprising" galleries which surmounted the inner side aisles, and were carried across the west end of the church over the exterior narthex (Plate 157, 158). He says that the porticoes of the atrium were a veritable museum of inscriptions and fragments of ancient sculpture.[10] He mentions the central cupola and the pointed arches, added, he states, about the middle of the XV century to reinforce the pre-existing semicircular transverse arches of the nave. The choir, he says, originally terminated in a semicircular apse, as was proved by remains of the foundations found in the excavations made for the new altar.[11]

In 1884 appeared the account of Mothes which, among many errors and inaccuracies, contains some notices of value.[12] In 1855 Durand published a

Giovanni Battista Avon . . . diede egli mano al lavoro. . . . Allargò in prima di tutto il musaico antico con una fascia a scacchi ed a crocette; nel voto campo, altra volta occupato da' demoliti altari, posto nel centro dell'opera tessulare, figurò l'artifice Avon una croce armena col mistico Agnello, e le sette lampade, e le ventiquattro corone dentate. . . . Negli angoli dello stesso quadrato rappresentò quattro vasi colle spighe del frumento, ed all'ingiro pampini e grappoli. . . . Vicino al primo de' gradi del moderno altare raffigurossi nel mezzo il candelabro del tempio di Solima, con due aquile romane aventi negli artigli rami d'alloro. . . . Negli scompartimenti laterali alla medaglia di Adamo ed Eva, gli anelli, le croci e le altre decorazioni ornamentali del vetusto musaico sono state imitate. Ai fianchi dell'altare rappresentaronsi in due tondi il sagrificio di Abramo e di Noè uscito dall'arca, e nel centro del coro, a significare la orazione e le quotidiane salmodie de' sacerdoti, un angelo si delineò con libro ed incensiere e la leggenda, Dirigatur, domine, oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo; le rimanenze della superficie elittica, di vasi rappresentanti le quattro stagioni, di stelle, di gruppi, di augelli e di fogliami diversi furono lavorate; in ultimo ed a complemento dell'opera, mediante due linee, continuata l'una e l'altra spezzata, si è l'abside antica ripetuta. (Bianchini, 27).

[5] 92. L'ampio pronao col portico superiore che duplica la profondità del matroneo da questo lato, ed il frontispizio, sono opere costrutte assai tempo dopo la chiesa (103).
[6] 10. [7] 15, 18. [8] 16, 20. [9] 17. [10] 19. [11] 23.

[12] Kurz nach 726 wurde der Dom von Novara, der unter Ariwald arianisirt worden war, rekatholisirt, wobei die Orientirung umgekehrt worden zu sein scheint, wenn dies nicht schon unter Gaudentius geschehen war, da das Baptisterium der Westseite gegenüber liegt, und den Eingang im Osten hat. Die an der Innenseite des jetzigen Haupteinganges stehende Loggia mag der Rest des alten Ciborium sein. An Stelle der früheren Vorhalle, also am Ostende des Schiffes, wurde ein Querschiff mit

description of the mosaic (and incidentally of some portions of the church) which is of great value, although it must be borne in mind that numerous subjects which he describes as old were in reality modern restorations, as is proved by the passage cited above from Bianchini.[13] A drawing of the

Vierungskuppel angelegt, und über den inneren Seitenschiffen Emporen aufgebracht; doch könnte das auch nach 917 geschehen sein, wo Berengar dem Bischof Dagobert reiche Stiftungen für die Kirche übergab. Jedenfalls gehören Vierungskuppel und Emporen nach den wenigen Theilen, welche die späteren Reparaturen verschont haben, weder der Zeit um 390, noch den Bauten von 1020 und 1124 an. Die Verstärkung der Pfeiler, welche die Arkaden in Gruppen theilen (erst 3 Bögen, dann 2, dann wieder 3), zu der an Sta. Prassede erinnernden Form, mögte man eher der Zeit um 917, als der um 730 zuschreiben und damit vielleicht auch die Emporen, an denen sich nicht die unteren Säulentstellungen wiederholen,—wie Hübsch Taf. LIV, I fälschlich zeichnet—sondern welche sich nach dem Mittelschiff zu in grossen Bögen zwischen jenen Pfeilern öffnen. Die Vierungskuppel hat zwar im 15 Jahrh. neue Decorationen erhalten, lässt aber die ursprüngliche, der in S. Agostino zu Spoleto sehr ähnliche, Form noch erkennen. Dem Umbau von 1020 gehört die Ueberwölbung der Schiffe an, also auch die Verbindung der Pfeiler durch Quergurte, ferner sämmtliche Würselcapitäle des Innern, welche scharf eingesetzte Scheiben und Kämpferwürsel haben, dem Bau des Bischofs Litifred von 1124, aber der Hof, sowie die Vorhalle, kurz alle Theile, deren Säulen keine Füsse und stumpfe Würselcapitäle ohne Kämpferwürsel haben, dem Bau um 730 dagegen die Thürme und der über der Vorhalle aufragende Giebel. (Mothes, I, 281-282).

[13] Une moitié, encore ancienne, a beaucoup d'analogie avec l'église Saint-Ambroise de Milan: ainsi, elle est précédée d'un "atrium" et les arcades de sa nef sont surmontées de galeries avec cette particularité, toutefois, qu'elles se rejoignent en bas, au-dessus de la porte d'entrée. Le transept et le choeur sont modernes. Tout le sol de cette église est couvert d'un pavé en mosaïque. Au fond du chocur et derrière le maître-autel, on voit une figure de jeune homme, espèce de gènie à moitié nu, assis sur rien, à la manière de certaines peintures des vases grecs. Il tient un livre fermé sur lequel est un vase fumant; autour, on lit cette inscription:

Dirigatur Domine oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.

Ce sujet est dans un grand cercle formé par plusieurs bordures, les unes unies, les autres en torsades et guirlandes de fleurs; ou composées de ronds contenant alternativement des oiseaux et des noeuds: ou enfin de vases, les uns fermés, les autres avec plantes. Un vase entre deux oiseaux est au-dessous du cercle. Près de l'autel, vous voyez d'un côté Noé à genoux, rendant grâces à Dieu dont la main bénissante sort du ciel, bûcher fumant, arc-en-ciel. De l'autre côté, le Sacrifice d'Abraham. Le patriarche à genoux, l'épée au côté, lève ses mains jointes vers le ciel; Isaac est à genoux aussi, les mains liées près du bûcher sur lequel brûle le bélier; la fumée monte au ciel indiqué par des étoiles, et elle se joint à un nuage d'où sort un ange qui fait un signe à Abraham. Des poissons, des chevaux marins, des noeuds et autres ornaments accompagnent ces sujets. Devant l'autel on voit d'abord le chandelier à sept branches, entre deux oiseaux; puis un carré formé par une grecque, dans laquelle sont des oiseaux et des poissons; les quatre angles du carré sont occupés par les quatre fleuves du Paradis, nimbés, nus, marchant, renversant leurs vases et accompagnés de leurs noms; Eufrates, Phison, Gehon, Tigris. Au milieu d'eux est un losange ayant dans ses angles un oiseau et encadrant un cercle où sont Adam et Ève (ADA—EVA), nus, se tenant de chaque côté de l'arbre qu'enlace le serpent. Un second carré vient ensuite: il est formé par

church was published by Mella in his *Elementi*[14] in 1885. The mosaic was described in 1885 by Müntz,[15] who, however, made the same errors as Durand in mistaking restored for original panels.

II. According to the life of S. Gaudenzio, that bishop began the basilica of S. Maria, but died before completing it.[16] The hagiographer goes on to tell us that the body of the saint was laid out in the church of S. Maria until

une guirlande de feuilles de vigne et de grappes de raisin; il encadre l'agneau de Dieu couché, ayant au-dessus de lui sept lampes et quatres disques. L'Agneau est entouré de huit têtes d'anges, des vingt-quatre couronnes des vieillards, de vases de fleurs, de guirlandes et de branchages. En dehors de ce carré, les quatre animaux complètent la vision apocalyptique; chacun d'eux tient son livre, et il est accompagné de son nom tracé ainsi:

MAT - MARC - IOHS - LVCAS

Ils sont en outre entournés de têtes échevelées, figurant les vents et soufflant sur des oiseaux, et enfin encadrés dans une grecque entremêlée d'oiseaux, de poissons et d'autres animaux. Audevant de ses sujets et à l'entrée du choeur, on voit une croix dont les quatre branches, égales et en porphyre, sont terminées par des ronds en verre antique, et qui est traversée par un X de même matière. Le transept est occupé par un cercle formé par un serpent qui se mord la queue et qui contient le monogramme du Christ, accompagné de l'alpha et de l'oméga. Au-dessous des ornements s'enlacent entre deux vases d'où sortent des flammes rouges. Tout le sol de la nef est couvert par trois immenses cercles, contenant: le premier, un pélican dont les petits boivent le sang qui coule de l'ouverture qu'il se fait aux entrailles; le second, un autre oiseau ressemblant assez à un aigle qui combat un serpent; et le troisième, un phénix dans le feu. Au-dessus du phénix est le soleil, figuré par un visage entouré d'un cercle rayonnant. Indépendamment de ce que je viens de décrire, il y a une foule de détails, comme torsades grecques, poissons, animaux chimériques, vases, plantes, fleurs, oiseaux, losanges, carrés, paons, ceps de vignes etc. Enfin tout en bas de la nef et sur le seuil de la porte, on lit cette inscription tracée en grandes lettres:

X I H I H H H Δ Δ Δ H I I

C'est peut-être un millésime très-moderne, 1838 par exemple, qu'on se serait amusé à faire en lettres grecques, supposition qui m'est suggérée par le bon état et la parfaite conservation de ce morceau qui, s'il était ancien, devrait être usé. La même observation doit s'appliquer à tout le pavé de la nef, qui a dû être refait en entier; resterait à savoir jusqu'à quel point on a copié ou imité le précédent. Le pavé du choeur a sans doute été retouché aussi, mais moins cependant, ainsi que le prouvent les inscriptions. Ajoutons que le reste de l'église, bas-côtés et chapelle, est pavé également en mosaiques; mais du moins, sauf un fragment dans une chapelle, où l'on voit un cerf et peut-être un autre dans la sacristie, celles-ci sont bien evidemment modernes. (Durand, 225).

[14] Tav. IX. [15] 48.

[16] Per illud vero tempus [c. 418 ?] basilica, ubi nunc Dei Sacerdos miro decore humatus resurrectionis tempus expectat, summo nixu dudum ab eo construi cœpta, sed necdum perfecta recta remanserat: quam postmodum vir beatus Agapius cum omni honore consummatam perfecit. Interea destituta plebs gemina tristitia, tam pro excessu Pastoris, quam pro nimus perfecta basilica, tantum angorem sustinere non valens, super pavimentum prostrati, humanum supra modum mugitum reddebant, ita dumtaxat ut nec etiam ministris Ecclesiæ permitteretur libertas officii persolvendi. (*Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii, III, 34).

the successor of S. Gaudenzio, Agapio, was able to finish the construction. During all this time, that is to say, from the twenty-fourth of January to the third of August, the body was miraculously preserved from corruption. After that Agapio dedicated the basilica with all due rites, and buried there the body of S. Gaudenzio.[17] From these passages it seems evident that the cathedral of S. Maria was founded in the V century.

In another passage, however, the hagiographer (who lived in the VIII century) speaks of the church of S. Maria as, in his time, having been only recently situated in a certain locality.[18] It is therefore probable that the cathedral was rebuilt in the VIII century, and it may even be that its site was changed.

In the year 901 Berenger issued a privilege in favour of the cathedral of Novara, confirming the possession of the abbey of Lucedio.[19] A chapter of canons regular officiated in the cathedral in 1013.[20] In 1110 the city of Novara was burned by the emperor Henry V,[21] and about the middle of the XII century it again suffered the same fate at the hands of Barbarossa.[22] There is, however, no evidence that the cathedral church suffered damage on either of these occasions.

About 1580 the baroccoization of the edifice began with the destruction of the old apse and the erection of a new choir.[23] In 1680 Benedetto Odescalchi, bishop of Novara, became pope under the title of Innocent XI. He showed his affection for his native town by giving money for the baroccoization of the four great piers of the crossing in the Duomo, and for redecorating the cupola with paintings by Montalto. About this same time the transepts lost their primitive character.[24] It was only in 1756 and 1789, however, that the transepts were completely reconstructed.[25] In 1836 a new altar was erected according to designs of Antonelli.[26]

It was only about 1863 that the old cathedral was demolished under the direction of the same architect, and the existing classical structure erected.

[17] Tandem vir sanctissimus plebem, quam corpore, non affectu reliquerat, spiritu visitare properat. Nec mora. Cœlitus divina inspiratio sic omnium corda perfudit, ut venerabile corpus in sanctam Dei Matris ecclesiam, non humano sepulcro, sed reservandum solo deponi deberet, usque dum prædicta aula tanti Pontificis præparata a viro reverendo Agapio successore consummata perficeretur. . . . Inter hæc B. Agapius una cum omni populo antedictam basilicam ingenti sumptu, cultuque eximio consummatam, debitis cæremoniis dedicaverunt. Senis deinde post defunctum mensibus, bis senis diebus additis, sanctum corpus incorruptum, velut unius diei post funus, summo honore sepulchro tradiderunt. (*Ibid.*).

[18] Per idem tempus beatissimus vir [S. Gaudenzio] inter mœnia urbis, non longe ubi nuper sanctæ Dei Matris ecclesia sita cognoscitur, quoddam hospitiolum, ceu cœnobii claustra, circumspectum ad habitandum expetierat. (*Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii, III, 32).

[19] *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 662. [20] Bescapè, 313. [21] Giulini, III, 19.

[22] *Ottonis Frisingensis*, II, 25, ed. Muratori, VI, 712.

[23] Racca, 25. [24] *Ibid.*, 21. [25] *Ibid.*, 22-23. [26] Bianchini, 14.

III. Of the ancient cathedral there survives only the campanile and part of the choir mosaic. The campanile is extremely broad and is supplied with two groups of arched corbel-tables arranged six and six on each face of each story. In the quality of the masonry, as in the design, this campanile strongly recalls the tower of Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 201, Fig. 1).

Of the destroyed cathedral, it is here needless to attempt a description, since the reader has under his eyes in the drawings of Osten (Plate 156, Fig. 2; Plate 157; Plate 158) and in the descriptions quoted above, the most important data available on the subject. It should be noticed, however, that the rib vaults of the nave were evidently a later addition, and that originally there were transverse arches supporting a wooden roof. A primitive rib vault, however, existed—and, in fact, is still extant—in the sacristy, and another one may be seen in the adjoining room and passage-way.

IV. In the cloisters have been gathered together some fragments of the Romanesque architecture of the old cathedral.[27] The most interesting are numerous monolithic shafts—doubtless pilfered Roman—and capitals, for the most part cubic or variations of the cubic type.

In the choir may still be seen part of the old mosaic pavement. In the centre is a medallion with Adam—ADA—and Eve—EVA—naked except for fig-leaves, with their hands in an attitude of shame, standing one on either side of the tree, about which twines the serpent. About are four medallions with representations of the four rivers of Paradise, portrayed as naked negroes, pouring water out of vases.[28] In the border are grotesques, birds and fish, a fret border and conventional designs. In four other medallions with similar borders, are seen the Evangelists: MAR|C, MAT, LVCAS, IOHS. The pavement is executed principally in black and white, but bits of colour are occasionally introduced. The drawing is very crude in spots. The toes of Adam, for example, are depicted like a fret ornament, and Eve's face is cruder than the crudest work of Reggio. On the other hand the lines of the bodies are skilfully drawn.

V. It is extremely dangerous to attempt to assign a date to a destroyed edifice on the strength of drawings and inscriptions. The only sure data upon which a judgment can be based, such as the character of the masonry and the technique of the execution, have disappeared. It is, however, easy to perceive that the destroyed cathedral was not of the same epoch as the surviving campanile and the rib vaults in the sacristy. On analogy with Sannazzaro Sesia these extant portions may be confidently ascribed to c. 1040. The destroyed cathedral, on the other hand, must have been of the XII century. It evidently belonged to that group of edifices which followed the new style set by Lanfranco in the cathedral of Modena (1099-1106). It was,

[27] Fine XV century frescos of the Duomo are preserved in the Museo Civico.

[28] TIGRIS EVFRA|TES, PHISON, GEHON.

however, much more advanced than the cathedral of Modena, in that the transverse arches of the nave sprang not from every other pier, but in some cases only from every third pier. (Compare Plate 156, Fig. 2, with Plate 138). Similarly, the ornament of the second story of the narthex of Novara (Plate 157) is an elaboration of a familiar motive first introduced at Modena (Plate 140, Fig. 3). It is notable, however, that this motive occurs only in the upper portions of the cathedral of Modena, which were not executed until considerably after 1106, and since the motive was much developed at Novara, we can hardly believe that this edifice was erected before 1125. The extant cubic capitals in the cloister appear to accord well with this date, as does also the style of the mosaic of the choir. The cathedral of Novara may consequently be assigned to c. 1125.

OGGIONO,[1] BATTISTERO

(Plate 159, Fig. 2, 3, 4)

I. To the extent of my knowledge this monument has never been published.

II. I know of no documents which illustrate the history of this building.

III. The baptistery of Oggiono is a simple octagonal structure (Plate 159, Fig. 4) with an apse. The south side is engaged in the modern church, to which the old baptistery has been made to serve as sacristy. The edifice has suffered severely from modernization. The walls have all been raised (Plate 159, Fig. 4), the vault remade, new windows opened (Plate 159, Fig. 4), and the interior covered with intonaco. The date 1716 inscribed upon the apse doubtless records the epoch at which these changes were made.

The masonry (Plate 159, Fig. 2, 3, 4) is ashlar. Cut stones, for the most part of small size, are laid in courses which are generally horizontal, but frequently not continuous.

IV. The cornice of the exterior is formed of arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips (Plate 159, Fig. 3, 4). In the west face two shafts with cubic capitals are introduced (Plate 159, Fig. 4). The corbel-tables are surmounted by a saw tooth (Plate 159, Fig. 4).

The interior retains frescos of the XV century.

The eastern portal has an extrados which describes a higher curve than the intrados (Plate 159, Fig. 4). On the voussoirs are scratched zigzags.

V. The baptistery of Oggiono (Plate 159, Fig. 4), in its design, in its ornament and in the character of its masonry, shows close analogies with the

[1] (Como).

baptistery of Lenno (Plate 102, Fig. 2), a monument which dates from c. 1085. The Oggiono monument may, consequently, be ascribed to the same epoch.

OLEGGIO,[1] S. MICHELE AL CAMPO SANTO

(Plate 159, Fig. 5; Plate 160, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4)

I. Morandi published a document of 981, which refers to this monument, reproduced two photographs of the fresco of the apse, and gave a cursory description of the architecture.

II. Besides the fact that it existed in 981, but little is known of the history of S. Michele. It was undoubtedly the ancient parish church of Oleggio, but as early as the XVI century seems to have been relegated to serve as a chapel of the cemetery. It was only in 1906, however, that the church was enclosed within the cemetery, which at this epoch was extended to the southward.

III. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 160, Fig. 3) three bays long, two side aisles, a raised choir (Plate 160, Fig. 2) of a single bay, originally flanked by side aisles which are now in part walled off, a crypt extending only under the choir and principal apse, and three apses. The south-western corner of the southern side aisle has been walled off to serve as a charnel-house. The nave is, and always has been, without vaults. It is at present covered by a wooden ceiling (Plate 160, Fig. 2). The side aisles are also roofed in wood. In the side aisles of the choir, however, there either were, or were intended to be, groin vaults, but these, if they ever existed, were destroyed and replaced by other vaults in the baroceo period. The nave piers (Plate 160, Fig. 2, 3, 4) are rectangular, without capitals or bases, and support massive archivolts of a single order. It is only in the easternmost piers, which stand between the nave and the choir, that three rectangular members, evidently intended to support a groin vault, are engaged on the piers on the side of the aisle. On the north side, this disposition is still clearly visible. On the south side it has been partly covered by a modern wall. On the north side, the engaged members break off at 1.48 metres above the floor, on the south side at 2.17 metres above the floor. There is nothing to prove whether these engaged members were never finished or whether they have been in part destroyed. On the northern side, the respond corresponding to the eastern pier has disappeared, but on the southern side it is still extant, though in part concealed by the modern wall. The beginning of the transverse arch can here still be seen. The eastern angle responds, consisting

[1] (Novara).

of two rectangular members, are preserved on the south side, but have disappeared on the north side.

Externally, on the north side of the church, corresponding to the eastern bay of the side aisle, there are still extant the remains of a buttress measuring 26 x 70 x 26 centimetres. On the south side there was probably a similar buttress, but if so this has disappeared.

In view of all these considerations, it is probable that the side aisles of the choir were originally groin-vaulted, but that these vaults were destroyed to make way for the present ones in the baroceo period. At that epoch, the cornices of the central apse and of the southern absidiole, the south side-aisle wall, the south wall of the clearstory, and the façade were much altered. The wall of the south clearstory seems to have begun to yield, and, to strengthen it, new masonry was plastered against it externally. New baroceo windows were opened in all parts of the edifice. The church has happily escaped a modern restoration, but is desecrated and filled with rubbish.

The crypt is covered with groin vaults. These vaults are undomed, and supplied with highly stilted transverse and wall arches, much loaded at the crown. The groins are worked to a sharp angle. The free-standing supports are little, baseless, octagonal piers of brick, which carry their load without the aid of capitals. The responds, similarly without capitals or bases, comprise three members, of which the central one is semicircular, but in the west wall there are five rectangular members. The western piers of the crypt have an irregular section.

The windows, widely splayed and of different sizes, were intended to serve without glass.

The piers of the nave and of the crypt are built of bricks which are not cross-hatched. The intonaco makes it difficult to obtain measurements, but the bricks appear to run from 3 to 8½ centimetres in width, with an average of about 7 centimetres. The mortar-beds average about 1¾ centimetres in depth. The courses are roughly horizontal. Very different is the masonry of those portions of the edifice where the weight is not so concentrated. The exterior walls (Plate 160, Fig. 1) are built of round stones from the river-bed, and bits of brick, roughly laid in courses approximately horizontal. The bricks are without cross-hatching, and are frequently laid with their broadest surface exposed. They are of irregular shapes, seldom rectangular, and appear to be bits of second-hand material, used to piece out the construction. Some of the courses of stone are laid in herring-bone fashion (Plate 160, Fig. 1).

IV. The exterior of the edifice, where it has not been made over, is decorated by arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips (Plate 159, Fig. 5). The corbel-tables are regularly grouped three and three, but there is considerable variation. The north clearstory wall (Plate 159, Fig. 5)

includes one group of two, three groups of three, one group of four, one group of five, one group of ten, and one group of eleven. The arched corbel-tables of the façade are arranged peculiarly in that they are horizontal, although the rake of the cornice is oblique (Plate 159, Fig. 5).

The interior is singularly destitute of ornament (Plate 160, Fig. 2), but contains early and interesting frescos (Plate 160, Fig. 4), some of which are at least as early as the XIV century.

V. Both in its masonry and in its arched corbel-tables S. Michele of Oleggio shows close analogies with S. Maria di Naula of Mazzone (Plate 187, Fig. 1), a building which dates from c. 1030. Oleggio may, consequently, be ascribed to about the same time.

OSSUCCIO DI SPURANO,[1] S. GIACOMO

I. S. Giacomo of Ossuccio has been described and illustrated by Monneret de Villard.[2]

II. The church is mentioned in a document of 1169.[3]

III. The edifice consists of a nave of a single aisle and an apse. Back of the apse is a modern sacristy. The masonry, entirely covered with stucco, may be inspected in the façade. Large blocks of stone, well laid in regular courses, are separated by thick beds of mortar.

IV. The façade has arched corbel-tables (one of which is pointed), oculi, and a window in the form of a Greek cross. The apse, as may be seen in the sacristy, had shafts engaged on pilaster strips. On the south wall is a fresco representing St. Christopher,[4] which is perhaps contemporary with the original construction of the church.

V. The masonry and the shafts engaged on pilaster strips of the apse show that the edifice is contemporary with S. Abondio of Como, a church which was consecrated in 1095. The pointed arched corbel-table of the façade must be the result of a late alteration.

[1] (Como). [2] *Isola Comacina*, 69-70. [3] *Ibid.*, 70.

[4] It is interesting to compare this figure with the somewhat similar St. Christopher of the church of S. Giacomo of Tavernette (Torino). This single-aisled chapel—of which the apse has been destroyed and the orientation reversed—lies outside of the town of Tavernette on the Pinerolo road. The Renaissance vault has recently fallen in, and the church, when I saw it in 1913, was full of débris. The Romanesque portions are constructed of rubble, and characterized by arched corbel-tables, grouped two and two or four and four. The edifice dates from c. 1040. The fresco of St. Christopher, however, is probably not earlier than the XIII century.

PADOVA, S. SOFIA

(Plate 161, Fig. 1, 3, 4)

I. Two manuscripts preserved in the archives of the library of Padova are of great importance for the archæological study of S. Sofia. Of these the first dates from 1809, but contains some later additions. It is entitled *Libro di varie memorie ritrovate nelle Carte Parrocchiali di S. Sofia.*[1] The other is an autograph letter of Ingegnere Peri, written in 1861.[2] From these two sources, which will be cited at length below, it is possible to form an accurate idea of the changes wrought in the edifice during the XIX century, owing to which the archæology of the monument has become so singularly difficult. Also important for the study of the edifice is Salomoni's collection of inscriptions published in 1621, from which are derived certain untrustworthy notices frequently repeated in regard to the monument. In 1802 Orologio elucidated the history of S. Sofia by the publication of an important document and several pertinent observations. This analysis is illustrated with a drawing of the exterior of the apse, which shows the ruined condition of this portion of the edifice in the early XIX century. Moschini's guide-book of Padova, published in 1817, is of slight value. The renowned Selvatico published a monograph upon S. Sofia in 1842, and he returned to the same subject in his guide of Padova, which appeared in 1869. Ricci[3] described the edifice in his history published in 1857. The two works of Gloria are important for the history of the building. Among more modern writers who have noticed S. Sofia, Mothes[4] and Testi[5] should be mentioned.

II. It has been much discussed by the historians of Padova whether or not the episcopal dignity was ever established at S. Sofia. There are, in fact, no authentic documents to determine where the cathedral of Padova was situated in early times. Orologio[6] was hence perhaps right in challenging the tradition found in the Acts of S. Prosdocimo (which are of late date) to the effect that S. Sofia was the first cathedral. On this point Gloria[7] is in agreement with Orologio. At any rate the very existence of the tradition bears witness to the great antiquity of the church.

The earliest authentic document relating to the church is a deed of the bishop Sinibaldo, dating from 1123.[8] In this the bishop relates how, at the time when he assumed the episcopal office, that is to say, in 1106, he took pity upon the extreme poverty of the church of S. Sofia which was at that time being rebuilt. He therefore considered it worthy that he should extend to it the hand of consolation, and he immediately gave to it out of charity, a

[1] The manuscript bears the number B. P. 2031.
[2] The number of this MS. is B. P. 1009, V. [3] I, 172. [4] I, 239.
[5] 114. [6] III, 66. [7] *Cod. Dip.*, I, XXXIII, also 9-10.
[8] This was first published by Orologio, IV, 74.

small portion of the tithes of the cathedral. He goes on to decree, with the consent of his canons, that S. Sofia should henceforth enjoy all the tithes which the suburb of S. Sofia owed to the cathedral chapter. He made this gift to the church of S. Sofia desiring and trusting that with these revenues the construction of the church could be more quickly completed and a chapter regular established. And lest the priests of S. Sofia should expend these revenues for some other purpose, the bishop decreed that within four years after the completion of the church of S. Sofia, the clerics of that church should begin to live as canons, and that they should continue to enjoy the revenues in question as long as they lived as canons, but if they should not do so, then the revenues should revert to the cathedral.[9]

From this document it is evident that the reconstruction of S. Sofia, begun before 1106, was incompleted in 1123. It is, moreover, to be assumed that the gifts made by Bishop Sinibaldo were sufficiently generous to enable the construction to be pushed to completion soon after 1123.

The church is mentioned in documents of 1129 (?), 1140 and 1146,[10] but it does not appear whether or not the chapter regular had been established, as Sinibaldo had directed should be done within four years after the

[9] In nomine domini Dei et hominis. Anno incarnationis eiusdem mill. cent. vigesimo tercio. XI kalendas martii. indictione prima. . . . ego Sinibaldus Paduanus episcopus . . . dum circa tempus quo episcopalem susceperam consecrationem. viderem ecclesiam sancte Sophye in paupertatis exuri camino. que tunc in suburbio civitatis Padue in nove molis erigebatur fabricam. dignum duxi. ut manus ei consolacionis porrigerem. et saltim de decimis sancte Marie maioris ecclesie porciunculam sibi karitative impenderem. Itaque in Dei omnipotentis nomine una cum communi consensu canonicorum qui tunc in maiori ordinati erant ecclesia. ordinavi. statui atque disposui. ut ab ipsa die in antea clerici qui tunc in ecclesia sancte Sophye ordinati erant. et qui in posterum ordinabuntur. ibidem haberent et cum integritate perciperent omnes decimas quas burgenses de sancta Sophya dare deberent ad canonicam sancte Marie. . . . Et hanc oblationem Deo et ecclesie sancte Sophye optuli. . . . Cupiens atque confidens de sumptibus earumdem decimarum et ecclesiae fabricam citius posse consumari. et clericis ibidem ordinatis et ordinandis postmodum canonice viventibus victum et sustentationem ministrari. Ne igitur prefati clerici eas in alios transferant usus. quam gratia quorum acceperunt. neve maioris ecclesie canonici ad proprium easdem repetant libitum. presentaneis litteris et que tunc statueram. queve nunc statuo. insinuare decrevi. quatinus sancte Sophye clerici post eiusdem ecclesie consumationem et structure perfectionem. infra quadriennium canonicam ducere vitam incipiant. et eas sine inquietudine. quoadusque canonice vixerint. ut rem propriam teneant. et in usu comuni et utilitate pleno iure possideant. . . . Si vero canonice vivere parvipenderint. tunc impune liceat maioris ecclesie canonicis prefactas decimas vendicare. . . . Ego Otolinus domini Federici imperatoris notarius hoc exemplum ex autentico sumpsi et exemplavi. nihil addens. vel minuens quo ad sensum. et anno Domini M. C. nonagesimo sexto. indictione XIIII. die XIII intrante februario subscripsi. et tantum cum una ex notis meis corroboravi. Ego Patavinus sacri palatii notarius hoc exemplum . . . exemplavi anno Domini M.CC. quinto. indictione [*sic*] octava. die XIIII exeunte octubri. nil adens nec minuens. nisi forte pontum. litteram vel sillabam in compositione litterarum. (Gloria, *Cod. Dip.*, II, 109).

[10] Gloria, *Cod. Dip.*, II, 152, 290, 318.

completion of the edifice. In 1170 and 1173[11] mention is made of a prior of the church, so at this time there surely was an Augustinian chapter. A prior of S. Sofia is also mentioned in a document of 1178, in which the boundary of the parochial jurisdiction is defined.[12] In 1196 the pope, Celestine III, confirmed the tithes given by Sinibaldo to S. Sofia, and also the agreement made by *Uberto priori canonice Regularis sancte Sophie de Padua* with Zambono of the canons of Padua.[13] In his text Orologio[14] says that this letter concluded a lawsuit between the chapter of the cathedral and the canons of S. Sofia, presumably in regard to the revenues given by Sinibaldo.

It has been frequently stated that the church was rebuilt in 1240. The basis for this statement is an inscription published by Salomoni[15] and from him reproduced by Moschini[16] and Ricci.[17] Fortunately, however, the original of this inscription is still extant, being preserved in the Museo Archeologico of Padova, where it bears the number 285. Now the stone itself reads as follows:

.M.CC. LXXXXUI. ULTIMO. MAII.
DOPN'. GERARDIN'. D'. BON. PRI
OR. S. SOPHIE. FECIT. HEDIF
FICARI. MAGISTER. DESIDE
RI'. D' PAD'. MURARIUS. FECIT.

That is to say, the inscription refers not to the year 1240, but to the year 1296. What it was that was erected at this time is entirely unknown, except in so far as it may be conjectured from a study of the architecture of the church.

S. Sofia is one of the few leading churches of Italy that never was given in commendam. In the early years of the XVI century Lateran canons headed by a prevosto were substituted for the Augustinian chapter.[18] In the southern side aisle is a console on which is inscribed the date 1743. This date doubtless records a restoration.

In 1809 other and important works of restoration were executed. In the centre of the apse may be seen this inscription:

SIMEONIS. MERLANI. PISANI
OPVS
ANT. MARIO IOHAN. BAPT. RINALDI
FERD. VAINI. IOSEPH DE DONDIS AB HOROLOGIO
IOHAN. MARINONI
ECCLESIAE. CVRATORIBVS
IORDANO BOLZANO. PRAEPOSITO
MENSE. NOVEMB. ANN. MDCCC.IX.

In the archives of the library of Padova there is a memorandum of the *Spese incontrate per la Pittura fatta nella Cappella Maggiore di S. Sofia il*

[11] *Ibid.*, III, 209, 272. [12] *Ibid.*, 380. [13] Orologio, VI, 167. [14] VI, 58.
[15] 268. [16] 162. [17] I, 206. [18] Gloria, II.

Mese di 9bre 1809. The total expense was 907.93 lire, of which the painter Merlini received 204.67 lire. His colours and assistants cost 296 lire and tips were 8 lire. On May 30, 1809, *fu imbiancata la Chiesa Prepositurale* at an expense of 220 lire. At this time the roof was also repaired.[19]

In 1852 a still more radical restoration was carried out. This is described in an inedited letter of Peri, of such great importance for the history of the edifice that I print the most interesting parts of it.[20] The archæological restoration ventilated by Peri (1861) was never carried out, and the church was thus saved another disaster. In 1880 the building was declared a national monument.

III. The edifice consists at present of a nave eight bays long, two side aisles, an apse supplied with an ambulatory of irregular plan, to the east of which is a chapel square externally, semicircular internally. South of the choir and over the former eastern bay of the southern side aisle rises the Gothic campanile. The supports of the nave are for the most part piers

[19] *MS. cit.*, 5.

[20] Speaking of the apse: questa parte visibile del Tempio non ha difetti così rimarchevoli, da dovervi porre le mani, se non fosse per la mancanza di alquanti mattoni quà e là. . . . Veda mo', Sig. Conte, di quanto danno sono quelle Pianticelle, che vegetano a spese della cementazione, e che insinuano le loro radici entro le commetiture dei mattoni! [These plants are seen also in Orologio's drawing]. Passiamo al Lato di Nord contro la Porta minore del Tempio. Veggiamo sotto la grondaja della parte più elevata della Chiesa, una decorazione, o fregio, che cangia di forma. Quel Fregio a triangoli dritti e rovesci, bianco-rossi, terminava ad un punto marcatissimo e distintissimo di coincidenza colla continuazione dell'altro fregio, che caminava verso la facciata principale. Per mala sorte, quel punto preciso di Meta e principio fu distrutto per ignoranza dei Travagliatori che operarono nel ristauro del 1852, i quali demolirono varj corsi della sommità del muro di gronda, all'uopo di poggiare, d'incassare e di firmamente assicurare le travi di una impalcatura fatta per accedere da terra al coperto, pel trasporto di tutto il legname occorrente del Tetto. Ricordiamoci di questa circostanza, per richiamarla alla memoria, quando si verserà sul dubbio, che in origine la Chiesa fosse men lunga. Speaking of west part of north side, he says a faulty gutter was the cause of quell'Ala crollata e riscostruita da parecchi anni [evidently the western part of northern side aisle]. He says that during the reconstruction of this side aisle: ed anzi all'atto del ristauro eseguito nel 1852, si scoprì una piccola fenditura nella volta nella Navata di mezzo presso la Porta. [The church had been closed some time before it was reopened in 1852]. Esaminiamo il Prospetto principale della Chiesa. Prima di detto ristauro, il Prospetto era nudo, senza intonaco, meno nelle nicchie dipinte a figure [these frescos of the XII century still exist] e qualche ornamentino sopra la Porta. Ora lo veggiamo intonacato e colorato, ridotto in sostanza ad una forma, che non conserva il vero carattere. . . . Cagioni di tanto deturpamento della Facciata, furono la Cantoria, e l'Organo. Perorai per una correzione all'atto pratico del ristauro 1852, e al Reverendo Preposito non isfuggì di dire, che la Musica e l'Organo alle spalle dei Parrochiani, era motivo d'inversione, di poco rispetto, e di scandalo. In sostanza non fu possibile, in tale circostanza, correggere il difetto, che poteva essere sanato, riaprendo il grande finestrone circolare; chiudendo le finestre suppletorie, e togliendo d'opera quel goffo contorno veronese, che spropor-

of various and irregular section, but two of them are columns. Since these piers are covered with stucco, it is exceedingly difficult to determine their original character. The vaults of the nave and side aisles are all obviously of the Gothic period.

Even a casual inspection is sufficient to show that the edifice is not all of one period, and that it has been much changed by successive restorations. Under the bell-tower, walled off from the rest of the church, is still preserved one bay of the side aisle of the church of the XI century. Here it is evident that the piers were of "T" section, and that there were transverse arches thrown across the side aisles. But little of the original masonry is to be seen, and the imposts are formed of pilfered material of the VI century. Several piers of the east end of the nave still retain substantially this same section. It is evident that the nave was originally not eight, but nine bays long, and that the eastern bay was walled off (probably in 1809) in order to lengthen the choir. In the sacristy the corresponding east bay of the southern side aisle is also still preserved, and is of entirely similar character. The three eastern piers of the existing nave seem also to belong in great part to this period. The second pair from the east still support transverse arches, but since these are pointed, they have evidently been remade at least in part. An inscription on the console of the southern side aisle makes it evident that they were

ziona la Porta. Era necessario però stabilire il luogo, nel quale trasportare la Cantoria, e l'Organo. Passiamo ora l'esame alla parte Somma del Tempio, sopra le volte, e sotto il coperto. Cosa è quel fregio ad ambe le grondaje, pressocchè alla metà della lunghezza della Chiesa, dipinto a rosso-chiaro? Perchè esso si estende per un solo tratto da ambe le parti? Perchè non continua fino al Prospetto della Chiesa? Perchè non è la medesima, la forma ed il disegno dell'ornato? Perchè sono dipinte delle figure sotto il coperto dell'abside interno? A quale oggetto quella parte del Tempio è così decorata, che serve soltanto di abitazione alle Nottole ed ai Barbagianni? Dopo tutte queste osservazioni discendiamo dal Tetto e rechiamoci entro la Chiesa. All'appoggio delle considerazioni che abbiamo fatte poc' anzi, io mi sento inclinato a giudicare, che la primitiva Chiesa non era coperta da volte, come la è al dì d'oggi, che il suo Tetto era di legname alla rustica, probabilmente squadrato per maggior decoro, e che le interne pareti erano stuccate. . . . Le ho io esaminate, allochè il Filantropo Cav. Sig. Camerini, del proprio pentio, operava i restauri nel Febbrajo 1852, e che in tale circostanza, fu eseguita internamente una generale scrostatura di esse pareti; cosa riconoscibile in ogni tempo, solo che a qualche parte, si levi l'intonacatura. Peraltro deggio avvertire, che le muraglie, in epoche diverse furono rappedonate, usando materiali di diverse forme e grandezze, come negli ingrossamenti dei Pilastri, e che in queste parti, di data meno lontana, la stucatura delle connettiture non era la stessa della primitiva, poichè questa appariva molto meglio esseguita in cemento di calce e terrazzo, color oscuro, liscia e lucida. . . . alla ricostruzione dell'ala crollata al fianco sinistro della Facciata . . . le volte furono ripristinate di legname . . . e le stemme [of the keystones] non vennero ricollocati. . . . Alcune di quelle Nicchie decorate di colonnine, che esistono nei primi pilastri della Navata di mezzo, furono riaperte, o perfezionate con nuove colonnine. È probabile che un' eguale Nicchia esistesse in quel Pilastro che è di fronte al Pulpito, nel quale è immurata una Iscrizione, e così si dica dell'opposto corrispondente Pilastro. (Peri, *MS. cit.*).

restored in 1743, but this was not the only reconstruction to which they have been subjected. The sixth pair of piers, counting from the east, were also of T-section, and parts of the transverse arches are still extant. The church of the XI century appears to have had an alternate system, in which rectangular intermediate piers were placed between T-shaped alternate piers.

Above the vaults the ancient clearstory is still well preserved. The windows were all placed on the south side. There is noticeable a distinct difference in character between the eastern and western halves of the clearstory. In the eastern half the windows internally are in two orders, of which the inner one is flat-headed and surmounted by a wooden archivolt. Although repaired, these windows were obviously different from those of the western half of the nave, which are round arched. Peri speaks of the distinct break in the cornice visible externally before the restoration of 1852. At present no difference in the masonry between the two portions of the clearstory is observable, but the wall seems to be built throughout of the same material. The zigzag cornice of the eastern bays, however, is not continued in the western bays.

Peculiar problems are presented by the ambulatory of S. Sofia. This ambulatory has been walled up, and in recent times a rectangular wall has been erected separating it from the side aisles of the church. There is no doubt, however, that it was originally a true ambulatory. It is peculiar that the perimeter of the ambulatory is not concentric with that of the apse. The ambulatory is a semicircle the diameter of which is equal to the width of all three aisles, roughly speaking.

Excavations have revealed that the columns of the apse rest at a level about a metre lower than that of the existing piers of the nave.[21] It is therefore clear that this arcade forms part of an earlier building. The capitals of these columns are peculiar in that the outside face was never finished. It is, therefore, evident that they were executed for their present position, and intended to stand against the heavy piers of rectangular masonry that still exist. The brickwork of these piers is identical with that of the wall over the arcades, and very different in character from that of the ambulatory wall. Very large bricks (even larger than those of the outside wall) uncross-hatched, are laid in courses quite accurately horizontal, separated

[21] E non è dubbio che l'abside esterna dell'attuale chiesa di S. Sofia e le pareti laterali e la facciata di questa sieno contemporanee, perchè recano lo stesso stile e lo stesso materiale, e poichè ho fatto scavare sotto quell'abside e sotto la parete presso la porta laterale e ho rilevato che le fondamenta loro si sprofondano allo stesso livello. Invece da altro scavo fatto entro quell'abside mi risultò che le quattro colonne marmoree antedette stanno centimetri novanta circa più sotto che le due colonne, pur marmoree e simili, che sono nella navata media della chiesa odierna. Pare adunque che le dette quattro colonne sieno al loro posto originale, e che le due della navata abbiano appartenuto, siccome quelle, alla chiesa antica, e sieno state trasferite in quella navata quando si costruì nel 1123 la chiesa odierna. (Gloria, 6-7).

by thin mortar-beds, and without herring-bone work. The four Byzantine capitals of the arcade separating the apse and ambulatory are placed at notably different levels. The northernmost is much the highest, then comes the second from the north, and the two southern ones are lowest and on a level with each other. The great piers back of the columns supported arches higher than the arcade, and this wall externally was polygonal. The piers behind the columns seem to have had no other object than to supply additional support for the heavy vault. When the new ambulatory was added in the XII century, the width of the old side aisle was much reduced. The reconstruction of the old side aisle was perhaps necessitated because the dome had shown signs of yielding. At all events, the existing ambulatory is covered with segments of a cloistered dome which form excellent abutment to the vault of the apse. There was never free circulation in this ambulatory, but the side aisle was choked on either side of the central chapel by the piers placed back of the central column. The chapel has been much rebuilt, but the original eastern and western niches still extant leave no doubt as to the original dispositions. In 1296 this chapel was walled off as at present, and on the west wall was placed a fresco. In 1809 the apse was modernized, the arcades walled up, and the whole plastered and frescoed.

A distinct break in the masonry is visible just west of the second window from the west of the northern side aisle. This marks the limit of the reconstruction of the side aisle in 1852. The rest of the northern side-aisle wall dates principally from the XII century, but the windows and cornice are modern, and some bits of masonry characterized by broken bits of brick, roughly laid in horizontal courses, with wide mortar-beds, are of the XI century.

The XII century portions of the church—such as the apse (Plate 161, Fig. 1)—are constructed of bricks, uncross-hatched, but frequently supplied with vertical incisions. They are of large size, and often of light colour. The regular courses are separated by layers of mortar which are not excessively thick. Herring-bone construction occurs, especially in the domes of the niches and in the eastern chapel, but the masonry on the whole is advanced and technically extremely good.

IV. The capitals of the ambulatory columns are carved with Byzantine acanthus leaves of the decadent type of the VI century. These capitals are in their original position. Other capitals of similar type, and evidently contemporary, are used elsewhere in the edifice as second-hand material, notably in the western piers of the nave, where they crown imbedded colonnettes. Capitals of a later epoch are used as second-hand materials in the façade and the ambulatory (Plate 161, Fig. 4). The use of grotesques growing out of the volutes in a manner which evidently foreshadows the developed style of the XI century, combined with acanthus leaves whose

veins are scratched and whose outer form is doubled in the manner of the X century, shows that we have here to do with products of the early years of the XI century. Capitals of the XII century, on the other hand, are those of cubic type of the façade, and certain of the capitals of the exterior of the ambulatory (Plate 161, Fig. 3). Of the late XIII century is a crocketed capital and one of Corinthian type now to be found in the piers of the nave.

The archivolts of the XI century church were in a single unmoulded order. The XII century façade is adorned with blind arches in two orders, niches, and arched corbel-tables in two orders supported on shafts. The ambulatory is adorned internally with two stories of niches, semicircular or rectangular in plan. Externally the apse is adorned with three stories of blind niches, blind arches or galleries (Plate 161, Fig. 3). The archivolts are in two or more orders, and those of the upper gallery are moulded. Shafts are freely used. The eastern chapel is adorned with a string-course carved with a Byzantine pattern, identical in character with that of the impost of the piers. In the eastern bays there is a zigzag cornice. Fragments of marble found in the recent excavation seem to indicate that the interior wall of the VI century edifice was incrusted with marble. It may be, however, that such fragments came from the pavement.

The edifice still retains notable remains of the ancient fresco decoration. Above the vaults, over the apse arch, may be seen part of an Annunciation, with an inscription, as well as the remains of conventional patterns in red, green and white, on the side walls. The remains of frescos are all in the eastern half of the edifice. In one of the niches of the ambulatory is another early fresco, probably of the XII century.

V. It is evident that the columns of the ambulatory are the remains of a church of the VI century. The Byzantine carving of the acanthus leaves, as well as the level at which the columns are set, show that this edifice must have been erected c. 550. The polygonal exterior form of the piers, and the very name of the church, are further proofs of its Byzantine character. The plan of this edifice is, however, difficult to understand. If there was an ambulatory it does not appear why the columns to the north should have had capitals at a higher level than those to the south. In the early years of the XI century, or more precisely c. 1010, this Byzantine edifice was reconstructed, a nave was erected with piers alternately T-shaped and rectangular, from the former of which sprang transverse arches spanning the side aisles. The date of this reconstruction may be fixed by the analogy of this edifice to Bagnacavallo (c. 1000), where T-shaped piers are found (Plate 18, Fig. 4); to the destroyed portions of S. Eustorgio of Milan (c. 1000), where T-shaped piers were also used; and to SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza (c. 1030), where the alternate system was used in a form even more highly developed than at S. Sofia. The reconstruction of S. Sofia may, consequently, be

ascribed to c. 1010, a date which accords well, as we have seen, with the style of certain capitals (Plate 161, Fig. 4). To the reconstruction of the church, begun before 1106, and still incompleted in 1123, belong the existing ambulatory, façade and clearstory. At this period the piers of the nave were also remodelled, and the church decorated with frescos. The break in the clearstory wall doubtless shows the point at which the reconstruction had arrived, when it was interrupted by lack of funds, which caused its suspension until the bishop Sinibaldo came to the rescue in 1123. The ambulatory and the eastern part of the clearstory were perhaps executed about 1106. From 1123 onward the western portions of the church were finished, but in the most economical manner possible. In 1296 the church was again restored. At this epoch the vaults were erected, and many minor changes and restorations carried out.

PALLANZA,[1] S. REMIGIO

(Plate 161, Fig. 2, 5; Plate 162, Fig. 1, 2, 3)

I. A photograph and description of this monument have been published by Viani.[2] Careful drawings of the edifice have been made by Ingegnere Bottini, who is in charge of the restoration. It is promised that these drawings will soon be published. Other drawings were published in *Ricordi d'Architettura*.[3]

II. Of the history of the edifice but very little is known. According to Viani[4] it is mentioned in a bull of Innocent II of 1133. Viani conjectures that it was the parish church of Pallanza, but it probably ceased to be such in 1341, when the cure of souls was transferred to the church of S. Leonardo. In the XVI century the building was restored by Gerolamo Appiani. The walls were restored, new frescos added, and the charming western portico (Plate 162, Fig. 2) was constructed. Above the latter was built a room to serve as a residence for the hermit by whom the church was officiated. Appiani furthermore excavated a curious tomb in the middle of the nave, destined to serve as a sort of pantheon, or sepulchre, for all the benefactors of the church. Viani states that shortly before his time a certain priest had covered the interior of the church with intonaco, hiding the ancient frescos. He also says that when he was a boy the edifice was known as S. Romerio.

When I visited the church on July 27, 1913, the interior was blocked up with scaffolding (Plate 161, Fig. 2; Plate 162, Fig. 3), placed there in preparation for a restoration, but actual work had hardly been begun. I

[1] (Novara). [2] 54, 111. [3] Vol. II, Ser. 2, 1891, Tav. XXXII. [4] 111.

therefore had the good fortune of being able to study the edifice while it was still in its original condition.

III. The church consists of a nave three bays long; a single southern side aisle;[5] a choir of a single bay, flanked by a very short bay of the side aisle (this bay is now walled off from the rest of the side aisle); an absidiole (Plate 162, Fig. 1); an apse (Plate 162, Fig. 1); a campanile rising to the north of the church (Plate 162, Fig. 2), and a western portico (Plate 162, Fig. 2) surmounted by a chamber.

The apse and absidioles have half domes, the nave (Plate 162, Fig. 3) and side aisles (Plate 161, Fig. 5) are covered with groin vaults. The vaults of the nave (Plate 162, Fig. 3) have transverse arches, but no wall ribs. They are highly domed, and distinctly oblong in plan. They are at present covered with intonaco, so that the masonry is visible only in a few spots where the plaster has chipped off (Plate 162, Fig. 3). The vaults appear to be constructed, however, of rubble laid with a certain regularity in courses normal to the groin. The vaults of the side aisle (Plate 161, Fig. 5) are similarly domed and similarly oblong, but in the opposite sense. They have wall ribs of segmental elevation. The transverse arches in a single order are loaded more noticeably than those of the nave.

The nave is supplied with a system of three members, of which the central one is semicircular in the western bays, rectangular in the eastern bays (Plate 161, Fig. 2). The system is continued straight to the ground, both in the northern wall and in the southern piers (Plate 161, Fig. 2), and is uninterrupted by pier capitals. The latter are supplied only for the semi-columns which support the transverse arches of the side aisle (Plate 161, Fig. 5). In the eastern respond on the northern side, there are at the base five rectangular members, but about two metres from the ground these are reduced to two. The semicircular members of the system of the two western bays have capitals; otherwise the members of the vault are joined to the corresponding members of the system without any capitals (Plate 161, Fig. 2).

The piers have a section consisting of a rectangular core on which are engaged two semicircular and two rectangular members, but in the eastern piers (Plate 161, Fig. 2) all the members are rectangular. The side-aisle responds (Plate 161, Fig. 5) include five members, of which the central one is semicircular. There are no bases. The exterior wall of the side aisle is

[5] In this respect the church of Pallanza is analogous to a Romanesque edifice situated on the Simplon road to the north of Gravellona (Novara). The church of Gravellona, in turn, resembles S. Fermo of Omegna (Novara), of which parts of the exterior, including the central apse, the southern absidiole and the façade are well preserved, although the interior has been entirely baroccoized. The masonry of Omegna consists of ashlar of very mediocre quality. The simple, widely splayed windows were intended to serve without glass, and there are plain arched corbel-tables. The construction may be assigned to c. 1110.

reinforced by buttresses (Plate 162, Fig. 1) which measure 24 x 60 x 24 centimetres. The buttresses of the north wall of the nave are of about the same size. The southern clearstory wall is also reinforced by buttresses (Plate 162, Fig. 1).

All told, the church when I saw it was in almost perfect preservation. Only the clearstory windows had suffered from baroccoization (Plate 162, Fig. 1) and the interior had been whitewashed (Plate 161, Fig. 2). The Renaissance portico before the west façade, full of beauty and charm (Plate 162, Fig. 2), was one of the most picturesque and artistic features of the church. I trust that the demolition threatened has not been carried out.

The masonry of the façade is ashlar. Well squared blocks are laid in courses which are fairly horizontal, and separated by mortar-beds about one centimetre in thickness. The side walls, on the other hand (Plate 162, Fig. 1), are executed in masonry that is little better than rubble. Stones, frequently uncut and of small size, are laid in thick beds of mortar, and in courses only approximately horizontal. The campanile and apse (Plate 162, Fig. 1) are of similar masonry, the campanile somewhat rougher, the apse somewhat better. The ashlar masonry of the piers is only fair. The joints are about two centimetres in width, and the courses are not always horizontal.

The windows, widely splayed, were intended to serve without glass (Plate 162, Fig. 1).

IV. The capitals of the church are varied and interesting. One, of rectangular shape, is decorated with a geometric interlace that recalls Gallarate. Another is of a carved cubic type that recalls Panico (Plate 162, Fig. 4). Others, in the side aisles, have a row of stiff, Carlovingian-like leaves, or else are ornamented with anthemia like the capital of the ambo of S. Vincenzo at Galliano. Certain flaccid acanthus and anthemion leaves (Plate 161, Fig. 5) show the survival of XI century tradition. One capital is ornamented merely with a row of dentils.

The apse is adorned with arched corbel-tables (Plate 162, Fig. 1) grouped three and three and executed in stone. The arched corbel-tables of the southern clearstory wall (Plate 162, Fig. 1) are executed in brick, and interrupted at intervals by buttresses. The eastern bay of this clearstory is now without corbel-tables (Plate 162, Fig. 1), but indubitable traces of those which once existed are still to be seen. The wall of the southern side aisle, in its three eastern bays, and the absidiole, have always been without arched corbel-tables (Plate 162, Fig. 1). The western bay of the side aisle, on the contrary, has arched corbel-tables executed in stone. The façade, as may be seen in the room above the western portico, is adorned with arched corbel-tables interrupted at intervals by pilaster strips. These arched corbel-tables are vertical instead of being normal to the rake of the cornice. The northern wall has a cornice of arched corbel-tables executed in brick. There

is also—singular feature—a line of arched corbel-tables executed in stone, introduced about half-way up the wall, in the second bay from the east. If it be remembered that the internal respond at this point shows a change of plan, the conclusion is justified that this bit of wall was built first with the intention of erecting a side aisle on the north, not on the south side. Subsequently the builders changed their minds, but as witnesses to their vacillation there remained a bit of the respond of five members, and the arched corbel-tables at the level of the cornice of the projected side aisle.

The portal of the church is in two orders and has a continuous roll-moulding.

The church contains interesting frescos, among others the cycle of the months in the apse.

V. The masonry of the church, in its mixture of fine ashlar and rougher rubble, is strikingly analogous to that of the narthex of S. Donato at Abbazia di Sesto Calende, an edifice which dates from c. 1130. Since this date accords well with many of the decorative features of S. Remigio, our edifice may be ascribed to about the same time. It is necessary to admit, however, that the building shows the survival of XI century tradition to a remarkable extent.

PALAZZOLO,[1] S. GIUSTINA

I. This monument is mentioned in the guide of Simeoni.[2]

II. I know of no documents which illustrate the history of the edifice.

III. The building consists of a nave of a single aisle, roofed in wood, and two apses. The masonry has been much made over, but appears to have consisted of unhewn stones placed in herring-bone or horizontal courses, with ashlar quoins and occasional bands of brick and ashlar. To the north-east rises the contemporary campanile.

IV. The apses externally are supplied with pilaster strips, but there are no arched corbel-tables. The monument contains fine frescos, some apparently of the Trecento.

V. The masonry is analogous to that of the church of S. Maria of Loppia, a monument which dates from c. 1030. S. Giustina may, consequently, be ascribed to about the same epoch.

[1] Frazione di Sona (Verona). [2] 326.

PANICO DI MARZABOTTO,[1] S. LORENZO

(Plate 162, Fig. 4)

I. The pieve of S. Lorenzo at Panico has been published by Gozzadini, Faccioli[2] and Maestri.[3]

II. Gozzadini has conjectured that the star in a circle placed upon certain capitals of the pieve is the emblem of the counts of Panico, whose coat of arms contains a star. It is, however, pure fancy to deduce that the church was erected in 1068 by Alberto and Imelda, because the couple in that year made a donation to the abbey of Roffeno. That the church was a pieve is proved by a sentence of 1170, by which Guido, prior of Reno, decided a controversy brought by a monk of Nonantola against the church of S. Lorenzo of Panico.[4] According to Maestri the church was officiated by a chapter of four canons.

In the early XIV century the castle of Panico was destroyed,[5] but there is no evidence that the church of S. Lorenzo was damaged at this period. Probably in the first half of the XIX century the crypt of the church was suppressed. Possibly about the same time other baroque alterations were carried out in the edifice. Between 1892 and 1897 a restoration of the church was begun. The baroque campanile was demolished. The roof and the exterior walls were restored, the masonry of the façade was renovated, the ancient windows were reopened, and the interior was freed in part of its intonaco.[6] The drawing of the façade made at this epoch and published by Faccioli shows no trace of the rose-window with which the edifice has subsequently been supplied. The two lobed windows do appear, but according to Maestri these also are gratuitous additions of the restorers. When I visited the edifice on March 20, 1913, the restoration was still going on. The building was closed for worship, and filled with scaffolding (Plate 162, Fig. 4). The reconstruction was being carried out along very radical lines, but generally upon traces of the original structure which were discovered.

III. The edifice consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles and an apse. The piers of the nave are alternately rectangular and cylindrical, except the easternmost pair, which consist of a rectangular core upon which are engaged four semicircular members (Plate 162, Fig. 4). The latter piers have a system of a single round shaft (Plate 162, Fig. 4) which, on the north side, receives a capital a little above the level of the crowns of the arches of the main arcade. This capital undoubtedly supported the transverse arch of a groin vault placed over the eastern bay of the nave, which was, therefore,

[1] (Bologna).
[2] *Relazione, 1892-1897*, 27.
[3] *Rubbiano*, 45.
[4] Tiraboschi, *Nonantula*, II, 294.
[5] Maestri, *Rubbiano*, 47.
[6] Faccioli, *loc. cit.*

in reality a choir. Traces of this vault may still be seen in the northern wall of the clearstory. The remainder of the nave was undoubtedly originally without vaults, but in the barocco period a low barrel vault, traces of which are still visible, was erected. The vault of the choir was placed at the same level as the half dome of the apse, and much lower than the roof of the nave. There can be little doubt that the eastern bay of either side aisle must also have been vaulted, but the vault which now exists on the north side is barocco, and on the south side no traces of the original vault are extant. There were no side-aisle responds and no shafts to support the side-aisle or nave vaults in the eastern responds of the main arcade.

When I visited the church, the southern clearstory wall had been completely destroyed down to the level of the arches of the main arcade.

Internally the apse is supplied with four shafts, but the half dome is without ribs. The middle shafts culminate in a moulded string-course, but the outer shafts carry the torus moulding of the apse arch. The two eastern free-standing piers and the apse responds show clear traces of the crypt which once existed, but which has been destroyed. This crypt extended not only under the choir and apse, but under the side aisles of the choir.

The windows of the clearstory and side aisles are spaced without regard to the rhythm of the bays. The masonry consists of a rubble core faced with ashlar of excellent quality (Plate 162, Fig. 4). The blocks are of moderate and variable size, but are well squared, and are laid in courses which, although not accurately horizontal, are generally continuous. In the walls are numerous scaffolding holes.

IV. The capital of the vaulting shaft of the eastern pier on the northern side is cubic. On the abacus is carved a guilloche; on the face towards the nave, a crane pulling the bone out of the fox's throat. The middle shafts of the apse have cubic capitals with rosettes. The northern one has a capital with reversed volutes, the southern one has lost its capital. The capitals of the square piers consist of a series of mouldings of advanced profile. The capitals of the cylindrical piers are of varied type. The cubic form (Plate 162, Fig. 4) predominates. The faces are frequently carved with leaf patterns or grotesques. In one, eagles and ram's heads are introduced at the corners to serve as volutes. The capitals vary from very low to very high. The capital of the west respond of the north arcade, which is original, recalls a capital of S. Savino of Piacenza, but is much more crudely executed. The abacus has been so much reduced that it has been almost eliminated. In each angle are volutes formed with many parallel incisions. Between them are some leaves, below each of which is a flat Carlovingian-like leaf. There is a broad necking of coupled spirals. Another capital has winged grotesques in the angles and rows of stiff, unserrated leaves (Plate 162, Fig. 4). Still another has an abacus carved with a rope-moulding, and a bell of indeterminate form, covered with a vine-pattern.

PARMA, BATTISTERO

The bases of the piers of the nave have all been either destroyed or restored, but the shaft of the apse has a base in the form of a reversed cubic capital. The archivolts are of a single unmoulded order (Plate 162, Fig. 4). The northern clearstory wall ends in a simple cavea cornice. The exterior walls are without buttresses or pilaster strips. The apse, however, has four shafts, which support arched corbel-tables grouped three and three. In one of these is placed a criss-cross. The shafts have voluted or cubic capitals, the latter with geometrical ornaments. The windows externally are moulded and shafted, and have cubic capitals. In the north side-aisle wall there is now visible only a single original window. Like the windows of S. Ruffillo, it has a flat lintel, but an arcuated lintel below to form the inner opening. Most of the other windows had originally arcuated lintels. The widely splayed clearstory windows were intended to serve without glass. The inner moulding of the easternmost has a rope ornament. The lobed apertures and rose-windows of the west façade are modern, but the Latin-cross window of the eastern gable is original. The apse windows, with the exception of the central one, which still has a rope-moulding around the central slit, lost their splaying in the barocco period. All have jambs and archivolts adorned with rope-mouldings. In the wall about the jambs of the central window, and on the archivolts of all three windows, are flat bands of carving with guilloches, rinceaux, interlaces, vine patterns, etc. The technique recalls S. Ambrogio, although it is less sharp and crisp. The apse windows had a moulded archivolt, supported on engaged colonnettes, but the capitals of the latter have disappeared. The portal is moulded. In the interior of the west wall is inlaid a relief very crudely executed. A figure, the sex of which it is impossible to determine, holds both hands in the air. On either side is a sort of spiral. I take this figure to be purely grotesque.

V. The cubic capitals with widely projecting bells (Plate 162, Fig. 4) are analogous to the capitals of Mont'Orfano, an edifice which dates from c. 1145. Since the other stylistic peculiarities of Panico agree well with this date, our edifice may be ascribed to the same time.

PARMA, BATTISTERO

(Plate 163, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 164, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 165, Fig. 2, 3)

I. The baptistery of Parma has been the subject of an excellent monograph by Lopez, who has throughly studied both the architecture and the sculpture. The plates of Osten and of Knight[1] are valuable because they show the edifice as it was before restoration, with the barocco cupola, since removed. Didron Aîné wrote two articles upon the sculptures, which are

[1] Osten, Plates XXVIII, XXIX and XXX. Knight, II, Plate XXIII.

of great importance for the study of the iconography, and Duchalais was the first to explain the relief of the tympanum of the southern portal. The best analysis of the sculptures and reliefs, considered from an historical and artistic point of view, is still that of Zimmermann, although the recent study of Venturi[2] is an important contribution. Mothes[3] has gathered the historical notices regarding the edifice with his customary diligence and inaccuracy. Photographs of the building have been published by Martin.

II. On the lintel of the north portal is the inscription: "in the year 1196 a sculptor named Benedetto began this work."[4] This Benedetto is obviously the same as the Benedetto who sculptured the Deposition in the cathedral (Plate 165, Fig. 4) in 1178. The fact that the baptistery was begun in 1196 is also recorded by the Chronicle of Parma,[5] and by Salimbene. The latter tells us: "In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1196 the baptistery of Parma was begun, and my father, as I have heard from his own mouth, placed stones in its foundation, as a token and memorial for posterity. For between the baptistery and my house there is nothing to obstruct the view. My father was called Guido, son of Adam, and I, his son, Brother Salimbene, of the order of the Franciscans."[6] Further on the same author states: "I heard from my father that, when the baptistery of Parma was begun, he placed stones in the foundation as a token and memorial, and that the house of certain relatives of mine stood formerly where the baptistery was erected."[7]

The construction must have proceeded exceedingly rapidly for, according to the Chronicle of Parma, baptisms began to be celebrated in the new baptistery in the year 1214.[8] Salimbene affirms that he personally was baptized

[2] III, 291 f. [3] II, 439.

[4] BIS BINIS DEMPTIS ANNIS DE MILLE DUCENTIS IN[C]EPIT DICTUS OPUS HOC SCULTOR BENEDICTUS

[5] Et eo anno [1196] inceptum fuit batisterium maioris ecclesie Parmensis beate Marie. (*Annales Parmenses Maiores,* M. G. H., *Script.,* XVIII, 665). Cf. *Chronicon Parmense,* apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 7.

[6] Anno siquidem Dominicae Incarnationis MCXCVI. parmense baptisterium fuit inceptum: et pater meus, ut ab ore ejus audivi, in fundamento ejus lapides posuit in signum memorialis et bonae recordationis in posterum. Nam inter baptisterium et domum meam nulla interpositio habebatur. Pater meus dominus Guido de Adam dicebatur; et ego filius suus frater Salimbene de ordine fratrum Minorum. (Salimbene, ad ann. 1285, ed. Parma, 1857, 342).

[7] Item audivi a patre meo, quod, quando fundabatur Baptisterium parmense, posuit lapides in fundamento in recordationis signum; et quod ubi aedificatum est Baptisterium fuerunt domus propinquorum meorum. (*Ibid.,* 10).

[8] Et illo anno [1214], die sabati nono intrante aprilis inceptum fuit batiçari primo in Batisterio Parme de novo incepto, qui dies sabati erat die sabati sancti ipso anno. (*Chronicon Parmense,* apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 8).

in the baptistery in the year 1221.[9] Similarly a document cited by Affò[10] shows that in 1225 baptism was administered in the new edifice. That the baptistery was in use in the third decade of the XIII century may also be inferred from other reminiscences of Salimbene, who speaks of "the old piazza of the city of Parma near the baptistery and the episcopal palace and the façade of the cathedral" at the time when he was "a small boy,"[11] and records that in 1229 the corpse of Bernardo Oliverio lay in state in the baptistery.[12]

Salimbene records that when Parma was besieged by Federico II in 1247, the women of the city presented to the Virgin a silver model of the city in which could be distinguished the cathedral *licet non talis qualis illa fuit*,[13] and the baptistery. In the following year the *carroccio* of the Cremonesi was placed in the baptistery.[14] Works of construction on the baptistery were interrupted by Ezzelino da Romano, from 1227 to 1259, for the building was entirely constructed of Verona marble which this podestà would not allow to be exported to Parma.[15] During this period the Parmigiani, since they could not construct the baptistery, busied themselves with isolating it, widening the streets which surrounded it, and destroying the houses and meaner structures which encumbered it.[16] In 1259, or soon after, work was resumed, and the edifice was completed and consecrated in 1270. "In the name of our Lord, in the year 1270, on the twenty-fifth day of May, the baptistery of Parma was consecrated by the venerable Opizone of S. Vitale, bishop of Parma, and the altar in the baptistery was dedicated in honour of S. Giovanni Battista and S. Andrea the apostle and S. Cristoforo the martyr. And on the occasion of that consecration there was proclaimed an indulgence of one year and two hundred and forty days to all those truly penitent and duly confessed who were present at the said consecration, and to those who should come on the anniversary of that consecration to the above-mentioned baptistery out of

[9] Anno Domini MCCXXI. obiit beatus Dominicus, octavo idus augusti. Et ego frater Salimbene de Adam de civitate parmensi hoc eodem anno natus sum in mense octobris, VII. idus octobris. . . . Et dominus Balianus de Sydone . . . me de sacro fonte levavit in Baptisterio parmensi, quod erat juxta domum meam. (Salimbene, ed. Parma, 1857, 5).

[10] III, 18.

[11] . . . cum adhuc essem pucrulus, vidi in platea veteri civitatis Parmae juxta Baptisterium et Episcopium, et maioris ecclesiae frontispicium. . . . (*Ibid.*, anno 1229, 24).

[12] *Ibid.*, 9. [13] *Ibid.*, 76.

[14] *Ibid.*, 80. Cf. also: Et carocium Cremonensium ibi per Parmenses habitum fuit et ductum et gubernatum in Batisterio Parme. [1248]. (*Chronicon Parmense*, apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 18).

[15] The passage from Salimbene recording this fact has been cited below, p. 152.

[16] . . . Potestas teneatur facere fieri et ampliari viam unam a meridie Batisterii per XVIII pedes et auferri domos, quae ibi sunt, pro ipsa facienda, ita quod opus Batisterii possit videri, et possit in porta, quae ibi est intrari, & quod circa Batisterium libere possit iri. (*Statuta communis Parmae*, I, *Digesta*, anno 1265. *Adjectiones*, 1262. ed. *Mon. Hist. ad Prov. Parm. et Plac. pert.*, 1856, 445).

reverence for the said saint, and should devoutly make their offerings to God. The above-mentioned indulgences were given as follows: One year by the bishop of Parma, forty days by the archbishop of Ravenna, forty days by the archbishop of Tortoli, forty days by the bishop of Ferrara, forty days by the bishop of Bologna, forty days by the bishop of Modena, and forty days by the bishop of Reggio."[17] This document published by Lopez is, moreover, confirmed by the date May 25, inscribed in graffiti on three of the columns in the interior.[18]

That the exterior of the baptistery in the XIII century was adorned not only with sculptures but also with frescos is known from a passage of Salimbene quoted below.[19]

In 1291 a separate chapter of canons was established in the baptistery.[20] The original college consisted of six members, but in 1305 a second chapter of three canons was founded. Thus the baptistery was officiated by two separate colleges including in all nine canons.[21]

In 1302 was begun the marble parapet of the roof.[22] In 1307 the turrets were in construction,[23] and in 1321 two of the capitals of the eastern pilaster strips with one of the lions that surmount them were being built.[24] In 1488 the

[17] In nomine Domini millesimo CCLXX, Indictione XIII, VIII Calendas Junii. Consecratum est Baptisterium parmensis Ecclesiae per Venerabilem patrem dominum Opizonem de Sancto Vitale parmensem Episcopum, et altare dedicatum in eo in honore Beati Johanis Baptistae, et Beati Andreae Apostoli, et sancti Christophori martyris, et in ipsa consecratione facta fuit indulgentia unius anni, et CCIIIIginta annorum (correggi dierum) omnibus vere poenitentibus et confessis qui dictae consecrationi interfuerunt, et qui annuatim in die dedicationis ad dictum Baptisterium venerint pro reverentia dictorum sanctorum, et suas oblationes Deo devote dederint; videlicet a praedicto domino Episcopo, unius anni; et XL dierum a domino Archiepiscopo Ravennatensi; XL dierum a domino Archiepiscopo Turritano; XL dierum a domino Episcopo Ferrariensi; XL dierum a domino Episcopo Bononensi; et XL dierum a domino Episcopo Mutinensi; et XL dierum a domino Episcopo Regino. (*Calendarium*, cit. Lopez, 129).—[1270] A' 26 magio, il dì santo Salvatore e santo Urbano, fu consecrato il Batesimo di Parma, e il primo altare fu in quelo per Opizone de Santo Vitale parmesan; et è ivi indulgentia in dito di 280 dì data da molti vescovi. (Da Erba, MS. Chronicle, cited by editors of Carducci Muratori, ad *Chronicon Parmense*, IX, pt. 9, 28).

[18] DIE XXV MAII DEDICACIO|.BAPT.—die XXV Maij dedicacio BAPTISTERII PARM—DIE XXV MAY DEDICATIO BAPTISTERII PARM

[19] 153. [20] Lopez, 112. [21] Lopez, 118, 140.

[22] Item eo tempore [1302] de mense junij inceptum fuit fieri curitorum super Batisterio de colopnellis lapideis. (*Chronicon Parmense*, apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 38).

[23] Item eo tempore [1307] duo turiçelli primo facti et levati fuerunt super Batismo ecclesie maioris cum colonellis et com pomis deauratis versus palatium episcopatus Parme. (*Ibid.*, 101).

[24] Eodem tempore [1321] duo capitelli Baptisterij parmensis a latere domorum canonicorum parmensis ecclesie facti et constructi fuerunt per fratres laborerij dicte ecclesie, super quorum uno facta est forma cuiusdam leonis. (*Ibid.*, 164).

organ loft was erected.[25] The baptistery had originally been crowned by a central turret serving as a bell-tower, but some time in the XVII century (probably about 1623, since this date was inscribed on one of the bells), the Lombard turret was replaced by an ugly cupola, which in turn made way for a new turret in the recent restorations. In 1494 the new choir-stalls were put into position.

Lopez has published a description of the baptistery made by the papal delegate in 1578: "This church is collegiate and in it are two chapters, one of three canons and the other of six. . . . The pavement is made of marble, the walls are almost all adorned with frescoed images of the saints, but they need restoration or at least cleansing." In consequence of the observations made by the delegate, the canons were ordered to raise the font at least two steps above the pavement, and to erect a ciborio and an iron railing. "The images of the saints painted on the walls shall be restored within four months, under penalty of a fine of ten gold pounds. . . . The walls of the chapel and the altar shall be whitened within three months. . . . The holes in the stained-glass windows shall be repaired within three months."[26]

III. The baptistery of Parma is a structure octagonal externally, sixteen-sided internally, of a single aisle, covered by a rib vault. The walls, of enormous thickness, are lightened internally and externally by a series of little galleries formed by columns supporting flat lintels, and are pierced by three magnificent portals (Plate 163, Fig. 1). Pointed arches are used only in the blind arcade of the top story of the exterior and in the wall ribs of the vault of the interior. The ribs of this dome, it is interesting to note, have very little structural function, since the dome surface is only slightly warped.

The building is constructed of marble, and the masonry shows consummate technique.

IV. The capitals of the baptistery of Parma are exceedingly interesting and important examples of the early Gothic style in northern Italy, though many of them still show survival of Romanesque tradition. Up to the level of the vaulting shafts they are surprisingly homogeneous in style, and the building to this point appears to have been executed if not under the direct supervision, at least under the strong influence, of Benedetto. Many capitals are reminiscent of classical models, though perhaps not so strongly so as certain ones at Borgo S. Donnino. Other capitals seem to have been inspired

[25] Mothes, II, 440.

[26] Haec Ecclesia collegiata est, et in ea sunt duo Collegia, videlicet unum sex Canonicorum, et aliud trium Canonicorum. . . . Solum Ecclesiae est lapidibus marmoreis stratum. Eiusdem parietes sunt fere omnes Sanctorum imaginibus picti, sed restauratione indigent, aut saltem lotione. . . . Sanctorum imagines, in pariete depictae, quatuor mensium spatio restaurentur, sub decem aureorum poena. . . . Parietes ejusdem capellae, sive altaris, trium mensium spatio dealbentur. . . . Oculi vitrei, qui desunt, fenestris vitreis adhibeantur ad tres menses. (Lopez, 140).

by the Byzantinesque capitals of Modena, while still others are refinements of old Lombard types. Among the latter are conspicuous cubic capitals and capitals adorned with grotesques or with eagles and caryatids in the angles. The capitals of the gallery of the interior have acanthus leaves uncarved and slightly curled or else are of a cubic type incised with wavy lines. The capitals of the exterior galleries, like those of the interior, have, for the most part, uncarved leaves curled over. It is only in the upper gallery of the exterior that French influence appears in capitals of fully developed crocket type. Distinctly later in style are also the capitals of the vaulting shafts and those of the upper portions of the interior. One of the former is formed of a lion's head, another has curious and realistic sunflowers, and the abaci are adorned with roses carved in high relief. We have evidently here imitations of decadent Gothic models.

Classical influence is distinctly noticeable in the niches in the thickness of the wall of the ground story, in the flat lintels of the gallery, and in the design of the minor fronts of the lower story, in which a lintel is supported on two engaged columns enclosed under a great arch.

The interior, with its warm colours and well preserved frescos, is one of the best examples of mediæval polychromatic decoration extant in northern Italy, and gives an excellent idea of what must have been the appearance of Lombard churches.

The great glory of the baptistery of Parma, however, is its sculptures, which are extremely important, both from the point of view of iconography and that of the history of plastic art. Only one of the capitals is figured. In the centre is seen Daniel among the lions. To the left is depicted Habakkuk transported by the angel who seizes the prophet by his hair. Habakkuk carries a wine-cask suspended on a staff over his shoulder, and a cloth full of bread.[27] To the right is seen the angel carrying away the prophet, again by the hair. The latter has still his wine-cask, presumably empty, but has been relieved of his bread.

In the interior, over the southern portal, is a fine relief representing the Presentation in the Temple. Simeon stands by an altar on which is a chalice and a book. Over the altar flies an angel, swinging a censer. Simeon is about to receive in his hands, covered with a napkin, the Christ-Child, represented like a little old man with bare feet, whom the crowned Virgin extends towards him. Behind the Virgin are two women, the first of whom carries a round object; and on the other side of Simeon are three other female figures. It is remarkable that Joseph does not appear.

In the central niche on the east side is the figure of the Deity in an aureole, surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists, John, Luke, Matthew and Mark, and by two archangels. Each of these angels holds a ball in one hand and in the other a staff with which he transfixes the tongue

[27] Dan., xiv, 30-35.

of a dragon in the form of a winged lizard, on which he stands. Both the iconography of this subject and the manner in which it is treated are strongly reminiscent of French Gothic sculptures such as, for example, the tympanum of the western portal of the cathedral of Chartres.

In the lunette over the north portal is shown the Flight into Egypt (Plate 163, Fig. 2), one of the most inspired and poetical achievements of the art of Benedetto. An angel, whose wings sweep upward in singularly gracious lines, shows the way to Joseph with a gesture full of kindliness and gentle encouragement. Joseph, an elderly man, whose weariness is eloquently expressed by the posture of his legs and the short steps he is shown as taking, plods along encouraged by the divine admonition. He is followed by the Virgin, seated on an ass, and holding in her arms the Christ-Child. The ass is without bridle, and, like Joseph, is plainly wearied with the long journey. His head hangs downwards, and the sculptor has very skilfully expressed the slow and fatigued movement of his feet. Behind the ass follows a handmaiden carrying a load upon her head. The procession is concluded with the figure of another handmaiden with a sort of turban on her head, carrying two birds in her hand. The appropriateness of this figure to this scene is not evident, and it seems probable that the figure may originally have been made for the Presentation in the Temple in the opposite lunette. The composition of this relief is characterized by a most wonderful feeling for rhythm and space worthy of Giotto or Giorgione, and breathes a sense of repose and poetry unsurpassed by any other work of Benedetto.

In the niche over the western doorway is represented the choir of David (Plate 163, Fig. 3).[28] In the centre sits the shepherd king, wearing a crown and playing a harp. On either side are three figures, one of which plays a violin, another a mandolin, while a third plays a flute and beats time with a stick which he holds in his left hand. The other three, one of whom is a woman holding the hands of one of the men, dance. Beneath is the inscription: "King David sings a psalm and invites his companions to sing as is well shown in this moral sculpture."[29] David is the symbol of Christ, the four musicians of the Evangelists, the dancing man and woman of the Gentiles, made joyful by the music of the gospel.

The minor lunettes between the southern and western major lunettes are filled with reliefs representing angels, one of whom carries a wand with three petals, the other two similar wands, also with three petals, but apparently formed of palm leaves. Between the western and the northern major lunettes are minor lunettes in which are depicted the Annunciation and the Fall of the Rebellious Angels. In the former, Gabriel carries a staff which has been

[28] The details of the iconography of this extraordinarily interesting relief have been studied above, Vol. I.

[29] REX DAUIT INUITAT PSALLENS CĀTARE SODALES
UT BENE DESIGNAT SCULTIO MOLARES (= moralis)

broken. The Virgin, who has just risen from her chair, carries a distaff in her left hand. In the latter is depicted an archangel carrying a scroll and bearing a lance which terminates in a Greek cross. He treads on two monsters with birds' heads, wings and legs and snakes' tails, and transfixes them with his lance. These monsters are probably the aspic and the basilisk of Ps., xc, 13, put in parallel with the dragon of Apoc., xii, 9, and xx, 1-3, represented on the opposite wall. The minor lunettes between the north and east major niches show an angel carrying a wand at the end of which spring forth three leaves, a prophet represented as a beardless youth with a scroll (this is a superb figure, very classical in feeling), and an angel without attribute. The minor lunettes between the east and south major niches show an angel with a scroll, St. Michael treading on a dragon (Plate 165, Fig. 3) and an angel without attributes.

In the gallery are placed a series of reliefs which were evidently destined for another edifice. These form a cycle of the months and include the following fragments: (1) A half naked man standing and holding a scroll—probably Spring. (2) February spading the ground, the two fish of the sign of the zodiac, Pisces, placed above. (3) January, a seated man. Below, a separate fragment shows the sign of the zodiac, Aquarius, the water-pourer, and a peasant hoeing the ground. To the left another peasant attends to a boiling kettle, while sausages hang over a stick. (4) December pruning the vines; the sign of the zodiac, Capricornus, has been broken off and placed below. (5) November stows vegetables away in a sack, above which is placed an archer, the sign of the zodiac, Sagittarius. (6) October is sowing wheat. (7) Scorpio, the scorpion, is the corresponding sign of the zodiac. (8) September gathers grapes, while below a little figure stands bearing scales, the sign of the zodiac, Libra. (9) August nails hoops on a barrel; the sign of the zodiac, Virgo, the virgin, is below. (10) June drives two oxen; the sign of the zodiac, Cancer, the crab, is below No. 11. (11) July gathers the grain; the sign of the zodiac, Leo, the lion, is below No. 10. (12) A large female standing figure probably typifies Fall. (13) May is a bare-headed youth, on horse-back, holding a banner; the sign of the zodiac, Gemini, is below. (14) April is a crowned man bearing a palm and a lily; the sign of the zodiac, Taurus, is below. (15) March is a youth playing on a wind instrument; the sign of the zodiac, Aries, the ram, is below.

The exterior of the baptistery is equally remarkable for its sculptures. On the archivolt of the northern portal (Plate 164, Fig. 1) are represented twelve majestic old men seated and full of dignity. Two are placed at the bottom on either side. From between them springs a tree on whose branches sit the other eight. Each carries a disk with a bust. The meaning of these sculptures is made clear by the painted inscription placed along the lower surface of the lunette. This inscription, it is true, bears unmistakable traces of having been repainted, and in fact is now quite invisible from the ground,

and I believe had never been remarked by an archæologist until I happened to espy it from a ladder on which I had mounted to examine more closely the details of the sculpture. This inscription evidently gave the names of twelve prophets, each of which was followed by the name of an apostle.[30] It is evident, therefore, that we have here a composition full of symbolism. The twelve seated figures, each of whom wears a curious oriental looking skullcap (characteristic of the style of Benedetto), are, without doubt, twelve prophets, each of whom carries in a medallion the figure of the apostle whom he foreshadows. The Middle Ages were fond of placing in parallel the prophets who had foretold the coming of Christ, and the apostles who announced to the world his Incarnation. The apostles are all given books or scrolls as an attribute. St. Peter carries the keys and St. John is beardless. Otherwise the figures are not individualized except by the inscriptions. In the lunette itself is represented the Adoration of the Magi (Plate 164, Fig. 1). In the centre the Virgin is seated on a throne: to her right the three Magi, crowned, one beardless,[31] the other two bearded; to her left sits Joseph, to whom descends the archangel Gabriel, bearing a scroll.[32] On the lintel are a series of reliefs of which the subjects are, beginning at the left: (1) the Baptism of Christ; the three archangels, RAPHAEL, GA|BRI|EL and MICHAEL hold cloths with which to cover the naked Deity, $\overline{\text{XPS}}$. $\overline{\text{IOHS}}$ BA|TIS|TA is clothed in a hairy garment. (2) Herod, ERODES, is seated at table between Herodias, ERODIA, also crowned, and his counsellor, $\overline{\text{CO}}$SILIATOR: ERODIS, to whom a MINIS|TER hands a vase or urn. On the other side approaches Salome, PUELLA| FILIA| ERO|DIS,[33] bearing a flower, while SATA|NAS whispers in her ear. (3) The final scene represents the beheadal of John the Baptist. John, covered with a hair garment,

[30] The inscription, as far as I could decipher it, is as follows:

YSAYAS	P[ETRVS]
[SOPHO]NIVS	PA|VL'
[EZEC]HIEL	ANDREAS
DANIEL	IACOB'
MICHEAS	PHILIPP'
.....	$\overline{\text{IOHS}}$
.....	.....
.....	BARTHOL'
.....	.....
A[MO]S	.....
SAMVEL	.....
DAVIT	MA|THI|AS

[31] The painted inscriptions show that the beardless magus is $\widehat{\text{MELCH}}$[IOR], the bearded ones, GAS|[PAR] and BALDASAR.

[32] Matt., ii, 13. On the scroll is painted: GA|BRI|EL and IO|SEP.

[33] Salome was the daughter, not of Herod, but of Herodias. She holds in her hand part of her garment, possibly a veil.

leans out of a window while an executioner, SPATULATOR, hacks off his head, CAPUD: IOHIS| BATISTE. The archangel MICHAEL swings a censer.

On the left jamb are represented the twelve sons of Jacob, who were the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel. Jacob, placed at the bottom of a tree, bears a scroll with the inscription, IACOB. On the branches sit the six sons of Leah (ISTI| SEX| SUNT| FILII| LIA)—SIMEON, RUBEN, LEUI, IUDAS, ZABULON, ISACHAR: the two sons of Rachel (ISTI| DUO SUNT| FILII RACHEL)—IOSEPH and BENIAMIN: the two sons of Zilpah (ISTI DUO SUNT FILII ZELPHE)—ASER and GAD: the two sons of Bilhah (ISTI DUO SUNT| FILII BDLE)—DAN and NEPTALIM. On top is a fourteenth figure, Moses—MOISES PROPHETA—who holds the tablet of the law.

On the opposite jamb is a Jesse tree. At the bottom sleeps Jesse, IESSE, above is the inscription: EX HAC. STIRPE. PHA. PROFESSIT. UIRGO. MARIA. From his side issues a tree on the branches of which sit (1) David, DAUIT, crowned and holding a book; (2) Solomon, SALOMON, crowned and holding a scroll; (3) Abia, ABIAS, crowned and holding a scroll; (4) Roboam, RO|BO A, crowned and holding a book; (5) Asa, ASA, crowned and holding a book; (6) Josaphat, IOSAPHAT, crowned and holding a scroll; (7) Joram, IORAS, crowned and holding a scroll; (8) Ozias, OZIAS, crowned, with a book; (9) Joatham, IOTHA, crowned, with a book; (10) Achaz, ACHAZ, crowned, with a scroll; (11) Manasses, MANASES, crowned, with a scroll; (12) Ezekias, EZECHIAS, crowned, with a book; and finally the Virgin. The kings selected are those of the genealogy of Matt., i, 6-10.

In the lunette of the west portal is represented the Last Judgment (Plate 164, Fig. 3). On a throne is seated the Redeemer with bare feet, but without halo. His garment is thrown back, showing the wound in His right side, and He raises both hands, in the palms of which are the wounds of the nails. On either side are three angels, bearing on napkins the instruments of the Passion; the cross, the crown of thorns, the lance and the sponge of vinegar. In the corner sits the apostle John, bearing in his hands the Apocalypse, by which the mysteries of the Last Judgment were prophesied to man. In the archivolt above are the twelve apostles, Peter with keys, the others with books or scrolls. The tree of life twines about them. Two archangels blow trumpets at the summit of the archivolt, and two others, also blowing trumpets, are in the centre of the lintel.[34] To the left the naked souls of the just rise from the tomb full of confidence and joy, while the shame, remorse and despair of the unjust, placed on the other side, is eloquently expressed by their

[34] SURGITE DEFUCTI. RECTORE CERNITE MUDI. UOS Q DORMITIS IA SURGITE NCIUS INQUID

gestures. This relief strongly recalls the treatment of the same subject in French Gothic art (Plate 164, Fig. 4).

On the jambs of this doorway the six ages of man, as illustrated in the parable of the vineyard,[35] are put in parallel with the six works of mercy.[36] The rinceau of the vine which encloses the scene from the parable bears the inscription: UINEAM :| DOMINI :| SABAOTH. (1) The labourer hired by the householder early in the morning—PRIMAM:| MANE—corresponds to the first age of the world—PRIMA: ETAS: SECULI—and infancy the first age of man, INFANCIA. (2) Those hired in the third hour, HORA: TERCIA:, correspond to boyhood, the second age of man, and to the second age of the world, PUERICIA: SE|CUNDA: E|TAS. (3) Those in the sixth hour to adolescence and the third age, SEX|TA: ADULES|CENCIA: TER|TIA: E|TAS. (4) Those in the ninth hour to manhood and the fourth age, NONA| IUUEN|TUS| :QUAR|TA: ETAS. (5) Those in the eleventh hour to maturity and the fifth age, UNDE|[37] GRAUI TAS:| QUIN|TA: E|TAS and (6) also to old age and the sixth age, CIMA:[37] SENEC|TAS:| SEX TA : E|TAS. (7) The householder, PATER: FAMILIAS, is shown rewarding the various labourers, OPERARII.

The six works of mercy on the corresponding jamb are as follows: (1) The panel at the bottom (Plate 165, Fig. 2), corresponding to Infancy on the other side, shows a bearded, dignified man in skullcap (who appears as the hero of this entire series) laying his right hand on the left arm of a beggar on crutches. His left hand is held under his garment, probably for warmth. Like each of the other scenes of this series, this sculpture is supplied with a metrical inscription, in which, however, the author, in trying to reconcile sense with the difficult leonine metre, has generally succeeded in spoiling both the one and the other. The first part of the inscription of this first relief has been broken away, and it is difficult to restore the missing parts. What remains, however, makes it clear that it refers to the duty of giving shelter to the stranger:

. . . . . PLUM PEREGRINIS HOSTIA (*sic;* hospitia) PANDAS

(2) The second relief (Plate 165, Fig. 2) shows the same man washing the feet of the same beggar. The inscription,

CUM MULTA CURA LAUAT HIC EGRO SUA CRURA

states that with much care he is washing the legs of a sick man, from which we gather that this scene represents tending the sick. This relief corresponds to Childhood on the opposite jamb. (3) Corresponding to Adolescence the

[35] Matt., xx, 1-16.

[36] *Ibid.*, xxv, 35-36. For the explanation of the symbolism of this parable, see above, Vol. I.

[37] The word *undecima* is divided between the two inscriptions, implying it belongs with both.

same man is seen feeding with a spoon a different beggar, who is seated. Beside this beggar appears a second. The inscription,

TESTAM LARGA MANUS HEC PORRIGIT ESURIENTI :

as well as the sculpture itself leaves no doubt that this represents feeding the hungry. (4) Corresponding to Manhood. The same man, carrying a bucket in his left hand, lifts a cup to the lips of the first of two beggars, who are seated as in the previous relief:

HIC QUOD QUESIERAT SICIENTI POCULA PRESTAT :

This relief obviously represents giving drink to the thirsty. (5) Corresponding to Maturity in the opposite jamb. Visiting the one in prison. The same man carries bread in a cloth to a prisoner with fettered ankles:

NON SPERNENS LAPSUM UENIT HIC AD CARCERE CLAUSUM :

(6) Corresponding to Old Age. Clothing the naked. The same man is shown placing a sumptuous robe on a naked person:

EST HIC NUDATUS QUEM UULT UESTIRE BEATUS

There is undoubtedly a deep significance in the fact that the ages of man, the works of mercy and the parable of the vineyard all placed in parallel with each other are put below the sculpture of the Last Judgment. It is only by performing the six works of mercy that the Christian may hope to face with calm and justified courage that terrible final day which forms the awful culmination, alike of the six ages of man and of the six ages of the world.

In the tympanum of the southern portal is an exceedingly interesting relief with the subject derived from the legend of St. Baarlam, as narrated in the Légende Dorée (Plate 164, Fig. 2). The credit for having recognized the subject of this extremely important relief is due to Duchalais, who has contributed a critical study of the sources of the parable. According to the legend of St. Baarlam, that saint related to the prince Josaphat the story of the bicorne and its symbolism. A man was journeying along a road, when before him appeared a beast with a hideous head, and a horn in the middle of his forehead. The man fled to a mountain which ended in a deep precipice. Here he knew not what to do, for the gulf was so steep and deep that none could come to the bottom of it. In this gulf was a hideous and marvellous serpent ravenous for human flesh. He vomited fire so terribly that a man must die at the mere sight of him. The man thus placed between two perils, knew not what to do, but he spied a tree into which he climbed and seated himself. But as soon as he had reached this site of apparent safety, he discovered two little animals, one black and the other white, gnawing at the roots of the tree. The peril was imminent, but no sooner had the man discovered a beehive in the tree, than he commenced greedily to eat honey, totally oblivious of the danger in which he was placed. The man, it is explained, is the symbol of Man, the unicorn typifies Death, the dragon is

Hell, the tree is Life, the honey, the delights of this world, the two animals, one black and the other white, which gnaw the roots of the tree of life, typify day and night.[38] In the relief is shown the man seated in the tree, eating honey; beneath is a terrible dragon, while the two animals gnaw the roots of the tree. To the left are two disks, each containing a personification of the Sun, and to the right two similar disks, with figures of the Moon.[39] According to Origen and Ambrose, the sun is the symbol of Christ and the moon is the symbol of the Church. In the relief they are represented twice to call attention to this symbolism. In the lower disks they appear as Day and Night, which mark the stages of human existence, and like the two animals gnaw the roots of the tree of life. Above they are Christ and the Church, which offer to man in his perilous situation the hope of safety and salvation. Four figures[40] about the disk of the moon perhaps represent its phases, typical of the changeability of human destiny and also of the Church. Two wavy lines below the whole scene might be supposed to represent the sea, another symbol of the Church, but the fact that similar lines occur in the other two lunettes, where they can have no such significance, excludes this hypothesis.

On the architrave beneath these sculptures are three medallions. In the first is the crowned figure of the Deity, with His right hand raised in benediction and holding in His left a book with the inscription:

EGO PHA
S̄U AL ET O

To the west is shown the Lamb of God, AGNUS DEI, and to the east John the Baptist, IOH̄S BATISTA.

In the lower part of the wall, among the grotesque figures, are extremely interesting representations of four virtues, each of whom is depicted as a seated figure holding in either hand a flower, from which emerges a woman's head, typical of a secondary virtue. The inscriptions with which each of

[38] Jubinal (II, 113) has published a French version of the fable in verse, entitled *De l'unicorne et du Serpend.* It is the parable of St. Baarlam removed from its setting. The symbolism of the *deus besteletes,* of which *l'une est noire et l'autre blanche* is thus expressed:

Ier fu plus longue nostre vie
Qu'ele n'est hui, n'en doutez nie,
Et hui plus longue que demain :
Ainsi traions au daarrain.
L'autr' ier désirrames Noël
Quaresmes, Pasque autretel,
Après Pentecouste en esté,
Et après c'on ait moissoné,
Feste Toz-Sainz et Saint-Martin
Ainsi tret chancuns à sa fin.

[39] In both the medallions the Moon drives oxen, the Sun horses.

[40] Of these the two upper are naked and have horns; the two lower are clothed and have instruments which are perhaps also horns.

these figures is supplied help to make clear the meaning of the artist. To the east of the southern portal we have the primary virtue Chastity, and the secondary virtues of Patience and Humility:

✠PONITUR IN MEDIO VIRTUS QUE CASTA TUETU'
CUIUS AD ORNATU RESIDET PACIENTIA DEX|TRA.
ET FACIENS HMILE COGNOSCITUR| ALTERA LEUA

The virtue to the west of this same portal is difficult to identify, because the inscription has been broken:

✠IIIC RESIDE[T] . . . . E . . . . .
TATE SINISTRA . . . . .
NQUIT RED . . . . .

It perhaps represents Charity as a primary virtue, with Piety and Magnanimity as secondary virtues. North of the western portal is represented Faith, the virtue by which Abraham pleased Melchizedek, that is to say, Christ, accompanied by Justice and Peace:

[H]AC (*i.e.* the virtue Faith) HABRAAM XPO PLACUIT| UIRTUTE P[RO]BATUS: LEUE IUSTICI|A PAX DEXTRE CONSOCIATUR.

To the south of the western portal is Hope, with Prudence and Modesty:

✠SPES E QUAM CERNIS PRUDENCIA| DEXTRA SODALIS;
SIGNATUR LAPID[I]|S ET PARTE MODESTIA LEUA.

In the north wall are statues of two archangels with painted inscriptions which have faded, but which Lopez made out to contain the names of Michael and Gabriel. In the north-east wall are two other statues, among the very finest of the baptistery. Both represent seated male figures with long beards. The one to the left with crown is undoubtedly David; indeed, Lopez read on the scroll the letters of a painted inscription which has since disappeared: [D]A[VI]T. The other with skullcap is doubtless Ezekiel, since Benedetto placed David and Ezekiel in parallel at Borgo San Donnino, and Lopez must have been mistaken in believing he distinguished on the scroll the letters IA[CO]B. On the north-west face are statues of two standing figures; one a man, bearded and crowned, is Solomon and bears a scroll on which Lopez read—doubtless correctly—SALAMO . . . . . | REGI . . . . . The other, a crowned woman, must certainly be the queen of Sheba, whatever may be thought of Lopez's transcription of the lost inscription: [REGINA] A[N]ST[I]T (Ps., xliv, 10). These four statues consequently represented David, Ezekiel, Solomon and the queen of Sheba. David is the well known symbol of Christ, and Ezekiel foretold his coming. Solomon is also the figure of Christ, and the queen of Sheba of the Christian religion. The symbolism of both groups is, therefore, similar.

A frieze of sculptures running along the exterior, not far from the ground, contains a series of grotesques, two unicorns and the Virgin, centaurs, etc.

In the interior of the baptistery is an altar with sculptured reliefs, undoubtedly a work of Benedetto. John the Baptist, IOHS| BATISTA, is shown denying to the priest, SACERDOS, accompanied by a Levite, LEUITA, that he is the Christ.[41]

Critics have much disputed as to whether all the sculptures of the baptistery are the work of Benedetto, and if not, which are to be ascribed to the master himself and which to his followers. It is obvious that the sculptures show considerable difference in style. Compare, for example, the two angels in the east major lunette of the interior, with the prophet in the north-east minor lunette. In the figures of the angels it will be seen that the draperies are heavy and massive, the lower jaws unduly prominent, the anatomy stiff. The other figures of the minor lunettes of the interior are larger in scale, the draperies are far more graceful and classical, the figures are life-like and full of motion, the faces are better done. Yet such variations are no greater than might be expected in the work of a single artist, and that these works are really by the same hand, which was undoubtedly Benedetto's, is to be recognized by many ear-marks. The style shows throughout the same characteristics as the sculptures at Borgo S. Donnino. The composition in general is exceedingly awkward, as, to cite notable examples, in the Dance of David (Plate 163, Fig. 3) and the Presentation. In the Flight to Egypt (Plate 163, Fig. 2), it is true, a splendid effect is obtained, only, however, at the expense of failing to fill the space. Notable above all are the dogmatism and symbolism which permeate these reliefs of the Parma baptistery. Perhaps nowhere else in mediæval Italian sculpture do we find represented subjects of such profundity as the parable from the legend of St. Baarlam, the parallelism of the prophets and apostles, the tribes of Israel and the Jesse tree, or of the works of mercy, the six ages of the world and of man, and the parable of the vineyard. All these suggest strongly French influence, as does also the representation of the Last Judgment. Yet it would be far from easy to find in France any analogies at all for some of these scenes, and if there be any, examples earlier than the Parma sculptures. French influence, however, is evident in the free-standing colonnettes of the portals—a new motive in Italy—in the banding of these shafts, in the draperies of certain figures (notably Salome in the Dance), and in the base-moulding of the baptistery.

The intarsia choir-stalls of the baptistery, executed in 1494, have now been moved to the Museo delle Antichità.

V. The documentary evidence is unusually full in regard to the date of the baptistery at Parma. Begun in 1196, it was opened for use in 1214.

[41] John, i, 19-20.

The homogeneity of its style gives reason to suppose that it was essentially finished by this time up to the level of the vaults, and that it is, together with its sculptures, a product of the genius of Benedetto. I am inclined to believe that the sculptures were all executed before 1214, with the exception of the zodiac, which is also a work of Benedetto, but somewhat later in style than the other reliefs. This zodiac was never finished, and was never placed in the portion of the building it had been designed to occupy. It is probable, therefore, that the artist died while executing these sculptures, and that subsequent to his death the construction was interrupted for a considerable period of time and finally completed in a very different style. Work was probably resumed in 1255 for the improvement of the entourage of the baptistery. In 1259, when marble could again be obtained from Verona, the construction of the roofs and vaults was resumed, and in 1270 the building was completed and consecrated. Subsequent alterations and additions were of minor importance.

PARMA, CATHEDRAL

(Plate 165, Fig. 1, 4; Plate 166, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4)

I. Although a singularly beautiful and important edifice, the Duomo of Parma has attracted comparatively little attention among archæologists. About the middle of the XIX century Osten published a plan, section and details,[1] and these drawings were followed by the even more sumptuous illustrations of De Dartein.[2] The only real monograph, however, is that of Odorici. The famous historian has resumed, in his usual able manner, the historical notices relating to the building (which for the most part had already been published in the monumental work of Affò) and has also published a large plan, a perspective of the façade, an elevation of the campanile and details of several capitals. Photographs of the cathedral have been published by Martin. The sculptures have been studied by Lopez, Zimmermann, Venturi[3] and Capelli. The recent article by Testi on the cathedral is of value chiefly for the excellent illustrations in half-tone.

II. According to Affò,[4] the episcopal see of Parma does not antedate the VII century, and arose only when the city of Brescello fell into decline. Endowed by the Lombard kings Luitprando, Ilprando, Rachis and Astolfo, the new diocese soon acquired considerable power and importance.[5] As early as 877 a chapter of canons regular was established, as is explicitly recorded in an important charter published by Affò.[6] In 895 the bishop Wibodo was

[1] Plate XXV, XXVI and XXX. [2] Plate 95, p. 412. [3] III, 253, 288.
[4] I, 123. [5] *Ibid.*, 133-134. [6] I, 289.

buried in the cathedral, according to an inscription cited by Odorici.[7] In 913 certain ornaments were bequeathed to the church by the bishop Elbunco.[8] In 920 the cathedral was destroyed by fire, as is proved from three diplomas of Berenger, the first of which apparently dates from October, 920, and the other two from 921, although the chronological notes offer considerable difficulty.[9]

In 923 the church had already been reconstructed, and was open for worship, since Geltruda in that year made a donation to the altar of S. Remigio before which her husband Guido was buried.[10]

It is recorded by the reliable contemporary chronicler Wipo that the city of Parma was burned and the walls were in great part destroyed in December, 1038.[11] It has been supposed by Testi that the cathedral was again destroyed at this time, but of such an assumption there is no proof. It is similarly not proved that the edifice suffered in the fire of twenty years later which is variously assigned by the chroniclers to 1055 or 1058.[12]

It has been very much discussed since the times of Affò whether the cathedral in those early times was or was not situated without the city walls.

[7] 450. [8] Affò, I, 317.

[9] . . . peccatis ingruentibus divini flagelli repentino incendio Civitatis ejus [Hicardi sanctae Parmensis Ecclesiae venerabilis Episcopi] Ecclesia cum suâ Canonicâ igne consumpta est . . . Data Mense Octobris, Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCCXVI & Anno Domni Berengarii V. Indictione VIII. (Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., XIII, 87. Edited also by Affò, I, 323. Cf. *ibid.*, 213, 322).

In nomine Domini Dei æterni. Berengarius divina favente clementia Imperator Augustus. . . . Quia Canonici Sanctæ Parmensis Ecclesiæ nostram adierunt clementiam quatenus præcepta decessorum nostrorum & nostra in ipsa Canonica de illorum rebus & familiis omissa quæ in repentino incendio cremata noscuntur nos denuo ejusdem res & familias ipsis Canonicis nostro confirmaremus edicto. . . . Data X Kal. Mar. anno Dominicæ Incarnationis D CCCC XXI. domni vero Berengarii Serenissimi Regis XXVIII Imperii autem sui VI. Indic. VIIII . . . (Affò, I, 324).

In nomine Domini Dei æterni. Berengarius . . . Imperator Augustus. . . . Insuper & petierunt [Canonici Sanctæ Parmensis Ecclesiæ] nostram misericordiam ut res illorum de quibus in repentino incendio Civitatis aliquanta muniminia perierunt per hoc nostrum præceptum . . . defendere concederemus. . . . De munimibus illarum proprietatum in incendio Civitatis crematis . . . concedimus . . . ut . . . teneant . . . quod eo die quando ipsud incendium supervenit. . . . Data X. Kal. Mar. anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCCXXI. Domni vero Berengarii Serenissimi Regis XXVIIIJ. Imperii autem sui VI. Indic. VIIIJ. . . . (*Ibid.*, 325).

Compare the similar diploma of Rodolfo, also with erroneous chronological notes: In nomine Sanctae & individuæ Trinitatis. Rodulfus gratia favente divina Rex. . . . Et quoniam quædam ipsius Canonicæ munimina improviso incendii periculo periere, statuimus, etc. . . . Data VI. Idus Decembris, Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCCXXII. Domni vero Rodulfi piissimi Regis in Italia I. in Burgundia XII. Indictione X. [*Sic*].

[10] Affò, I, 329. [11] Wiponis, *Vita Chuonradi Imp.*, ed. M. G. H., *SS.*, XI, 273.

[12] It is useless to enter here upon this much discussed question. (See Affò, II, 67-68, Testi, and Odorici, 451). I add, however, a new text, which has been published in the new Carducci edition of Muratori, and which tends to confirm the discredited

According to a document of 884, published by Affò,[13] the cathedral in that year was within the city. On the other hand, documents of 1046,[14] of 1055,[15] of 1085,[16] of 1092,[17] and 1098[18] mention the church as being without the city walls. It has consequently been assumed by Affò that the site of the cathedral was moved because of the fires, which he concludes must have destroyed it. I observe, however, that the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista, which was situated alongside of the cathedral, is spoken of as without the walls in the XI century,[19] but in 1144 it was situated inside the city.[20] I therefore suspect that it may have been the position of the walls rather than of the cathedral itself that was shifted; that in the IX century these walls made a greater circuit than in the XI century, so that they enclosed the cathedral; and that the walls, after having been contracted, were enlarged again sometime in the first half of the XII century.

A document of 1074[21] mentions the cathedral, and has been interpreted to prove that the edifice destroyed in 1055 had already been reconstructed. This is, however, drawing a very weighty conclusion from a very small and insufficient premise. The document in question is merely dated "before the episcopal palace near the cathedral church" and such a phrase might well have been used even were the cathedral in ruin or in reconstruction, since its site was a well known and conspicuous landmark of the city. Moreover, we have seen that it is far from being proved that the edifice was destroyed in 1058 or 1038. The same remarks apply to other similar documents of 1092 and 1096. What is certain is, that in 1106 the cathedral was consecrated by the pope, Paschal II. This consecration is recorded in the chronicle of Parma[22] but the best source is the contemporary account of Donizone. This is so important that I shall try to paraphrase the rough hexameters of the poet: "Parma seeks that pope whom it formerly despoiled in the person of Bernard the most reverend monk. The same city begs the pope to consecrate the church of the Virgin Mary at Parma. The pope is delighted that his wicked daughter Parma, addicted to several errors, and insistent in folly, of her own accord should ask to return to the bosom of her worthy mother. It was then the month in which bullocks plow the field, in the year 1106. The pope had been holding a council at the castle Guastalla. From thence he descends and comes to Parma, and does there whatever they ask of him, for he consecrated the temple of the mother of Christ, and issued a decree that it should be subject to no authority except that of Peter, the Key-bearer of Heaven, and his See. Matilda came to inspect this temple and gave a gift which greatly

date of 1055: Anno Christi M I v civitas Parme divino inditio combusta est in festo santi Laurentii. (*Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, XVIII, pt. 1, 463).

[13] I, 304. [14] Affò, II, 319. [15] *Ibid.*, 325. [16] *Ibid.*, 340. [17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*, 342. [19] *Ibid.*, 339. [20] *Ibid.*, 354. [21] *Ibid.*, 69.

[22] In 1106 indictione 14, pridie [nonas] Novembris consecrata fuit ecclesia sancte Marie a Pascasio papa. (*Annales Parmenses Minores*, M. G. H., *Script.*, XVIII, 662).

pleased the people."[23] The significance of this text lies in the fact that Parma, which had been schismatic since 1061, in the year 1106 returned to the allegiance of the legitimate pope. For the first time in forty-two years the church of Parma received, in the person of S. Bernardo, a legitimate bishop. The passage in Donizone clearly implies that it was this revolt of the church of Parma which required a consecration of the cathedral church, polluted by the sacrilege of schism. The consecration of 1106, therefore, does not imply that the cathedral was reconstructed at this epoch, but merely that it was reconsecrated to cleanse it from the taint of sacrilege.[24]

In 1117 the cathedral church of Parma was destroyed by the great earthquake which wrought such havoc throughout Lombardy.[25]

The documents are silent for over forty years in regard to the progress of the total reconstruction of the cathedral which must have taken place after this earthquake. In 1162 the work was not yet entirely finished, since, in that year, Barbarossa granted to the *Laborerio* certain revenues which had already been given to it by S. Bernardo.[26] These revenues were, in all probability, originally given by S. Bernardo to the *laborerio* when the

[23] Pontificem Parma petit illum, quem spoliarat
Olim, Bernardum Monachum valde venerandum,
Ecclesiam Parmæ Mariæ Virginis Almæ,
Urbs eadem Patrem rogat hunc, ut nec quoque sacret.
Lætatur Papa, quòd filia pessima Parma,
Dedita nonnullis erroribus, insita nugis
Ad gremium dignæ matris rogat ipsa redire.
Tunc erat & mensis, qui scindit rura juvencis,
Annus millenus centenus sextus habetur.
Castrum Guarstallæ Synodi locus extiteratque
Inde Pius Papa discendens ad memoratam
Advênit Parmam, faciens ibi quæque rogarant:
Nam sacravit ibi templum Christi Genitricis,
Dans ibi decretum, ne subjaceat nisi Petro
Clavigero Cœli, simul ipsius quoque Sedi.
Hoc venit templum Mathildis ad aspiciendum,
Donum tale dedit, placuit quod maxime plebi.
(*Vita Mathildis* a Donizone scripta, II, 17, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., V, 378).

[24] A passage of the *Chronicon Parmense* (Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 100) makes it evident that in 1307 the cathedral church of Parma had to be reconsecrated because it had been desecrated by a similar sacrilege.

[25] In 1104 [*sic*] tercio die mensis Ianuarii terc motus fuit maximus in hoc regno; et maxima pars ecclesiae sancte Marie dirupta fuit in 1117. (*Annales Parmenses Minores*, M. G. H., *Script.*, XVIII, 662).

[26] In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi: anno ab Incarnatione ejus millesimo centesimo LX. secundo nono Kal. Augusti, indictione X. . . . Ideoque nos in Dei nomine Fredericus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus præsens præsentibus diximus, quod donamus, & offerimus a præsenti die laborerio Ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ Parmensis Ecclesiæ pro animæ nostræ mercede & remedio decimam

reconstruction of the cathedral was begun, probably c. 1130, as is indicated by internal evidence.[27]

From an inscription cited below it is certain that in 1178 the church-furniture for the cathedral was being executed. We can, therefore, deduce with considerable certainty that the body of the edifice itself was practically complete before this. This conclusion is confirmed by the *Chronicon Parmense,* which mentions the church as being in use in 1181.[28]

During the first three quarters of the XIII century, the building activities of the chapter were diverted from the cathedral to the baptistery. It was only when the latter building had been practically finished that the canons turned again to the further adornment of the cathedral. In 1281 the lions of the western portal were sculptured, as is recorded in the contemporary inscription of the west façade,[29] as well as by Salimbene[30] and in the *Chronicon Parmense.*[31] In the year 1284 the old campanile was destroyed and a new one built. This fact also is recorded by Salimbene[32] and in the

siquidem Paludis, & cæterarum nostrarum regalium Parmensis Episcopatus, quem Bernardus beatæ memoriæ Parmensis Episcopus ipsi laborerio, & Ecclesiæ quondam concessit, ac dedit, & quam quidem Ecclesia habuit, & tenuit in integrum. Quam . . . . . nominatam decimam qualiter superius legitur in integrum ab hac die eidem laborerio sancte Mariæ donamus . . . insuper Dominus Imperator investivit Marravonem ministerialem prædicti laborerii de prænominata decima. (Affò, II, 372).

[27] S. Bernardo did not die until 1133. (Affò, II, 169). A document of 1172 (Savioli, II, pt. 2, 35) shows that at this time the office of massaro had already been established among the canons of Parma.

[28] Et immensa mortalitatis hominum fuit his duobus annis [1181-1182] in civitate Parme et alibi in multis locis, ita quod quatuor et quinque cadavera omni die per magnam partem dictorum duorum annorum erant in ecclesia maiori sancte Marie. (*Chronicon Parmense.* apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 6). Salimbene (ed. Parma, 1857, 81) speaks of the cathedral as in use in 1248.

[29] + IN MILLE DVCTO OCTVAGO PIMO INDICIOE NONA FACTI FVERE LEONES.
P[ER] MAGISTRVM IANEBONVM D[E] BIXONE ET TPORE FRATRVM GHIDI.
NICOLAV B'NARDINI ET BEVENVTI D[E] LABORERIO.

[30] Item in praecedentibus annis multa bona fecerant in civitate sua parmenses: compleverant enim baptisterium in superiori parte usque ad elevationem cacuminis; et jamdiu fuisset completum, nisi Icilinus de Romano, qui Veronae dominabatur, impedimentum dedisset; solummodo enim de lapidibus veronensibus baptisterium illud fiebat: item leones magnos fecerunt fieri et columnas in majori porta majoris ecclesiae, juxta plateam baptisterii et palatii episcopi. (Salimbene, ad ann. 1283, ed. Parma, 1857, 290).

[31] Item eodem anno fuerunt positi ad portam sancte Marie maioris ecclesie parmensis duo leones lapidei marmorei, quorum unus est albus et alter rubeus, ad honorem beate Virginis et decorem ipsius ecclesie. (*Chronicon Parmense,* apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 38).

[32] Item hoc anno in Parma inchoatum est campanile novum et pulcrum inter majorem ecclesiam et canonicam, ubi prius erat antiquum. (Salimbene, ad ann. 1284, ed. Parma, 1857, 298).

Chronicon Parmense.[33] Although the tower can not have been completed, according to Salimbene a bell was made for it about 1285,[34] and two years later another bell was added.[35] In 1290 the arched corbel-tables of the third cornice from the bottom or the second cornice from the top were completed.[36] A notice of the *Chronicon Parmense*[37] states that in 1291 still another bell was added. The chronicler goes on to relate that in this same year (1291) the tower was raised from the above-mentioned cornice of arched corbel-tables many braccia, as far as the fourth, or crowning cornice of arched corbel-tables, and that there were there five wooden chains.[38] In 1292, in the month of March, the bells were hung in the present belfry.[39] Three years later the balustrade, spire and four angle turrets were completed.[40]

In the XIII century the façade of the cathedral was decorated with frescos, as we learn from an anecdote recounted by Salimbene. "Guidolino da Henzola never suffered any boy to throw stones at the baptistery or the cathedral or to injure the sculptures and frescos, but when he saw any doing so, he became very angry, and flogged him with a strap, just as if he had been appointed to guard the building, although he had no other motive for doing this except his zeal and love for God."[41] According to Testi,[42] the lateral chapels first began to be added in 1380, and were all erected between this

[33] Item eo anno [1284] turis ecclesie maioris Parme fuit destructa et postmodum de novo fondata et elevata super terram per unam perticam. (*Chronicon Parmense*, apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 46).

[34] Item centum libras imperalium dedit matrici ecclesiae de Parma [Gerardus Albus cardinalis] quae est beatae Virginis gloriosae, pro una bona campana ad honorem ejus fienda, quae facta fuit bona et optima et sonora. (Salimbene, ad ann. 1285, ed. Parma, 1857, 354).

[35] Item millesimo supraposito [1287] quidam magister pisanus, qui erat Parmae pro faciendis campanis, fecit campanam Communis Parmae, magnam, pulcram et bonam; et debet facere aliam pro matrice ecclesia, cujus expensas assignavit dominus cardinalis, qui est de Gainaco. (*Ibid.*, ad ann. 1287, 383).

[36] Et eo anno [1290] facti fuerunt de mense madij tercij archeti lapidum in turi maioris ecclesie parmensis. (*Chronicon Parmense*, apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 59).

[37] Tunc [il cardinale Bianchi] fecit fieri [1291] unam aliam campanam ad ecclesiam maiorem, que dicta fuit Baionum, expensis ipsius domini cardinalis. (*Chronicon Parmense*, apud Muratori, ed. Carducci, IX, pt. 9, 62).

[38] Item eodem anno [1291] ellevata est turis Sancte Marie maioris ecclesie a cingulis lapidum sive archetis insursum per multa brachia, et factus est ibi quartus circulus, et sunt ibi quinque clavi de lignamine roboris. (*Ibid.*, 62).

[39] Eodem anno [1292] de mense martij campane prime fuerunt posite super turi nova ecclesie maioris. (*Ibid.*, 63).

[40] Item eodem anno [1294] ellevata fuit turis maioris ecclesie a fenestris campanarum insursum et facti sunt ibi archipeyti de lapidibus et quatuor cantoni, et super quolibet unum capitellum com pomis deauratis. (*Ibid.*, 68).

[41] Non [Guidolinus de Henzola] paticbatur quod aliquis puer projiceret lapides contra baptisterium vel contra majorem ecclesiam ad destruendum caelaturas et picturas; quod cum videret, aegre ferebat et veloci cursu ibat, et cum corrigia verberabat

date and 1417. Lopez, however, states[43] that they were begun nearly a century before this date, or in 1285.

In the XVI century the central cupola was altered, and decorated with the well known frescos by Correggio. The same artistic impulse to which are due these master-works was nevertheless responsible for much damage to the architecture of the church, since the edifice has been entirely decorated with frescos which, it is true, are singularly rich and effective, but that nevertheless must be far less interesting than the original painted decoration they replaced.

111. In plan the cathedral of Parma presents striking analogies with S. Fedele of Como. It consists of a nave seven bays long (the bay adjoining the transepts is somewhat longer than the others), two side aisles, projecting transepts ending in apses, two eastern absidioles and an apse. The side aisles, where they have not been modernized, are covered by square groin vaults with transverse arches, the galleries by similar vaults, and the nave by oblong rib vaults. It is exceedingly difficult to determine how far the vaults of the nave, side aisles and gallery are original, owing to the circumstance that both the extrados and intrados have been covered with plaster. The gallery vaults, however, slightly domed and irregular, appear to be certainly original, and the same may be said of the side-aisle vaults. In regard to the great vaults of the nave, the choir and the transept, it is impossible to speak with absolute confidence. I am inclined to believe they are essentially original, though undoubtedly much repaired. It is noticeable that the nave vaults are supplied with wall ribs, which, like the diagonals, have a rectangular profile. The transverse arches are depressed, and there are no wall ribs. These vaults are considerably domed, as is also the rib vault of the choir. The vaults of the crypt have been entirely made over.

In each bay of the galleries there was originally a window. Similarly the clearstory was supplied with a single window in each bay, and these windows are still preserved. They are large, unmoulded and widely splayed.

The system is alternate. From the heavier piers rise five shafts, and from the abaci of the intermediate supports a single colonnette which, above the level of the triforium, is engaged on a pilaster strip. The design, however, offers this peculiarity, that the piers adjoining the transepts are heavy, not light. It is evident that the existing vaults do not correspond with the lower parts of the edifice. It was probably intended to erect sexpartite vaults over the western bays of the nave. The irregularity of the construction in leaving a single instead of a double bay adjoining the transepts in the nave was probably due to the fact that the four piers of the crossing are part of the earlier edifice ruined in 1117 and rebuilt in the new church. The builders

cos ac si pro custodia deputatus fuisset ibidem, cum tamen non faceret hoc nisi pro zelo Dei et amore divino. (Salimbene, ad ann. 1285, ed. Parma, 1857, 363).

[42] 125. [43] 29.

probably did not dare to place upon these piers the great weight which would ensue if a sexpartite vault were added to the heavy load already received from the cupola and transepts. These four crossing piers are evidently, from their design, earlier than the rest of the church. The responds of the side aisles are alternately heavy (consisting of two semicircular members and one square member) and light (consisting of one semicircular and two regular members).

The crypt extends beneath the choir and transepts, and the choir is much raised above the pavement of the church. The gallery opens into the nave by means of an arcade of four arches in each bay. It was the original intention to erect two campanili flanking the façade, in the French Gothic manner, but only the southern one has been completed, and of the other there has been executed only the lower story. There is a series of relieving arches in the clearstory of the wall just above the gallery vaults. On the south side these arches are all preserved. The buttressing system of the cathedral has been much restored, but some parts of it appear to be still original. It is evident that transverse buttresses originally existed over every bay of the nave. Above these, prismatic buttresses are carried along the clearstory wall. The existence of a complete set of lateral chapels makes it impossible to tell whether the side-aisle walls were or were not reinforced by buttresses.

The façade is entirely constructed of ashlar of the finest quality, but the upper portions of the clearstory, the Gothic chapels, the campanili and the apses are of brick. The bricks are frequently of very large size, as much as half a metre in length, and vary in breadth from three to six or seven centimetres. The mortar-beds are narrow, but the courses are only approximately horizontal. On the north side of the choir there is polychromatic brick masonry similar to that of S. Stefano of Bologna, in red and white. The cathedral has suffered much from reconstruction, particularly on the south side, where the walls have been almost completely rebuilt in many places. In the western bay, however, under the chapel roof, may still be seen some remains of the original masonry.

IV. The cathedral of Parma is of interest especially for its capitals which are of great variety and significance for the history of art. On internal evidence it appears that the capitals of the four piers of the crossing, that is, the four main impost capitals, the capitals of the triforium and of the lower arcade, are in style earlier than any others of the cathedral except certain ones in the crypt. It is probable that these were all executed immediately after the earthquake of 1117, when this portion of the edifice in which was preserved a part of the older building, was immediately rebuilt to prevent further damage.

The capitals of the crypt are of Corinthianesque type, but show much variation. They are placed on pilfered shafts of varying size and originally some of them apparently supported a load disproportionately heavy. Certain

capitals are given a very projecting bell, but others are almost circular in outline. The former type predominates under the transepts. The leaves are very Lombard in character, do not project, and are not very much undercut. The absence of grotesques is noticeable. The capitals under the transepts differ from the others in being more bell-shaped, and in having leaves of a less dryly Byzantine character. The bases of the crypt, like the capitals, show great variation. They frequently do not fit the shafts, yet, since they have griffes, they must be of the XII century. Their profile generally consists of a series of tori of different sizes superimposed.

The capitals of the nave are, for the most part, all similar in style. They may be divided into three types, the Corinthianesque, the grotesque and the figured. Those of Corinthianesque type are far more restrained and advanced in style, recalling strongly those of S. Ambrogio at Milan, of which they seem to be a development, influenced, however, by the classical tendencies of Modena.[44] The volutes are slightly undercut, the leaves are of a stiff, dry form that betrays the influence of Milanese art, and the abaci, like those in the Milanese churches, are decorated with anthemia, rinceaux or similar motives.

The capitals of the vaulting shafts have leaves more feathery, classical and deeply undercut than those of the lower portions of the nave. The grotesque element is less barbaric and less in evidence than even at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, and towards the western end of the cathedral the grotesque capitals are almost entirely supplanted by serious figure sculptures. The grotesque motives include sirens, two beasts with one head, a man on horseback, hunting scenes, a knight on horse-back, with drawn sword, beside a grotesque animal with a bird on its back, a centaur shooting a stag, etc. The figured capitals, the subjects of which will be described in detail later, are far more advanced in style than those of the cathedral of Piacenza. The heads are not too large, the composition is excellent, the feeling for space highly developed, and the draperies classical. However, a certain heaviness in the lower part of the faces, the woodeny hands and the stiff gestures still betray an art less advanced than that of Nicolò.

The capitals of the façade galleries are identical in style with those of the galleries of the apses of the two transepts and the choir, and prove the homogeneity of the edifice. They are generally of Corinthianesque type.

The abaci of the capitals of the western portal are in certain cases round or polygonal. The façade (Plate 166, Fig. 3) is characterized by the central Lombard porch in two stories, by galleries, and by a cornice of double arched corbel-tables supported on shafts. The principal apse (Plate 165, Fig. 1) also has a gallery and double arched corbel-tables supported on shafts as well as blind arches and a cornice of simple corbel-tables. The apses of the transept-ends (Plate 165, Fig. 1) are similar in design, but have no double

[44] This classical influence is strikingly instanced by the Ionic capital in the north gallery and by a Composite capital of the crypt.

arched corbel-tables. Indeed the decoration of the east end of the cathedral of Parma is one of the most sumptuous achievements of Lombard art (Plate 165, Fig. 1; Plate 166, Fig. 4). Arched corbel-tables simple or decorated with mouldings; billets; grotesques in endless variety; vine and plant forms; double arched corbel-tables with and without saw teeth, and supported on pilaster strips, round or octagonal, engaged or free-standing; great blind arches with grotesque or figured capitals, with archivolts ornamented with grotesques, rinceaux, vine patterns and interlaces; galleries with capitals of endless variety; prismatic shafts; mouldings; rope-ornaments; zigzags; rinceaux; interlaces; and polychromatic decoration: all combine into a whole of extraordinary richness, but nevertheless strictly subordinated to the great architectural lines (Plate 166, Fig. 4; Plate 165, Fig. 1). The wonderful effect of this marvellous composition is singularly enhanced by the cupola, stamped as a creation of the Gothic period by its capitals[45] but remarkably harmonious with the older portions of the edifice.

The open gallery of the choir and transepts was not carried around the nave, but was supplanted with blind arches surmounted by a cornice of arched corbel-tables. To judge from some scanty traces of the original pilaster strips still extant beneath the roof of the southern chapels and from clear traces at the east and west ends of the north wall, the existing cornice was rebuilt in the period of the Renaissance. Beneath the roof of the building which abuts against the cathedral, back of the southern absidiole of the transept, is still visible the ancient cornice of this part of the structure, consisting of a single moulded arched corbel-table. In the same place is visible a zigzag in open brickwork similar to those of the pieve of Nonantola (Plate 156, Fig. 1), Fontanella al Monte (Plate 93, Fig. 1), the Duomo Vecchio at Brescia (Plate 31, Fig. 7), etc.

The shafts of the intermediate piers are sometimes octagonal.

The archivolts of the exterior gallery are sometimes in three orders, but those of the interior of the edifice are at most in two orders.

The sculptured capitals include a great variety of subjects. In the exterior of the main apse are two, one of which represents Samson and the lion, the other a centaur juggling with two balls. Others of the exterior of the choir represent a centaur, the woman of the Apocalypse riding on the seven-headed dragon.[46] In the exterior gallery of the apse of the north transept is a capital on which are depicted a man and woman in niches which are supported on columns. The man, who grasps a column with either hand, suggests Samson pulling down the palace on the heads of the Philistines.[47] Possibly the woman is Delilah, who is here placed to stand for the multitude of the Philistines. A figured capital of the southern portal of the façade shows the Visitation. Mary and Elisabeth are accompanied (an unusual feature) by two prophets. On the same capital is shown a figure (now

[45] These, however, have been restored. [46] Apoc., xii, 1-3. [47] Judic., xvi, 27-30.

unfortunately broken) seated, writing. Two beardless figures stand in the background. I presume this represents Zacharias struck dumb and writing on the tablets "John is his name."[48] A much mutilated capital opposite shows on either angle a seated figure with a book. A bird above gives reason to think that perhaps there were here represented two of the church-fathers placed in parallel with the prophets on the opposite capital.

In the north gallery is a most interesting capital of clearly satiric import. An ass dressed as a priest is seen seated upright and holding between his forelegs the rod of pedagogic authority. Before him is a wolf dressed in a monk's habit and holding a book on which is an inscription which I interpret to mean: This wolf who has become a monk is eloquent on dogma.[49] Behind is another wolf, also apparently with monastic tendencies, but whose attention has begun to wander and who looks around in the hope of spying a lamb (Plate 166, Fig. 2). Such popular satires on the clergy, it is known, obtained great vogue during the Middle Ages, and in the literary sources we find numerous stories which are closely parallel to, although they do not exactly explain, our sculpture.[50] It is surprising, however, to find such a scene represented in a church as early as the XII century. On the westernmost free-standing pier of the southern arcade of the nave is a capital on which is depicted a beardless haloed person, doubtless St. Martin, who cuts his garment with a sword. Behind him stands an ecclesiastic with a book, and in front are two beggars reaching out their hands for the garment, one kneeling. On another face of this same capital is depicted the fall of the rebellious angels. Michael, holding a sceptre, transfixes the dragon with a lance (which has been broken), while another angel holds a devil bound with a cord and forces a stick or spear down his throat. On the corresponding pier of the opposite arcade are shown the three angels, winged and with haloes, appearing to Abraham and Sarah.[51] Of the angels the first carries a sceptre, with trefoil, the last a cylindrical object, probably a candle. On the other face of this capital are the four Evangelists. Mark and Luke are without inscriptions, but John has a scroll with the legend:

[IN P]RINCI
[PIO] ERAT
VERBVM[52]

and Matthew a book with the inscription:

LIBER
GENERATI
ONIS IHV
XOI[53]

[48] Luc., i, 63.

[49] EST. MONACHVS
FACTVS. LVPVS
HIC. SVB DOG
MATE TRACIVS

[50] See above, Vol. I. [51] Gen., xviii, 1-10. [52] Joan., i, 1. [53] Matth., i, 1.

In the north gallery there is another capital on which the same subject is represented. Returning to the capital of the nave, on another face is shown a man, naked to the waist, with his trousers fastened up with a rope, who holds flowering trees in either hand. On one side is a man with long hair, holding a drawn sword in his right hand, while the empty scabbard is seen on his left side. This must be the martyrdom of some saint, possibly of S. Donnino. On the second pier from the west, on the south side, is a capital on which are represented on the east face two knights on horse-back, with helmets, shields and swords, but without armour, fighting. Next to these is a knight on horse-back, with drawn and brandished sword, shield and helmet. He is followed by a retainer on foot, with shield, helmet and lance with pennant. Still further to the left is another knight on horse-back with helmet and shield. He holds his lance, with pennant, in a horizontal position, as if to hurl it. Above and behind, a horse, saddled and bridled, gallops backward as if in flight. He has no rider, but over his back is seen a shield and a double line which is probably intended to represent another shield, seen from inside. Below is a horse apparently standing still. This horse faces the first knight, but behind him stands on the ground facing the other way, a man with helmet and half visor. In his left hand he holds a lance, his right is placed on the horse's saddle, his head is bowed forward as if he were sadly wounded. The sculpture clearly represents a combat, but whether the sculptor wished to depict some scene from a romance of chivalry like that of the Porta della Pescheria in the cathedral of Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 3) or merely one of the genre scenes of fighting in which the XII century so delighted,[54] it is difficult to say.

On the corresponding capital on the opposite side of the nave there is depicted, on the west face, a female saint, haloed and enthroned between two angels, each of whom holds a candle. The saint holds her hands upward, with the palms out. In the absence of distinguishing attributes, this might be interpreted to refer to almost any of the female saints popular at Parma, but I believe it is probably the Virgin, the patroness of the cathedral. She seems to be placed in contrast to the next subject, which represents the woman seated on the seven-headed dragon.[55] On either side is a standing figure, the one to the left beardless, the one to the right bearded and with a protruding tongue. These figures seem to be grotesque. On the east face of this capital is represented a scene the exact interpretation of which is difficult, but which I believe represents the offering of various gifts to the church of Parma by the women of the city. The persons in the scene are all women, clothed in dresses with wide sleeves and characterized by hair arranged in a curious way. The first one who, I suppose, collects the gifts from the others to present them to the church, receives from the first of the approaching figures

[54] Compare the sculptures at S. Stefano of Pavia and Narni, Plate 179, Fig. 2, 3.
[55] Apoc., xii, 1-3.

a plate full of coins. The second woman, who follows, holds a candle; the third has a small, heart-shaped object, perhaps a vase of oil; the fourth has a skin of wine over her left arm, the spout of which is held in her right hand. The heads of the women are all covered with cloth.

On the third pier from the west of the north arcade is represented the sacrifice of Isaac. On the fourth capital from the west on the southern side, on the north face, is sculptured what I take to be a scene of baptism. A seated woman seems to be receiving back a child, who is naked, after baptism has been administered. The child clings affectionately to the garment of the priest, who hands him back to his god-mother. Beneath the child, and between the woman and the priest, is clearly shown the baptismal font in the form of a large vase. The priest is beardless and bare-headed, and is accompanied by another ecclesiastic similarly dressed and holding a book. A strange feature is the introduction of a bird carrying in his bill a round object.

The third vaulting capital from the west on the south side contains another representation of St. Martin dividing his cloak. It is curious that here, again, there are two beggars.

On the principal portal are reliefs representing a cycle of the months. The subjects are, beginning at the left: (1) March, a half naked youth, holding his foot in his lap, with an indecent suggestion. (2) April, between two palm trees, one of which he holds in either hand. (3) May, holding a lance in his right hand, leads a horse with his left. (4) June sharpens a scythe. (5) July reaps. (6) August nails up a barrel. (7) In the centre of the archivolt is the sun represented with a human face. (8) September picks the grapes. (9) October, crowned, is seated and holds in his hand a cup full of new-made wine. (10) November dresses a swine. (11) December cuts firewood off a tree. (12) January is represented as a two-faced Janus. (13) February, armed with a fishing net and basket, goes fishing.

These reliefs of the months are assigned by Venturi to a predecessor of Benedetto, but it appears to me that they are rather a work of that master himself. The reliefs are evidently not in their original position, and have been made to fit by the insertion of bits of foliage. It is probable that these reliefs were executed between 1178 and 1196 for the outer order of the upper door, and were moved to the Lombard porch when the latter was erected in the XIII century. The central portal of the façade is evidently much later than the other two portals of the west front and than the façade itself. These two minor doors have archivolts ornamented with anthemia, interlaces, rinceaux, etc., that evidently recall the abaci of the nave capitals. There never were porches erected before the side portals of the façade. The four lions which stand before these portals come from the destroyed pontile. In the southern campanile are walled two caryatids which probably adorned the western portal before the XIII century porch was erected.

PARMA, CATHEDRAL

In the third chapel from the west on the south side of the nave is a large sculpture of the Deposition, which is of prime importance owing to the circumstance that it is one of the chief documents for the study of the sculptures of Benedetto, called Antelami (Plate 165, Fig. 4). Above the sculptures is the inscription in hexameters:

ANNO MILLENO CENTENO SEPTVAGENO: OCTAVO
SCVLTOR PATVIT MSE SECVDO
ANTELAMI DICTVS SCVLPTOR FVIT HIC BENEDICTVS

In the interests of his verse, Benedetto has rendered exceedingly obscure the important information this inscription was intended to convey to posterity. The difficulties centre about the first word of the last line, ANTELAMI. The usual interpretation, "This sculptor was Benedetto called Antelami," which has gained for Benedetto the name of Antelami by which he is now usually known, is exceedingly dubious. Nicknames for artists, derived from the town from which they came, were common in Italy in the XV and XVI centuries, but there is no evidence that such were used in the XII century. Furthermore, in the inscription of the baptistery, our artist calls himself simply Benedetto, and nothing is said about Antelami. Two other interpretations are possible. One is to construct *dictus fuit* together, and take Antelami as the genitive. The last line would then mean, "This sculptor was called Benedetto of Antelamo." Antelamo would be probably not the name of Benedetto's father, but of the place from which Benedetto came—in fact, a valley of this name did exist and was renowned for its carpenters.[56] The second is to assume that ANTELAMI is written by error for ANTELAM', that is, *antelamus*. Now *antelamus* was the regular word for builder in certain parts of Italy.[57] We should then construe *antelamus*, the first word of the third line, with the second line, just as *octavo*, the first word of the second line obviously is joined grammatically with the first line, and translate, "In February, 1178, the builder revealed his art as a sculptor. This sculptor was called Benedetto."

From a cross which bears the inscription:

IHVS: NAZA RENVS✠REX IVDE[ORVM]

Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa lift down the body of the dead Christ. The nail has already been extracted from the right hand, which falls down, and is handed by the Archangel Gabriel, GABRI|EL, to the Virgin, S : MA|RIA. The head and the upper portion of the body of Christ fall to the right but are supported by Joseph of Arimathæa, IOSEPH| AB ARI|MATHIA. NICODEMVS mounts a ladder to extract the nail from the left hand. To the right of Joseph, and between him and the Virgin, is

[56] *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 903. [57] See above, Vol. I.

the figure of the Church, bearing a chalice and a lance with a pennant on which is inscribed a cross: ECCL[ESI]A EXALTA TVR. To the left of Nicodemus, the Synagogue, characterized by a conical head-dress, lets fall a shattered lance, SINAGOGA DE PONI TVR. RAPHA|EL pushes down her head. Behind the Virgin on the left side of the relief stands St. John, S. IOHS, doubtless the Evangelist, although represented as bearded. Behind him are the three Maries, MARIA : MAG DALENE, MARIA : IACOBI and SALOME. To the right of the spectator, but on the left of Christ, behind the Synagogue and under the figure of the angel who pushes down her head, is seen the centurion, identified by the inscription on his shield, CENTVRIO, and by his confession of Christ, VERE : ISTE| FILIVS DEI ERAT.[58] Beyond the centurion is shown a group of four men and one woman, doubtless Jews. In the foreground, four other men, two of whom are seated, divide Christ's raiment. Excellent is the cunning expression of their faces, as each intently strives to obtain more than his share, and their gestures eloquently express the heat of the argument. Above, to the left of Christ, is a medallion representing the moon, LVNA, and to the right a similar one representing the sun, SOL. The panel is surrounded by an exquisite border in inlaid relief, and this same medium is called upon to help out the sculptures. Thus the lances of the Church and the Synagogue as well as part of Nicodemus's ladder, are executed, not in relief, but in inlay. With the exception of Christ, the only figure with bare feet is the apostle John. From an iconographical point of view this Deposition of Benedetto possesses a dignity and importance equalled by few other mediæval sculptures of Italy. The artist has embodied in his work some of the most profound and most beautiful of the theological and philosophical conceptions of the Middle Ages. The symbolism underlying the figures of the Sun and Moon, Mary and John, the Church and the Synagogue and the Centurion, has been touched upon above.[59] It has generally been supposed that the relief of the Deposition was made for an ambo of which the capitals are preserved in the museum. This, however, is merely a conjecture. The shape and character of the relief are more fitting for an altar front. In the main altar of the church there is an inscription to the effect that the cathedral possesses the bodies of the martyrs Abdon, Sennen and Ercoliano, together with half the body of Nicodemus and that of the virgin Prudentiana. The bodies

[58] Matth., xxvii, 54.

[59] Vol. I, pt. IV. The symbolism of these sculptures can be best and most fully understood from a comparison of such ivory-carvings, miniatures, etc., as those illustrated by Cahier et Martin. (*Nouveaux Mélanges; Ivoires*, II, 168, Plates 4-8; *Curiosités*, 15 f.). In some of these illustrations the symbolism is carried even further than in the work of Benedetto. We find, for example, beneath the cross a serpent, recalling that the cross was made of the very tree from which the serpent tempted Eve, and in other cases Eve is represented with two babies, or the Ocean and the Earth. (See Duchalais, 297).

of the martyrs Abdon and Sennen still rest in the sculptured altar that was made for them, and I have little doubt that the Deposition of Benedetto was made for an altar in which was preserved half the body of Nicodemus. It was entirely fitting and natural that for this altar should be selected the great and important scene in which Nicodemus took part and to which his fame was chiefly due. I am, moreover, confirmed in this conjecture by noting that at Bardone the scene of the Deposition, closely imitated from this relief of Benedetto's, was made precisely for such an altar.

In the Museo di Antichità at Parma are preserved three capitals supposed to come from the same pulpit of which the Deposition is believed to have formed a part. That they are works of Benedetto and of his early period may be readily conceded. It may even be that they come from the pulpit broken up in 1556; but that they had any connection with the Deposition is extremely improbable. Sufficient proofs of this are not only the fact that the subjects represented are entirely different from, and without connection with, those of the Deposition, but also that the capitals are executed in white marble, while the Deposition is in red Verona marble. It is unbelievable that the refined Benedetto would have been so barbaric as to combine red and white marble in a single composition. In the first capital is depicted God, shown, singularly enough, as an unbearded figure, without halo, reproving the naked Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Then are shown Adam and Eve, clothed, seated on a bench in Paradise. Adam holds a flower in his hand, but Eve already turns to listen to the serpent, who coils about the fatal tree. Next are shown Adam and Eve, always clothed and seated upon the same bench, but Adam holds in one hand one of the forbidden fruits, while Eve passes him another. In her right hand Eve holds a third fruit, and the serpent in the tree to the left has a fourth in his mouth. On the last face of this capital are shown Adam and Eve, naked and crouching to cover their shame. In the second capital the story is continued. The angel with drawn sword drives Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. The guilty pair are naked, and cover their shame with their hands and with fig-leaves. On the next face Adam, stripped to the waist, is engaged in hoeing, while Eve, also half naked, spins. Her left hand, it is true, is broken, but a distaff hanging down and a thread passing between the thumb and forefinger of her right hand, leave no doubt as to the interpretation of the sculptures. On the remaining face are shown Cain and Abel bringing their respective offerings of wheat and a lamb, and the murder of Abel by Cain.

The interpretation of the sculptures of the third capital is not so clear. On one angle is shown the figure of David, seated. He is crowned, plays a harp, and is accompanied by a beardless figure who puts her arm behind him (perhaps Bath-sheba), and by another figure (perhaps a councillor), who raises his hand. In the background, to one side, is a figure in armour, on horse-back, riding astride, with sword and long hair. The broken head makes

it difficult to interpret this figure, which, however, may possibly be Cerethi. On the adjoining angle is shown the judgment of Solomon. Behind the seated, crowned figure of the king stands a councillor. In the foreground are two women, one of whom tries to carry away the baby in swaddling clothes to execute the king's decree, the other of whom holds the baby's feet to prevent it. The sculptor has skilfully depicted the character of the two women in their faces. On the third angle of this capital appears again a seated, crowned figure, undoubtedly Solomon, holding in his right hand the sceptre of empire. On either side is one of the women, who puts her arm back of him and tries to persuade him that the child is hers. This scene should precede the last.

The area of the main altar, of red Verona marble, is divided into compartments by flat zigzag bands, which recall certain shafts in the exterior galleries of the cathedral of Ferrara. At both ends and on the southern panel of the west side, are reliefs in Verona marble. In the other five panels, however, are inserted figures in white marble, in the round. The panels in relief show at the north end, Christ in an aureole, with book, blessing, surrounded by figures of the four Evangelists. In the south panel, on the west side, is depicted the martyrdom of the saints Abdon and Sennen. An executioner cuts off their crowned heads with a sword. In the south end the two martyrs, crowned, sit among beasts.[60] The inserted panels of white marble represent the apostles, two in each panel, making thus ten in all. They are, beginning at the south: SI|MON and IVDAS; PHILIPP and IACOBVS; AN|DREAS and PETRVS, the latter with two keys; IACOBVS and PAV|LVS; THO|MAS and St. Bartholomew, the latter without inscription but identified by his attribute, a knife. These figures of the apostles are strikingly realistic. The full mouths, wrinkled necks, large bony hands and feet, almost suggest Flemish genre work. Notable is the absolute lack of religious feeling. For all the naturalism of detail, not the slightest attempt is made to express the psychology of the apostles. These reliefs show close connection with the Last Supper of Modena, but technically the Parma sculptures are greatly superior, especially in the treatment of the faces and draperies. They may be assigned to c. 1185. Evidently by another hand are the reliefs in Verona marble, which are characterized by the placid expression of the faces and uninteresting composition. Yet here, too, great technical skill is displayed. Apparently the two sets of sculptures seem to be about contemporary, though the work of two different hands, very different in style. How the two ever happened to be combined in a single composition is an unexplained mystery.

Of great interest also is the episcopal throne, which is adorned with

[60] The sculptor has followed a legend which differs from that printed by the Bollandists. (*Acta Sanctorum*, die XXX, Julii, VII, 149). In the latter the saints were first exposed to two lions and four bears in the amphitheatre, but since the beasts came and lay at their feet, they were dispatched by gladiators with pitchforks.

reliefs of St. George and of the conversion of St. Paul. These sculptures seem not to be by Benedetto, nor by any of the sculptors of the altar, but by an independent artist of the XIII century. The garment of St. George is characterized by a classic simplicity which is hardly surpassed by Giovanni Pisano. The horse, though it seems to be padded and supplied with neither bones nor muscles, has, nevertheless, something which is very classical about it, and the composition is exceedingly happy. The St. Paul, on the other hand, though by the same artist, is distinctly less successful. The horse, with curling tail, is similar to the horse of St. George, but the figure of the apostle, represented as falling backwards with one leg raised in the air, is grotesque and undignified.

Under the roof of the third chapel from the west, on the south side, is a slab of Romanesque sculpture. The block is almost square and consists of four medallions enclosed by a vine-pattern. In the one to the left, above, a beardless youth, bare-headed, holds a long sword. To the right is a man with one of the skullcaps characteristic of the style of Benedetto, bearded and with long, curling hair. He is seated and holds in his hand what seems to be a knife. Below, to the left, the same youth who appears in the first scene, gives or takes a long, slim object from another youth. In the last medallion is shown a youth lying in a coffin, or bier, with closed eyes. In two small circles in the middle of the plaque are two heads, apparently of a man and a woman. The execution of this relief is rather crude, especially the workmanship of the eyes. The influence of Benedetto is, however, unmistakable in the draperies and in the cap of one figure. The relief is, therefore, probably the work of an imitator of that master. Another similar relief is over the fourth chapel. On it is sculptured a single head in a small circle, surrounded by a leaf pattern. These sculptures must be assigned to about 1190.

V. From the documentary evidence we know that the cathedral was destroyed by the earthquake of 1117; that before 1133 S. Bernardo granted certain revenues to the *laborerio;* that these were confirmed in 1162 by Barbarossa, and that in 1178 Benedetto sculptured a Deposition for one of the altars, and that consequently at this time the edifice was presumably finished. Internal evidence shows that parts of the pre-existing cathedral were preserved in the piers of the crossing, that this part of the cathedral, together with the crypt, was rebuilt somewhat before the rest, that the remainder of the building is essentially homogeneous, with the exception of obvious additions of later times, but that the vaulting capitals are slightly more advanced than those of the lower parts of the building. In order to determine the epoch of construction more precisely, it is necessary, first of all, to study the cathedral of Parma in connection with the two sister edifices, the cathedrals of Cremona and Piacenza. The plans of all three cathedrals were very similar and included the projected erection of sexpartite vaults

over the nave. The cathedral of Cremona was begun in 1107, but was destroyed by the earthquake in 1117. In 1129 the ruins were being cleared away, and in 1141 the cathedral was completed, but a wooden roof supported on transverse arches was substituted for the sexpartite vaults. Subsequently these vaults were replaced by rib vaults with pointed transverse arches and diagonals of toric section. These alterations were completed before the consecration of 1196. The actual construction of the cathedral of Piacenza was begun in 1122, and the edifice was probably consecrated in 1132, but was not completed until the XIII century. Comparing the three edifices we notice that it was only at Piacenza, and then in the XIII century, that the projected sexpartite vaults were erected. In the other two, before the builders reached the vaults, plans were changed. At Cremona, before 1141, a wooden roof with transverse arches was substituted and before 1196 this was replaced by a uniform rib vault of advanced type. Now, the vaults of Parma seem, in the process of evolution, intermediate between the wooden roof first erected at Cremona before 1141 and the vaults substituted before 1196. We may therefore argue that the vaults of Parma are later than c. 1141 and are earlier than c. 1196.

A comparison of the capitals and decorative detail makes it evident that the cathedral of Parma, with the exception of the crypt and crossing piers, is notably later than the earliest portions of the cathedral of Piacenza (begun in 1122), but about contemporary with the newer portions of the cathedral of Cremona (begun in 1129). We may, therefore, conclude that the cathedral of Parma lay in ruin a considerable time after the earthquake of 1117. This may have been due to a number of causes. The devastation wrought by the earthquake in Lombardy was so great that, for economic reasons, the reconstruction of the great churches destroyed by it seems to have been in many cases delayed for a considerable period of time. At Piacenza, as we have seen, the reconstruction of the cathedral was begun only five years later or in 1122, and at Cremona twelve years lapsed after the earthquake before the rebuilding of the cathedral was undertaken. At Parma an additional reason for the delay may be found in the economic condition of the episcopal revenues, wasted by forty years of schism and civil war, which terminated only in 1106. From such a disaster the eleven years which elapsed before the earthquake of 1117 must have been all too little for recovery, and we can readily understand how, for a considerable period after that catastrophe, the bishop and chapter of Parma found themselves without sufficient resources to undertake the reconstruction of a great cathedral. To meet the exigencies of the situation, a new crypt in which the offices could be temporarily celebrated was erected, and the four piers of the crossing which it was intended to utilize in the new construction were rebuilt to prevent further disintegration. This much, it is to be presumed from the style of the capitals, was erected soon after the earthquake. It was probably not until about 1130 that S. Bernardo

undertook seriously the reconstruction of the cathedral as a whole, and we may assume that it was about this year that he granted to the fabbrica the revenues to which the diploma of Barbarossa refers. The capitals of the nave are extremely similar, though perhaps slightly more advanced, than those of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, an edifice consecrated in 1132. The homogeneity of the style of the cathedral of Parma would lead us to suppose that the latter building, up to the level of the vaults, was erected within a comparatively short space of time, and without change of plan. The style of the building throughout is that of the fourth decade of the XII century. Only the polychromatic masonry of the apse, resembling that of S. Sepolcro at Bologna, an edifice of c. 1160, would indicate a somewhat later date. It is to be presumed, however, that so large and expensive an edifice as the cathedral of Parma could not have been erected in less than twenty years. All things considered it seems probable that the nave, transepts and choir were built between 1130 and 1150. The internal evidence shows that a considerable delay ensued before the erection of the vaults, and, in all probability, the revenues were confirmed by Barbarossa to the fabbrica in 1162 to aid in the completion of this part of the edifice. The building may, therefore, well have been entirely completed in 1178, when Benedetto made his altar-front with the Deposition. The cathedral was subsequently enriched with other pieces of sculpture. About 1185 Benedetto sculptured for the principal portal the zodiac, which was subsequently moved when the Lombard porch was added in 1281. About the same time, other sculptures were executed for the area and the ambo. From 1196 until towards the end of the XIII century, the energies and revenues of the bishop and chapter were directed to the baptistery, and during this time the cathedral was enriched only with the episcopal throne. In 1281, however, the principal portal was adorned with its lions and the Lombard porch in two stories. Three years later the old campanile of the cathedral was pulled down and a new one begun. The bells given to this church in 1285 and 1287 must have been placed in the temporary belfry, since only in 1290 had the construction arrived as far as the string-course of the third story. In the following year, 1291, the square portion of the tower was completed, and in 1292 the bells were hung. In 1292 the balustrade, turrets and cone were added.

PAVIA, S. EUSEBIO

(Plate 167, Fig. 3)

I. The church of S. Eusebio is mentioned by the Anonimo del Parata.[1] and in the *Catalogo Rodobaldino*.[2] The manuscript of Bosio preserved in the

[1] In Ecclesia S.ti Eusebij Martyris iacet corpus Sanctę Simphorosę cum septem filijs suis, quorum nomina sunt Crescentius, Iulianus, Nemesius, Primitius, Iustinus,

library of the University[3] contains important inscriptions of the church copied before its destruction. Romoaldo, who saw the church in 1699, has left a brief description of it.[4] In the year 1829, the brothers Sacchi studied the edifice.[5] In the following year Giardini contributed some observations of importance.[6] In 1903 the history of the edifice was resumed by Majocchi.[7] The crypt has been studied by Rivoira.[8]

II. According to Paolo Diacono, S. Eusebio, about the middle of the VII century, was the Arian cathedral.[9] The Anonimo Ticinese tells us that there were in Pavia two churches of S. Eusebio.[10] There can be little doubt, however, that it is the church of S. Eusebio Maggiore which is referred to by Paolo Diacono, and to which belonged the crypt that has come down to us.

Inscriptions preserved by Bosio refer to restorations carried out in 1512 and 1588.[11] In the XVII century the church was rebuilt. In 1805 it was desecrated, and turned into a pest-house connected with the hospital. At the present time the nave serves for a variety of secular purposes, but the crypt is still in the jurisdiction of the hospital.

Statteus et Eugenius Mart.res (*De Origine Civitatis Papiae*, MS. known as Anonimo del Parata, No. 46 Ticinese, University Library, Pavia, f. 11).

[2] In dicta ecclesia iacet corpus sancte symphoriose cum septem filijs quorum nomina sunt hec: Cresentius, Iulianus, Nemexius primicerius [= Primitivus], Iustinus [= Iustinus], scateus [= Stacteus] et eugenius martires. (*Catalogo Rodobaldino*, ed. Boni e Majocchi, 24).

[3] No. 180.

[4] . . . ante Longobardorum Regnum excitatum, nec quidem multam obtinens latitudinem, & magnis tamen columnis intersectum, omninodæ verè antiquitatis Schema adhuc præseferens, nunc autem temporis, nimia præ vetustate, fatiscens. (Romoaldo, I, 102).

[5] Per quanto sappiamo da testimoni di veduta, come il Romualdo e da alcuni che ne ebbero recenti le notizie dai loro padri, era questa chiesa a tre navi con otto pilastri, ed ampia gradinata metteva alla tribuna, sotto cui era la confessione. Questa cripta, che nel nuovo ordinamento della chiesa fu posta fuori d'uso, è tuttavia intatta etc. (60).

[6] . . . la qual Chiesa [S. Eusebio] venne profanata sul fine dell'anno 1805, ed ora è riservata ad uso dello Spedale per collocar in essa ammalati in caso di epidemie. (Giardini, 45). Due anticamente furono in Pavia le Chiese col titolo di S. Eusebio. Questa che *Maggiore* era detta pasava sopra otto alte colonne ed aveva il confessorio. Nel principio del Secolo XVII era stata riparata; ma nel secolo seguente essendo stata atterrata, nello stesso luogo si costrui la Chiesa, di cui si parla. (124).

[7] 264 f. [8] 136.

[9] Postea Arotharus rex fuit Langobardorum, regnavit duodecim annis; sed arrianus fuit. Huius autem temporibus fere in omnes civitates duo episcopi erant, unus Catholicus et alter Arrianus. In civitate Ticinensi apud Basilicam Sancti Eusebii Anastasius episcopus sedit; sed postea ad fidem catholicam conversus est; et tunc alter episcopus catholicus levatus fuit. (Paolo Diacono, ed. Waitz, M. G. H., *Ss. R. L. et I.*, 197).

[10] Ecclesia S. Eusebii de Curte Vercellina. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, II, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 8). Ecclesia S. Eusebii Majoris, in qua jacent corpora SS. MM. Septem Fratrum. (*Ibid.*, 9).

III. The church itself is without interest.

The crypt consists of five aisles terminating in an apse. The ancient brickwork, where it can be seen, appears to be of the XII century. Large irregular bricks are laid in perfectly horizontal courses separated by wide beds of mortar. The groin vaults (Plate 167, Fig. 3) are very slightly domed. They appear to be constructed out of bricks carefully laid in regular courses, and are supplied with disappearing transverse arches. In the two extreme trapezoidal compartments in the curve of the apse, diagonal ribs are introduced.[12] They are straight in plan but irregular in elevation. The diagonals intersect far out of centre. The vault adjoins, and forms part of, the groin vaults. It is evident that the builders used ribs solely with a view to simplifying the construction. The symmetrical vault on the other side is of precisely similar character. There are wall ribs.

IV. In section the responds consist of three members, the central one of which is semicircular. These responds are cubic capitals of simple type executed in brick. The cushion is high and angular. The bases, if they exist, are not visible. The columns are cylindrical or rectangular, and generally consist of several drums. The capitals are crudely carved with stiff, broad leaves, one on each angle and one in the centre of each face (Plate 167, Fig. 3). One has similar leaves, but a boldly projecting string-course in the middle. Several of the rectangular shafts have a crude rectangular capital attached. Above this is placed another capital of a different sort of stone. Two capitals have four leaves on the angles. On the soffits of the vaults are some remains of ancient frescos.

V. The capitals of S. Eusebio are evidently of the X century. The extremely decadent execution, the lack of vigour in the design, the listless quality in the carving, could have been produced at no other epoch. The

11 Ad S. Eusebii
in templi limine
Ecclesia parochialis Sancti Eusebij
ibidem in fornice sacelli maioris
reparata impensis R. D. Petri Pauli de Valuanoribus de Crema ecclesiae Maioris Archipresbyteri, et huius templi Rectoris anno a partu Virginis 1512.

. . .

Ibidem extra templi pariete
Julia Sartirana deuotione mota hoc opus uetustate corrosum renouandum curauit die 23 Nouembris 1588.

(*Memoriae Ticinenses Nouantiquae*, Hieronymi Bossii, MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia).

12 This construction is, so far as I know, without analogy in Lombardy, except in the crypt of S. Agata, Santhià (Novara), where vaults of the same peculiar type are found at the angles. The capitals of this crypt are plain, with splayed angles. This crypt, which is a dated monument of 1154 (Orsenigo, 334), is otherwise uninteresting.

double outer shell given to the leaf-forms recalls the capitals of S. Satiro at Milan (Plate 132, Fig. 5). The execution in the Pavia monument, however, much more languid, and less skilful, belongs to an even more decadent era. The S. Satiro capital was executed in 876. The S. Eusebio capital must be at least a quarter of a century later. The closest analogy is, perhaps, to be found in the capitals of Isola S. Giulio (Plate 100, Fig. 9, 10), executed c. 900, and showing the same decadent technique, the same unformed acanthus leaves, the same lack of vigour in the execution. The S. Eusebio capitals may consequently be ascribed to c. 900. The vaults, on the other hand, on their analogy to those of Santhià, may be ascribed to c. 1150.

PAVIA, S. GIOVANNI IN BORGO

(Plate 167, Fig. 2, 4)

I. For the study of the destroyed church of S. Giovanni of Borgo the literary sources assume unusual importance, inasmuch as the extant fragments are insufficient to determine the dispositions of the building. A drawing now preserved in the Collegio Borromeo (Plate 167, Fig. 4) shows the façade as it was before 1811. De Dartein made use of another drawing also made before 1811 for his plan.[1] This shows the edifice as consisting of a nave of two double bays, two side aisles, non-projecting transepts with absidioles, a choir and an apse. The piers and the responds were both alternate. The nave was covered with rib vaults, the side aisles with groin vaults, the crossing with a Lombard cupola. On the south side of the edifice there were vigorous buttresses, apparently all uniform. In addition to these drawings, a view of the church is contained in the *Raccolta di incisioni dei monumenti di Pavia*, of the marchese Pio Bellisomi, and another in a little book published at Pavia by Fusi and entitled *La Torre del Pizzo in Giù; Almanacco dilettevole per l'anno 1832*. In 1823 Séroux d'Agincourt published several drawings of the edifice.[2] From these drawings we learn that the choir and transepts were barrel-vaulted, that the transepts had eastern niches, that there was a single apse, and that the choir was not flanked by side aisles.

In addition to the drawings, several descriptions of the edifice have come down to us. The earliest of these was written in 1699 by Romoaldo, who speaks of the cupola over the crossing (where in his day the altar was still situated), of the crypt, of the raised choir, and of the galleries.[3]

[1] Plate 64.

[2] IV, Plate 45, Fig. 9, 18; Plate 64, Fig. 6; Plate 73, Fig. 27.

[3] Ecclesiæ huius fornix, iuxta Maiorem Aram, in Pinnaculum eleuari cernitur; internas (vt vulgo dicitur) naues, structilibus columnis, diuiditur Ecclesia hæc, subterraneum habens Confessorium, & circum fornices, exterius, xystos, & ad maius Altare, per plures gradus, ascenditur. (Romoaldo, I, 26).

That indefatigable transcriber of inscriptions, Zaccaria, copied in 1750 the inscription of the portal, which will be studied below. Another inscription in Greek was published by Millin[4] in 1817, or six years after the destruction of the basilica. In 1829 the brothers Sacchi published a long description of the church, which deserves to be reprinted entire, since it is valuable not only for an account of the disposal of the fragments dispersed in various places after the destruction, but also for a description of the building itself, compiled from the accounts of persons who had seen it and remembered it well.[5]

[4] II, 33.

[5] Duolne assai che questo magnifico tempio, che dopo San-Michele ne pare de' più ricchi di que' secoli, venisse gittato nel 1811, disperso quanto aveva di prezioso, e i bassi rilievi simbolici adoperati, insieme a cementi, per fondamenti ai sostegni del nuovo naviglio fra Milano e Pavia, a meno di qualche capitello serbato, e di alcuni che andarono a fregiare un giardino a Milano dell'ingegnere Caimi. Per raccorne le migliori notizie noi ci siam recate fra quelle ruine, su gran parte delle quali sorge un orto, abbiamo ottenuta una pianta originale dall'ingegnere che ebbe l'incumbenza di distruggerla, e abbiamo favellato a lungo co' fabbri che s'adoprarono in questo nfficio, quindi rettificate le misure sui fondamenti che tuttora esistono, ci siamo accertati del modo con cui era interamente condotta la fabbrica di questo edifizio, e finalmente ne ritraemmo l'ortografia da una che esisteva presso il collegio Borromeo. Questa basilica era di tre navi, formata da otto pilastri, lunga piedi parigini 136.8, e larga 70.2. Sopra le navate laterali si aprivano i cancelli o le loggie. Molti capitelli de' pilastri erano a fregi simbolici, e quello che esiste tuttora fra le ruine, presenta due lunghi serpenti che s'intrecciano e s'attortigliano fra di loro. Salivasi per ampia gradinata alla tribuna ove era il solo altare, e sotto di questa aveasi la confessione a colonnette varie di forma e di capitelli. Dava forma alla tribuna ed alla cripta l'abside, semicircolare intorno, alla quale nella parte esterna giravano verso la parte più eminente loggette praticabili sostenute da colonnette; innanzi alla tribuna alzavasi la magnifica cupola ottagona che all'esterno aveva in giro un loggiato praticabile. La facciata a tre scompartimenti avea tre porte a molti piani, ricche di fregi simbolici, e a proteggere queste si alzava l'ambulacro o *tetrasulon*, soffolto da quattro colonne. Correva lungo la facciata alla metà la galleria di communicazione fra le logge interne, e avea cinque aperture a doppio archetto: a questa si saliva mercè due picciole scale a chiocciola praticate nei pilastri mediani della facciata. Sopra di essa aprivansi alcune finistre per dar luce alla chiesa, sopra le quali era la croce formata da cinque ciotole, e un' ultima galleria di diciannove archetti assecondava l'angolo ottuso che forma la parte piramidale della facciata, cui alcuni fregi ornavano per cornice. Questa ortografia fino a metà era coperta di pietra arenaria, il resto a mattoni, e aveansi sparse sopra gli archi delle finestre e in altri luoghi molte ciotole a smalto di vario colore (69).

Appendice

Ne giunse da pochi giorni a notizia che molti sassi a bassi rilievi simbolici di questa basilica furono sottratti al naufragio che li trascinava a perderli quai fondamenti del naviglio, mercè la cura del nobile pavese D. Galeazzo Vitali, che ne fe' raccorre quanti più gliene riuscì avere e recare ad una sua villa posta fra Lodi e Pavia in Vilanterio. . . . Parte di questi furono posti in opera per formare l'ingresso ad un cemelio di famiglia che si è eretto in un boschetto. . . . Sparsi in varie parti della villa ora a formare sedili, ora a sostenere vasi di fiori, ora a parte di alcune rovine, altri serbati a nuovo ordine, abbiamo scontrati intorno a quaranta frammenti or

In the following year Giardini published another description of the edifice that is equally important.[6] A few notices of some interest are contained in the work of Magani.[7] The archæological study of Mothes[8] deserves mention.

quadri, ora tondi, ora curvi che giudichiamo altri fregi d'una porta. . . . Con quelli intende il signore del loco formare una seconda porta al suo cinerario. . . . Altri frammenti di San-Giovanni in Borgo gli abbiamo scoperti nella casa posta in Pavia No. 1081 alla Mostiola. Questi frammenti sono sparsi per un giardino, e valgono o per sedili o per base a vasi di fiori e tutti li riputiamo capitelli di diversa forma e grandezza.

1. Una figura di donna ignuda che ha lunghissime trecce sparse sulle spalle; le poppe cadenti, in fine del torso una foglia, ed invece della cosce divergono due code che risalgono, sicchè la donna le prende colle braccia allargate. Si apprendono poi, alle di lei poppe due serpenti, i quali intrecciano alle code della figura androgena la propria che è bipartita; capitello quadrilungo, figure grandi.

2. Sei guerrieri a cavallo vestiti di maglia coll'asta, gli scudi e l'elmo mitrato, divisi in due drappelli, tre per ciascuno, che vengono a scontrarsi colle aste abbassate come per battersi in mezzo ai due drappelli, a terra quasi sotto ai piedi de' cavalli, una testa con elmo mitrato. Capitello quadrilungo ben conservato.

3. Un uomo vestito che tiene le mani larghe appoggiate a due animali che vi sono ai fianchi.

4. Una donna ignuda d'intera figura, accosciata, che tiene lontani da sè colle braccia larghe due draghi alati stringendoli uno per mano che paiono volersele avventare; le code dei draghi si vanno a intrecciare fra le cosce della donna, sicchè le coprono le vergogne: sotto le mammelle della donna vedesi come un busto bipartito e scalfitto all'innanzi, come quello che vedesi nelle cariatidi egiziane. Dai lati di questo capitello quadrilungo sonovi due quadrupedi a lungo collo, agli altri capitelli invece da questi lati vi hanno o pianti o foglie.

5. In mezzo nella parte più eminente di questo capitello vedesi come un mascarone o una testa umana grandiosa a bocca spalancata di cui escono le code di due draghi, il corpo dei quali s'intreccia con due teste di leoni che vedonsi una per lato.

6. Alcuni altri sono più piccioli scolpiti a grandi foglie.

7. È rimarchevole questo frammento: in gran masso alto rotondo, che ha dai lati come due rotondi addentelati. Nella parte superiore in mezzo a un cordone liscio vi è scolta la croce. Abbiamo raccolto dal Muratori che questo marmo era posto sulla volta della chiesa verso l'altare, in modo che la croce fosse volta ai riguardanti (69-73).

[6] Tre porte davano l'ingresso a questa Chiesa e corrispondevano alle tre navate interne della medesima. Il di lei piantato era alquanto simile a quello di S. Michele Maggiore con piloni di sasso a capitelli scolpiti a figure ed arabeschi; ma era più elevata, più luminosa, e le sue arcate eran più svelte. Oltre l'altar maggiore, a cui si ascendeva per una scalinata, che portava nel presbitero, ad un bel coro, e dopo ad un' ampia sagrestia, che per l'inverno serviva di secondo coro, eranvi in essa sei altari lateralmente; ma il Confessorio sotteraneo a' miei giorni era già stato chiuso. Per due scalette comode disposte nelle pareti laterali delle minori navate, e non nei pilastri nè a chiocciola si montava all'ampie loggie costruite sopra le navate stesse, le quali però non erano aperte, come in S. Michele, ma guardavano nella Chiesa per mezzo d'alcune fenestrelle semicircolari ed oblunghe formate sopra le arcate inferiori. L'esterna facciata di questa chiesa fra gli altri ornamenti praticati nelle medesime in que' tempi portava infisse alcune tazze di terra cotta dipinte a vari colori, che investite dal Sole riverberavano molto splendore. Da alcuni avanzi finalmente di piloni esistenti esteriormente a lato delle porte scorgevasi, che a questa basilica precedeva un porticato,

II. During the Middle Ages there were in Pavia at least five different churches dedicated to S. Giovanni. The anonymous writer of the XIV century who described the town in his day mentions explicitly the baptistery of S. Giovanni,[9] the church of S. Giovanni Domnarum, founded by a certain queen of the Lombards,[10] the church of S. Giovanni Crisostomo, also called in Solario,[11] the church of S. Giovanni de Cataxiis[12] and S. Giovanni in Borgo.[13] The church of S. Giovanni in Cimitero, said by Robolini to be mentioned in documents of the XII century,[14] is identified with the church of S. Giovanni in Borgo by this writer.[15] In view of this profusion of churches of S. Giovanni at Pavia, it is necessary to be somewhat cautious in referring notices that relate to a church of S. Giovanni at Pavia to S. Giovanni in Borgo. Many historians of Pavia have stated that the latter edifice was founded by the Lombard queen Gundeberga, because Paolo Diacono and many subsequent writers who have copied from him state that this queen founded at Pavia a church of S. Giovanni.[16] The church founded by Gundeberga, however, was not S. Giovanni in Borgo but S. Giovanni Domnarum. This is proved by the passage of the anonymous author of the XIV century quoted above, in which it is explicitly stated that S. Giovanni Domnarum was founded by a certain Lombard queen. It is, moreover, proved by a diploma of July 23, 909,

che oltre l'ambulatorio un tempo cingeva tutta la di lei piazza. Questo tempio, che nella erezione del Collegio Borromeo era stato rispettato, lasciandosi piuttosto in quella parte imperfetta la fabbrica di esso, soppressa la Collegiata nel 1811. fu acquistato con tutte le case adjacenti dal Collegio stesso e nel 1818 venne demolito (p. 22). Egli è certo però che nel Secolo XVI era stato alzato il di lei pavimento, e con ciò erano stati levati alcuni gradini, per cui all'ingresso prima si discendeva in essa; erano stati interrati i zoccoli dei piloni alle navate, e con tale occasione forse si tolser anche le due scale laterali al presbitero, per cui si discendeva nel Confessorio (109). . . . Stava per ultimo infissa trasversalmente sull'imposta della porta maggiore di questa Chiesa una lunga lamina di ferro conservata senza dubbio e dalle antiche porte dal tempo consunte trasportata su questa, nella quale era incisa in caratteri Gottici l'iscrizione da me più volte letta e trascritta: Albertus de Summo Potestas et Tolomasdus judex advocatus istam clauderiam fecerunt fieri 1254. (Giardini, 110).

[7] 855-856. [8] I, 254.

[9] Ecclesia S. Joannis de fontibus Baptismalis. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* 11, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 8).

[10] Ecclesia S. Joannis Domnarum, quam condidit quædam Regina Longobardorum, ubi est quædam arca in qua dicitur esse Corpus S. Blasii Episcopi Sebastianensis & Martyris, cum duabus Capellis contiguis Ecclesiæ, ubi est Baptisterium secundum. [The first is that mentioned above, probably connected with the cathedral]. Canonica. (*Ibid.,* 8).

[11] *Ibid.,* 9. [12] *Ibid.* [13] *Ibid.,* 11. [14] II, 219.

[15] See text cited below, p. 174.

[16] Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Long.,* IV, 47, ed. Waitz, 172; *ibid.,* V, 40, ed. W., 205; *ibid.,* V, 41, ed. W., 207; *Istoria Longobardorum,* ed. Waitz, M. G. H., *Ss. R. L. et I.,* 197; *Chronicon Modoetiense,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XII, 1073; Galvanei Flammae, *Manipulus Florum,* XCVI, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 593; Galvanei Flammae, *Chron. Maius,* ed. Ceruti, 530; *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi,* ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* V, 1454.

in which we read: "We confirm all the goods and possessions which have passed into the jurisdiction of the church of S. Giovanni either through gifts of the queen Gundeberga, of holy memory, who built that church, or through the gifts of kings or emperors. . . . Because of our love for God and for S. Giovanni we confirm these to the canons who are God's ministers in that church that these goods may serve for their food and raiment. . . . These things are done for the use and convenience of the canons of the above-mentioned church which is called *Domnarum*."[17]

Since the church of S. Giovanni in Borgo was not founded by Gundeberga, it remains to be determined when, and by whom, it really was founded. There is a tradition that the body of S. Ursicino (†433?) was preserved in the crypt, from which certain writers have argued that he was the founder of the church. Robolini[18] and Magani[19] think that our church was the basilica of S. Giovanni erected by the bishop S. Massimo (495-511 ?) and referred to in an epigram of Ennodio, but this is mere conjecture. The fact that the church did contain the bodies of these two V century bishops does not necessarily indicate that it existed in this early time, since they might easily have been translated from elsewhere. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the notice of the anonymous writer of the XIV century who states that the church was founded by Rotari (636-652): "The church of S. Giovanni in Borgo, which was formerly called the old cemetery, was founded by Rotari, king of the Lombards. In it lie the bodies of the confessors Ursicino and Massimo, bishops of Pavia, and one or more bodies of the Holy Innocents. In the neighbouring chapel of S. Raffaelle the Archangel, lie the bodies of Pietro (bishop of Pavia, who was for a year bishop of Rome, although for a certain reason he is not included in the catalogue of the Roman popes), of S. Valeriano the martyr and husband of S. Cecilia, of S. Felice the martyr, and of the pope S. Cornelio and other relics as well. There also are said to be the bodies of Job and of Tobias the prophets, the authenticity of which is testified to by certain reliable and serious persons who came hither from afar, and said that they had in their possession authentic texts about these. The church is collegiate."[20] The same notice of the foundation by Rotari is repeated in the *Catalogo Rodobaldino*[21] and in the Anonimo del Parata.[22]

[17] . . . omnes res et possessiones, quas ipsa ecclesia sancti Johannis tam per donum sanctae memoriae Gondipergae reginae, quae ipsam edificavit ecclesiam, quam per precepta regum et imperatorum . . . ob amorem Dei et sancti Johannis canonicis in ipsa ecclesia Deo militantibus ad victum et vestimentum specialiter tribuerunt, videlicet . . . claustra in circuitu ecclesiae. . . . Hec solumodo usu et utilitati canonicorum praetaxatae ecclesiae, quae nuncupatur Domnarum. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 742).

[18] I, 126. [19] 855-856.

[20] Ecclesia S. Joannis in Burgo, quæ olim antiquum Cæmeterium dicebatur quam condidit Rotharich Rex Longobardorum, in qua jacent Corpora SS. Confessorum, & Episcoporum Ursicini, & Maximi Papiensium Antistitum, & ex Corporibus SS. Inno-

The church of S. Giovanni in Borgo was one of the most important edifices of Pavia, as may be gathered from the fact that in the eulogy of the anonymous writer upon the city, it is singled out together with the churches of S. Michele Maggiore and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro for particular mention, and is said to surpass in size many cathedrals.[23]

Two inscriptions in the façade, one above the south portal, the other to the south of the main portal, can clearly be seen in the drawing of the Collegio Borromeo (Plate 167, Fig. 4). One of these has been preserved to us in an inaccurate copy by Bosio. It has also been printed by Robolini,[24] but apparently on the basis of Bosio's transcription. The meaning seems to be: "This man, though dust, while he lived was the friend of Christ, as is proved by this sacred place which is his work; for he acquired immortal life (reading *vitam* for *vitas*) by surrounding the atrium (reading *atria* for *otia*) with walls; and he built, to the best of his ability (reading *melius* for *malius*) the canonica which it is evident is of the utmost usefulness for the priests; for here they dine and sleep together as is fitting (reading *decet* for *dicit*)."[25] It is unfortunately impossible to determine the date of this inscription, but

centium unum, vel plura, cum Capella S. Raphaëlis Arcangeli contigua, in qua jacent Corpora Petri Episcopi Papiensis, qui fuit per annum in Sede Romana, quamvis ex certa causa non fuerit catalogo Pontificum Romanorum adscriptus; S. Valeriani Martyris sponsi S. Cæciliæ, & S. Felicitatis Martyris. Item Corpus S. Cornelii Papæ & aliæ Reliquiæ. Item dicuntur esse Corpora Job, & Tobiæ Prophetarum, sicuti testimonium perhibetur ab aliquibus fide dignis, gravibusque personis de longinquis partibus illuc venientibus, & dicentibus, se de hoc penes se certas habere scripturas. Canonica. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* III, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 11).

[21] In ecclesia sancti Iohannis predicti, quam construxit Rotarius rex longobardorum iacet corpus sancti Maximi episcopi papiensis. Et reliquie sanctorum Nemexij, Simpronij, Exuperij et lucile. . . . Follows a very long list of relics. (*Catalogo Rodobaldino,* ed. Boni e Majocchi).

[22] In Ecclesia Sancti Ioannis in Burgo de Padulo quę hodiè d.ª S.ti Ioannis in Burgo constructa in honorem Beati Ioannis Baptistę per Rotarium, seu Rotariũ regem Longombardorũ iacet corpus eiusdem Regis arnaldi et corpus regis Rodaldi. (*De Origine Civitatis Papiae,* MS. known as *Anonimo del Parata,* No. 46, Ticinense, University Library, Pavia, f. 7). . . . Jacet corpus Sancti Petri Episcopi Papię qui postea fuit Papa Romę et ibi in papali offitio decessit. (*Ibid.*).

[23] This passage will be cited in full below, p. 191. [24] III, 108.

[25] Ibidem in exteriori Ianuae pariete
Hic uir fit limus, Christi dum uixit amicus
Pandit ut eius opus et sacer iste locus
Vitas namque dedit sibi muris otia sepsit
Atque domum struxit quam malius potuit
Presbyteris grandi fore qua liquit utilitati
Nam simul hic prandent, ut dicit atq. iacent
R . . . . .
S. . . . . .

(*Memoriae Ticinenses Nouantiquae,* Hieronymi Bossii. MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 123).

the use of leonine verses makes it not improbable that it is of the early years of the XII century. It evidently refers to the construction of the atrium and *canonica* by some benefactor of the church. It is not too much to conjecture that in the early years of the XII century the chapter was established, and this event occasioned, first, the reconstruction of the basilica and, subsequently, the building of the atrium and of the *canonica*.

Another inscription recorded the construction of the doors in the year 1254 by the podestà, Alberto, and the judge, Talamacio. Three copies of this inscription have come down to us, differing but slightly from each other. That of Giardini has been cited above. The more exact transcriptions of Zaccaria and Bosio I add below.[26]

In 1563 the Collegio Borromeo was founded on the land adjoining the church of S. Giovanni di Borgo, and to this new institution S. Carlo assigned the revenues of S. Maiolo of Pavia, and of the abbeys of Calvenzano and Morimondo.[27]

In 1578, perhaps in consequence of this foundation, the church was restored, as we learn from an inscription preserved by Bosio.[28]

In the year 1811 (according to most authorities), or in 1818 (according to Giardini), the church was completely destroyed to make room for a new wing of the palazzo of the Collegio. Nothing remained *in situ*, except some remains of the foundations of the apse which may still be seen in the garden. The great number of capitals and bits of carved decoration which the church contained were scattered about in various places, but were chiefly used to construct the new canal to Milan. The brothers Sacchi tell us that certain capitals rescued from this ignoble usage were collected in the garden of the Villa Meriggi at Villanterio, in the suburbs of Pavia. These fragments still exist in that garden, where I was able to inspect them in 1912. Other fragments in the time of the Sacchi existed in the hands of various private individuals at Pavia and at Milan, but the destiny of these I have been unable to trace, unless it be that they are included among the fragments now

[26] Ibidem in lignis portibus templi
super lamina ferrea
Albertus de Summo Papiensis Potestas, et Talamacius iudex, et Aduocatus istam Clauderiam fecerunt fieri rectam MCCLIV d. XII Iulij.
(*Memoriae Ticinenses Nouantiquae*, Hieronymi Bossii. MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 123).
In lamella ferrea ligneis Templi portis infixa:
ALBERTVS DE SVMMO PAPIENSIS POTESTAS| ET TALAMACIVS EIVS IVDEX, ET ADVOCATVS ISTAM| CLAVDERIAM FECERVNT FIERI RECTAM MCC| LIV D. XII. IVLII. (Zaccaria, 207).

[27] Giardini, 111.

[28] Ad S. Ioannis in Burgo.
In limine templi
Ecclesia Collegiata S. Ioannis in Burgo MDLXXVIII (*MS. cit.*, f. 123).

preserved in the Museo Civico of Pavia. Most of the fragments in the Museum, however, were acquired in 1901, and were rescued from the Naviglio.[29]

III. From the descriptions and drawings the main structural forms of the edifice can be determined. It is evident that it consisted of a nave two double bays long, two side aisles surmounted by galleries, transepts with eastern niches, a choir, and an apse. The nave was undoubtedly covered with rib vaults, the transepts and choir with barrel vaults, the crossing with a Lombard cupola. Notwithstanding the alternation of the system and of the side-aisle responds, the vigorous buttresses were uniform. The choir was raised over the crypt, which still exists. In front of the edifice extended an atrium destroyed before the church itself. The masonry, to judge from that which still exists, was composed of cross-hatched bricks, laid with a fair amount of regularity.

IV. The fragments at Villanterio include four splayed, undecorated capitals with colonnettes; two fragments, perhaps of abaci, decorated with rinceaux, anthemia and grotesques; a large block (probably a capital of a pilaster), having, on the face, a relief of Daniel between two lions; on the side, vines; four bases of colonnettes; an abacus with rinceaux; two colonnettes and capitals; three corbels, and an entire portal. These fragments have been utilized to build a mausoleum in the garden. On the back of certain fragments are sepulchral inscriptions, principally of members of the Vitali family (which formerly inhabited the Villa Meriggi). The inscriptions are many of them so weathered that they are no longer legible, but the dates 1590, 1620, and 1765, are unmistakable in three. The question consequently arises, if these fragments came from S. Giovanni in Borgo (demolished in 1811) how did they happen to be inscribed with epitaphs in one case more than two hundred years older? The authority of the Sacchi that the fragments really came from S. Giovanni in Borgo is so weighty, that I have little doubt that the owner of the villa caused these inscriptions, referring to his ancestors, to be sculptured upon the fragments in the early years of the XIX century, and subsequent to their removal.

The fragments in the Museo Civico include several figure sculptures. On the capital of a pilaster are shown three knights on horse-back, fighting against three others. A prostrate knight lies in the centre. All the knights have shields, spears and armour (No. 36). Samson and the lion are represented on a sort of plaque. Another capital shows Daniel in the lions' den (No. 7). A fragment of sculpture contains a relief of an archangel similar to those of S. Michele, and probably belonged to the tympanum of a portal (No. 47). Another shows a bishop between two angels. Two fragments still preserve their frescoed decoration. There is also in the Museum a capital (No. 2), carved to represent a siren whose breasts are eaten by

[29] *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria,* Anno I, 1901, 234.

a serpent. This capital seems very similar to the one described by the Sacchi as existing in the house *alla Mostiola*. The finest fragment of all, however, is the statue of a bishop (Plate 167, Fig. 2), his right hand raised in benediction, the left grasping a crosier. The identity of this saint is not clear. The use of the pallium would seem to indicate that in reality an archbishop is represented, but there appears to be no reason why an archbishop should have been included among the saints particularly revered in the basilica. The use of a halo proves that this is not the figure of a donor or benefactor of the church. Most peculiar is the head-dress, which is not a mitre of the accustomed form, but a sort of skullcap. The technique of this statue shows the hard, dry manner characteristic of the plastic works at S. Ambrogio at Milan, and at S. Michele and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia. Notwithstanding the rigidity of the attitude, the conventionality of the drapery, the lifeless expression of the face, and the lack of anatomy, the sculpture is very carefully executed. The details of the ornament are laboriously worked, and each detail is executed in a conscientious (if uninspired) manner. This sculpture is very closely related to the even finer figure of a bishop at S. Gervasio.

The ornament of the façade need not be described, since it is shown in the drawing of the Collegio Borromeo (Plate 167, Fig. 4).

V. Structurally the church of S. Giovanni in Borgo evidently belonged to the same family as S. Ambrogio at Milan (c. 1085)—Plate 116—S. Michele at Pavia (c. 1100)—Plate 172—and S. Savino at Piacenza (1107)—Plate 183—in that the nave was covered with rib vaults constructed on the alternate system. S. Giovanni in Borgo, however, appears to have been the latest member of the family. Giardini, in the passage quoted above, compares the church with S. Michele, but says that it was more lofty, more luminous and that its arches were lighter. This seems to show that the construction was later and more advanced, and not improbably indicates a developed clearstory above the galleries. The atrium, it is true, recalls S. Ambrogio at Milan, but it was in all probability also intended to erect an atrium in front of the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132), and one actually existed in front of the ancient dual cathedral of S. Stefano and S. Maria del Popolo. On the other hand, S. Giovanni was clearly earlier than S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, because the vaults were erected on an alternate, not on a uniform, system.

A study of the ornament from the point of view of style brings us to the same conclusion that S. Giovanni in Borgo is about half-way between S. Michele (c. 1100) and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132). The door jambs carved with monsters seem to have been similar to those of S. Ambrogio (c. 1185) and the northern portal of S. Michele, but a study of the extant capitals shows that while they lack the refinement of the carved decoration in S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, they still show a large proportion of figure sculptures, and a technique more advanced than that of S. Michele. The

statue of the archbishop (Plate 167, Fig. 2), while executed entirely in the Pavese style and without any trace of the influence of Guglielmo da Modena, is nevertheless notably finer and more advanced than any sculptures at S. Michele. The design of the façade as a whole is similarly intermediate between S. Michele and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The grouped shafts forming buttresses at the façade of S. Michele are supplanted in S. Giovanni (as at S. Pietro) by heavy buttresses; and minor divisions, formed of grouped shafts, are introduced at S. Giovanni (as at S. Pietro) in the central division—a motive which shows a distinct advance over S. Michele, where the central division is severely plain. At S. Pietro the two side divisions of the façade are similarly subdivided by grouped buttresses, but at S. Giovanni this motive was not developed so far, and only a single shaft rises from either side of the bifora of the second story. At S. Giovanni—as at S. Pietro—a cornice of double arched corbel-tables crowned the façade above the open gallery, a motive lacking at S. Michele. The cornice of S. Pietro is, however, more advanced than that of S. Giovanni, in that a crowning ornament is supplied for the buttresses, whereas, at S. Giovanni, as at S. Michele, they were severely plain. The principal portal of S. Giovanni was surmounted by a triangular gable, enclosed within a string-course supported on two colonnettes. This motive, entirely lacking at S. Michele, was still further developed at S. Pietro. In view of all these points of style, in which S. Giovanni appears to have been intermediate between S. Michele (c. 1100) and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132), the church of S. Giovanni may be confidently ascribed to c. 1120.

PAVIA, S. LANFRANCO

(Plate 168, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. The church of S. Lanfranco, which lies about two kilometres to the west of the city of Pavia, on the north bank of the Ticino, has been studied from an architectural point of view by De Dartein[1] and Stiehl.[2] The historical notices relating to the church have been gathered by Robolini and Agnelli, both of whom have published important documents relating to the monastery. Prelini has described the edifice at length, but shows himself unable to throw new light upon its obscure history.

II. According to a manuscript of Bosio cited by Robolini, the church of S. Sepolcro was founded by monks of Vallombrosa in the year 1090.[3]

[1] 288. [2] 14.

[3] Robolini, III, 69, 301. Bosio in turn cites a manuscript chronicle of Lupi. The monks of Vallombrosa were in this year taken under the apostolic protection by a bull of Urban II. (Tomassetti, II, 133).

The S. Sepolcro founded in 1090 is none other than the existing church of S. Lanfranco. The anonymous writer of the XIV century says of this edifice: "The church of S. Sepolcro has the same length, width and height as the sepulchre of our Lord. In this church lies the body of Lanfranco, bishop of Pavia, who was renowned for almost innumerable miracles. For this reason the church is called by the people S. Lanfranco, although the bishop was never canonized. There is a monastery of monks of Vallombrosa attached."[4] The *Catalogo Rodobaldino*[5] and the Anonimo del Parata[6] also refer to the church under the two titles of S. Sepolcro and S. Lanfranco. The change of name is likewise recorded in the inscription (of the late XV century) on the urn of the saint.[7]

The Vallombrosan monastery of S. Sepolcro at Pavia is mentioned in an authentic document of 1123.[8]

In view of the certainty that the monastery was founded in 1090, it is more than a little surprising to find in Robolini[9] the following notice copied from a slip of Bertolasi: "In the parchment manuscript of S. Lanfranco of Pavia entitled *Funus Monasticum* and which is very ancient, we read on the second page, which has been two thirds cut in two, the time in which this our church of S. Sepolcro, commonly called S. Lanfranco, was consecrated. The author, after having given a list of the relics placed in different altars in the church, writes of the sixth and last altar dedicated to S. Bartolomeo as follows: 'This altar was consecrated by Rodobaldo II, bishop of Pavia, on April 28, that is on the day of the consecration of this church, in the

[4] Ecclesia S. Sepulcri, in qua est forma Sepulcri Dominici secundùm longitudinem, latitudinem, & altitudinem. In hac Ecclesia jacet Corpus Lanfranchi Episcopi Papiæ, multis miraculis, & quasi innumerabilibus gloriosi; & ob hoc vulgo vocatur illa Ecclesia nomine S. Lanfranchi licèt non fuerit canonizatus. Monasterium Monachorum Vallisumbrosæ. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, VI, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 14). . . . Ecclesiam S. Sepulchri, ubi est similitudo & forma Sepulcri Domini. (*Ibid.*, XVII, ed. M., 37).

[5] In monasterio sancti sepulcri extra muros papie. In ecclesia dicti monasterij quod hodie appellatur monasterium sancti lanfranchi iacet corpus sancti lanfranchi episcopi papiensi et Episcopus Bernardus et Iacet a parte sinistra et corpus sancte bonememoric. (*Catalogo Rodobaldino*, ed. Boni e Majocchi, 31).

[6] In Ecclesia Scù Monasterio Sancti Sepulcri scù S.ti Sepulcri [legendum est S. Lanfranci] iacet corpus S.ti Lafranchi Episcopi Papię in medio sponde muri uersus meridiem, et corpus Bernardi Episcopi uersus nullā horam etc. (*De Origine Civitatis Papiae*, MS. known as Anonimo del Parata, No. 46, Ticinense, University Library, Pavia).

[7] Prelini, 19 f.

[8] Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yesu Christi 1123 quartodecimo die mensis iunii, indictione prima Monasterio sancti Marci foris civitate Placencie constructo, nec non et Monasterio sancti Sepulcri foris civitate Papie ordinato non multum longe a Fluvio Tissini quod est superpositum predicto Monasterio et congregationi Vallis Umbrose, Nos etc. . . . (Agnelli, *Spigolature*).

[9] IV, pt. 1, 428.

year of our Lord 1236,' etc. On the last page of this book we read at what time the first fathers came to found this monastery, as well as the dates of the foundation of Gerico and of Mostiola, both convents of our nuns. The words are as follows: '1190. It is said that certain brothers came into this valley which is called Vernasca, to build this monastery. 1144. The convent which is called Gerico was begun. 1215. The convent which is called Mostiola was begun. 1237. The campanile of this monastery was built and erected by the grace of God and by Guglielmo, archpriest. 1257. The façade and the west end of the church of this monastery were erected by the grace of God and by the assistance of Guglielmo, archpriest of Pavia. This archpriest died in the same year on the eighth day of March.' On August 26, 1784, I copied the above from a manuscript lent me by Signor D. Siro Beretta, professor of Oriental languages in the University of Pavia. He had formerly been a monk and abbot of S. Lanfranco."[10]

We have already seen that the monastery was founded, not in 1190, but in 1090. Consequently, either Bertolasi or the author of the manuscript made a mistake of a century in giving this date. It may very probably be that the altar of S. Bartolomeo was dedicated by the bishop Rodobaldo II (1215-1234) in 1234. The manuscript however does not say that the church itself was consecrated this year; it might well be interpreted to mean that the altar was consecrated on April 28, which was the anniversary of the consecration of the church. A greater difficulty is offered by the statements that the campanile was built in 1237 and the façade in 1257. It is known that there was an archpriest of the name of Guglielmo living at Pavia at about this

[10] Nel Libro manuscritto in carta pecora di S. Lanfranco di Pavia intitolato *Funus monasticum* bene antico si legge alla seconda Carta quale è tagliata per due terzi a traverso, il tempo nel quale fu consecrata questa nostra Chiesa di S. Sepolcro vulgo di S. Lanfranco, poichè dopo aver lo Scrittore registrato le Reliquie poste in varj Altari di detta Chiesa nel sesto e ultimo Altare di quel tempio quale chiama di S. Bartolomeo così scrive

"*Consecratum est idem Altare a Do.no Rubaldo Cepolla Ep.po Papiensi quarto Kal. maii die videlicet consecrationis ipsius Ecclesiæ An. a nativitate D.ni MCCXXXVI. Indictione ecc.*" Nell'ultima Carta di detto Libro si legge quando vennero i primi Padri a fondare questo Monastero siccome la fondazione di Jerico e della Mostiola ambedue Monasteri di nostre Monache e sono le seguenti parole

"*MCXC. Fertur quod quidam Fratres venerunt in hac valle quae dicitur Vernasca causa haedificandi hoc Caenobium.*"

"*MCXLIV. Cepit hedificare Monasterium Sororum quod dicitur Jerico.*"

"*MCCXV Caepit hedificare Monasterium Sororum quod nominatur Montis Oliveti.*"

"*MCCXXXVII Factum et hedifactum est Campanile Monasterii hujus per Dei gratiam et per Do.m W. Archp.m.*"

"*MCCLVII. Factus est aspectus et frons Ecclesiae hujus Monasterii per Dei gratiam et adminiculum W. PP. Archipresbiteri*" quale morì l'anno stesso alli 8 di marzo. 1784. 26. agosto Copiato da un manuscritto imprestatomi dal Professore di Lingue Orientali nella Regia Università di Pavia Sig. D. Siro Beretta, quale era prima monaco di S. Lanfranco suddetto e è stato anche Abbate.

time.[11] Such a coincidence, however, is not absolutely conclusive, for the name was not an uncommon one in Lombardy in the Middle Ages, and there may well have been another archpriest with the same name a century earlier. The chief difficulty with these notices is the fact that both the campanile and the façade are in the style not of the XIII century but in that of the XII century. Unless, therefore, the notices refer to a restoration, all traces of which have since disappeared, we are forced to conjecture that here too there is an error of a century, and that the campanile was really erected not in 1237, but in 1137, and the façade, not in 1257, but in 1157.

In 1158 the emperor Barbarossa took the monastery under his imperial protection. Subsequently the abbey became involved in numerous litigations chiefly with the monks of Fontana.[12] At the end of the XII century the bishop Lanfranco retired to the monastery of S. Sepolcro, where he died in 1198, and was buried in the church.[13] Since he was accounted a saint by the populace, his tomb became the object of great veneration, and the monastery of S. Sepolcro, as we have seen, came to be called by his name.

The smaller cloisters were erected in 1467,[14] the larger ones slightly later. In 1782 the commendam was suppressed.

III. The church consists of a single-aisled nave (Plate 168, Fig. 2) of four bays, projecting transepts, a square modern choir without crypt, and a campanile (Plate 168, Fig. 1). To the south of the church are remains of two exquisite Renaissance cloisters. The transepts are barrel-vaulted, a Lombard dome rises over the crossing, and the nave is covered with groin vaults (Plate 168, Fig. 2). These groin vaults are broader than they are long, are slightly domed, and are supplied with rectangular wall ribs, semicircular in elevation, with transverse arches in two orders, much depressed. The soffit of the vaults is covered with plaster, so that it is impossible to inspect the masonry. The system (Plate 168, Fig. 2), which is continuous, provides supports for the wall ribs and each order of the transverse arches, comprising thus five members, of which the central one is semicircular. The vaults are reinforced externally by vigorous square buttresses.

The church was originally lighted by one long, narrow, round-headed window in each bay, but these have all been walled up, and baroceo windows opened. The campanile (Plate 168, Fig. 1, 5) is a rectangular structure of five stories, the uppermost of which is a belfry, lighted by a triforium in each face.

The whole edifice has suffered much in the baroceo period when the existing choir (Plate 168, Fig. 4) was erected, the nave walls raised, and the interior smudged with whitewash. The character of the masonry makes it evident that the original construction of the campanile and the church

[11] Robolini, *loc. cit.* [12] Agnelli, *op. cit.*
[13] Robolini, III, 208. [14] Prelini, 29.

were about contemporary. Long, broad, flat bricks of regular size and shape are skilfully laid in thin beds of mortar. In the campanile are many square scaffolding holes.

IV. The capitals of the interior are all of cubic type and simple design. They are applied only to the colonnettes, not to the spurs of the responds (Plate 168, Fig. 2, 4). The bases are of Attic profile and supplied with griffes. In the north and south sides of the cupola are coupled windows with archivolts in three unmoulded orders.

The façade (Plate 168, Fig. 3) is characterized by octagonal shafts, double arched corbel-tables, a gallery and inlaid plaques of pottery; the latter are particularly worthy of study because they are among the best preserved in Lombardy. The rose-window of the façade is the result of a later alteration, but the two oculi by which it is flanked are ancient (Plate 168, Fig. 3). On the jambs of the portal are consecration crosses.

The cupola is adorned externally with a gallery like that of the façade, and the campanile is ornamented with arched corbel-tables, supported on pilaster strips.

V. The simplicity of the architecture and the poverty of ornament make it extremely difficult to determine with precision the date of S. Lanfranco. The character of the masonry, however, is so advanced that it is certain the church could not have been begun before c. 1130, and consequently a considerable time after the foundation in 1090. The gallery of the cupola is more primitive than the galleries of S. Lazaro (Plate 169, Fig. 2, 4)—1157. I am therefore inclined to believe that the edifice was consecrated not in 1236, as the puzzling documentary evidence would have it, but in 1136. The campanile (Plate 168, Fig. 1, 5) similarly shows the style of the fourth decade of the XII century, and was consequently more probably built in 1137 than in 1237. The façade of S. Lanfranco (Plate 168, Fig. 3) shows close analogies with that of S. Lazaro (Plate 170, Fig. 1), an authentically dated monument of 1157, but is more primitive in that arched corbel-tables are employed instead of flat corbel-tables, and in that there are no fine mouldings. The façade of S. Lanfranco is therefore probably contemporary with the remainder of the edifice.

PAVIA, S. LAZARO

(Plate 169, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 170, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The beautiful little chapel of S. Lazaro, which has recently been declared a national monument, is situated about a kilometre and a half to the south-east of Pavia, outside the Porta Garibaldi, and not far from the high road which leads to Piacenza. The edifice has been studied by De Dartein.

II. There is extant a document of September 29, 1157, by which a certain Gislenzone and his two sons give to the hospital of S. Lazaro and its church which they had erected, the land upon which that church stood.[1] It is, therefore, certain that the chapel of S. Lazaro was built very shortly before 1157.

The only other document relating to the church that I know is the brief reference to the chapel and the hospital given by the anonymous writer of the XIV century.[2]

An inscription in the interior of the church records a restoration carried out in 1840. The building is at present desecrated, and serves as a storehouse for the adjoining farm.

III. The chapel consists of a single-aisled nave (Plate 169, Fig. 1) and a semicircular apse (Plate 169, Fig. 2). The nave is at present covered with a barrel vault, but this was obviously erected in the barocco period when the interior was smudged with whitewash and the existing square windows opened. This vault, however, probably replaces an earlier groin vault to reinforce which the heavy rectangular buttresses were added to the north wall (Plate 169, Fig. 3). The apse arch in two orders describes in elevation not a semicircle but an irregular curve, which tends towards a pointed form (Plate 169, Fig. 1). The half dome therefore was probably rebuilt in the XIV century.

The original masonry (Plate 169, Fig. 3, 4) consisted of bricks of regular

[1] Anno Dominice Incarnationis Millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo septimo quarto Die chalende Januarj Indictione quinta Infirmis Beati Lazari de capite Burgi Sancti Petri in Verzolo et Caxe et Ecclesie eorum coram Domino Petro Episcopo hujus Ticinensis Civitatis. Nos Girinzonus Saglibene de burgo Sancti Joannis et Sirus atque Malastreva Germani filii suprascripti Girinzoni patre nostro nobis consentiente et subtus confirmante. Offertores et donatores predictorum Infirmorum et Caxe atque Ecclesiae eorum presentes presentibus diximus quisquis in Sanctis ac venerabilibus locis ex suis rebus aliquid contulerit iuxta auctoris vocem in hoc seculo centuplum accipiet, et insuper quod melius est vitam possidebit eternam. Ideo nos qui supra Pater et filius donamus et offerimus a presenti die pro animarum nostrarum mercede idest nostram integram portionem de tota illa terra quam habere, et tenere visi sumus ibi in vale Saglibenorum iuxta suprascriptam Caxam suprascriptorum Imfirmorum antea et retro versus statam, et versus ticinum iuxta Vernabulam. . . . Illam terram super quam suprascripta Ecclesia Sancti Lazari per nos quos supra patrem, et filios est hedificata juris nostri cum accessibus et ingressibus, et omnibus honoribus, quidquid suprascripte terre pertinentibus in integrum sine ullo tenore: quam autem suprascriptam terram totam et terram super quam suprascripta Ecclesia Sancti Lazari est hedificata que est nostra integra portio cum area sua juris nostri superius dictam cum accessionibus et ingressibus suis seu cum superioribus et inferioribus suprascriptis qualiter supra legitur in integrum in eosdem Infirmos universaliter, et Caxam et Ecclesiam eorum ab hac die donamus et offerimus pro animarum nostrarum mercede. (Robolini, III, 284 f.).

[2] Ecclesia S. Lazari Confessoris, Hospitale. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, VI, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 14).

shape, laid in perfectly horizontal courses and separated by very thin beds of mortar. Herring-bone work does not occur. There are numerous square scaffolding holes.

IV. The capitals are for the most part cubic, or else of a broad-leaved, almost Gothic type (Plate 170, Fig. 2). In the triple window of the façade (Plate 170, Fig. 1) are two capitals apparently of the VIII century, used as second-hand material. The shafts of the principal portal have inverted capitals for bases (Plate 170, Fig. 1). Notable are the terra-cotta colonnettes in the galleries of the side wall (Plate 169, Fig. 4). The exterior of the edifice is adorned with miniature galleries, resembling arched corbel-tables carried on free-standing colonnettes (Plate 169, Fig. 2, 3, 4; Plate 170, Fig. 1). In the apse (Plate 169, Fig. 2) these corbel-tables are supported at intervals by narrow pilaster strips. In the façade (Plate 170, Fig. 1) the cornice of flat corbel-tables is supported on shafts. The apse cornice is formed of a saw-tooth ornament (Plate 169, Fig. 2), and saw teeth are used freely elsewhere in the edifice (Plate 169, Fig. 3, 4; Plate 170, Fig. 1). Elaborate mouldings are used in the apse windows (Plate 169, Fig. 2) and in the blind arches of the façade (Plate 170, Fig. 1). The façade was once adorned with inlaid disks of porcelain which, however, have almost entirely disappeared. Both the principal (Plate 170, Fig. 1) and northern (Plate 170, Fig. 2) portals had roll-mouldings.

On the apse are remains of frescos, apparently of the Quattrocento.

V. S. Lazaro is of importance not only for its æsthetic charm (being, indeed, perhaps the most perfect example extant of Lombard decoration of the middle of the XII century), but also because it is an authentically dated monument of 1157.

PAVIA, S. MARIA DEL POPOLO

(Plate 171, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. The ruins of the ancient cathedral church of S. Maria Maggiore have been studied and sumptuously illustrated by De Dartein, whose observations are so much the more valuable in that he was able to study the edifice when it was in better preservation than it is at present.[1] The description of the brothers Sacchi, although written much earlier, is disappointing.[2] In 1886 Brambilla

[1] Il n'y avait qu'une porte sur la façade. Les piliers tous pareils au nombre de cinq pour chaque file, formaient six travées: dans les cinq premières, les compartiments étaient barrelongs sur la grande nef et sensiblement carrés dans les collatéraux. L'inverse avait lieu pour la sixième travée qu'occupait le sanctuaire. La nef principale était couverte par des voûtes d'arête; une amorce d'arc encore subsistante montre que ces voûtes avaient des nervures diagonales à section rectangulaire. (De Dartein, 296).

[2] Questa chiesa era a tre navi ad otto pilastri. . . . Alla confessione si scendeva per due scale, e intatta tuttora se ne serba un' apertura alla sinistra del riguardante,

published an extended monograph upon the mosaic, and this work is of value for the coloured facsimile of the drawing now in the Museo Civico. The mosaic has also been illustrated by Venturi.[3]

A restoration of the façade of the church published in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*[4] is of value because made before the destruction of important portions of the edifice. Another restoration of the façade and a half-tone of the extant portal is contained in the little book of Annoni in the Bonomi series. In the sacristy of the new Duomo is preserved a faded photograph showing the façade as it was before 1894. The most important document for the restoration of the recently destroyed portions of the building is, however, the account of the demolition of the ancient façade published by Moiraghi. This is illustrated with three photographs made before or during the demolition.

For the study of the site of the primitive cathedral of Pavia the monograph of Bosisio is particularly important. The large work of Malaspina upon the new Duomo, published in 1816, contains detailed notices of the gradual destruction of the ancient churches of S. Maria del Popolo and S. Stefano. In the history of Robolini are contained important observations upon the history of the edifice. Troya[5] has published various versions of the celebrated inscription of the VIII century, on the basis of which he has attempted to work out a critical text.

II. "S. Epifanio, in order that the churches of God might no longer lie in ashes, resolved to rebuild them before he had gathered money and resources sufficient for this purpose, and he did not fear to erect costly buildings, although he had not laid by funds. . . . And now the construction of the cathedral had been finished, and the edifice had even been consecrated, when suddenly the walls and columns of another church were overturned by the power of the cunning devil. For the demon wished to try whether, by means of repeated annoyances, he could pervert the saint; but the latter only opposed him the more valiantly and was not vanquished by diabolic wiles, and immediately applied himself, with great zeal and without showing any anger, to repairing the second church. All the faithful wondered at a great miracle which took place; for workmen fell from the dome of the church together with a heavy engine, yet none of them was lamed or mutilated in any part of his body. It was evident to all that they thus escaped because the bishop prayed that the ruin might sustain its weight, and the fall of the stones be checked. Advanced by the wonderfully competent direction of the saint, the

sul cui arco erano fregi del tempo in arenaria, de' quali appena scopresi la traccia. . . . indubitato è che avesse [la facciata] una sola porta, perchè l'Anonimo, descrivendola unita a Santo-Stefano, dice che ne aveano quattro, tre delle quali abbiamo detto essere quelle della prima chiesa, e pare fino alla metà fosse la facciata stessa rivestita di pietra arenaria, il rimanente saliva a mattoni, alternando ogni quattro fila di essi una zona di due sassi bianchi. . . . (Sacchi, 90).

[3] III, 425. [4] Anno XXIII, 1896, 421. [5] III, 553-555.

work was finished. The restoration of the cathedral was begun by its completion. The house of God was entirely rebuilt in its former size almost before it had been begun."[6]

There is an ancient tradition that the cathedral, the reconstruction of which about 476 is recorded in this passage of Ennodio, was the church of S. Maria that in later times constituted one part of the dual cathedral. In the anonymous writer of the XIV century we read: "The church of S. Maria Maggiore adjoins the church of S. Stefano and these two together form the cathedral. The summer basilica is S. Stefano, and is placed to the north. In the winter basilica, which is S. Maria, and which is placed to the south, the canons celebrate the offices in winter. In this lies the body of S. Crispino I, who was the seventh bishop of Pavia, translated hither from Terra Arsa, by Giovanni Bono, bishop of Pavia. At the time of the translation of S. Crispino many miracles were performed. This church of S. Maria was destroyed by fire together with another one by Odoacer. It was restored by the power of the heavenly hosts and by the merits of Epifanio, our bishop, as a cathedral and collegiate church."[7]

There is, however, considerable doubt whether the anonymous writer of the XIV century was right in identifying the church of S. Maria del Popolo,

[6] Post quem adscitus in regnum Odovacris tanto cultu insignem virum coepit honorare, ut omnium decessorum suorum circa eum officia praecederet. interea ne diu favillis domicilia divina premerentur, ante gloriosus antistes reaedificandi sumpsit animum quam expensas aut substantiam praeparandi. ingentis pretii fabricas sine nummorum adtollere condito non expavit . . . iam iamque tamen fastigia perfectionis maioris ecclesiae opus adtigerat aedificio et dedicationis insignibus adornato, extemplo alterius ecclesiae cum columnatus repente paries impulsu callidi serpentis eiectus est. voluit experiri, si multiplici eius posset vexatione subverti. at ille violentior, ne malis eius cederet, adsurgebat et continuo sine alicuius passionis indicio ad reparationem ipsius plena se aviditate succinxit. nimio tamen universitas tenebatur miraculo, quod ab ipso templi tholo artifices cum ingenti machina corruerunt, nullus tamen eorum aut crure debilis factus est aut aliqua membrorum parte truncatus. quod orationibus episcopi contigisse cunctorum sensibus patuit, ut molem propriam ruina sustineret et a casu suo lapides suspenderentur. stupendo tamen ordinationis eius cursu supra dicti operis perfectionem labor accepit. nam consummato maioris ecclesiae reparationem orditur. raptim ad fastigia priscae incolumitatis surrexisse conspexit domum dei, qui necdum conpererat inchoatam. (Ennodi, *Vita Epifani*, 101-103, ed. Vogel, *Mon. Ger. Hist. Auct. Ant.*, VII, 96, 31-97, 14).

[7] Ecclesia S. Mariæ Majoris contigua Ecclesiæ S. Stephani, quæ sunt pro Ecclesia Cathedrali; in Basilica enim æstivali, quæ est S. Stephani in Aquilone, celebrant in æstate Canonici; in Basilica verò hyemali S. Mariæ in Meridie celebrant in hyeme, in qua jacet corpus S. Crispini primi, qui fuit septimus Episcopus Papiensis, cujus corpus illuc translatum est de Ecclesia S. Martini in Terra arsa per Joannem Bonum Episcopum Papiensem, in qua Sancti Crispini translatione virtutes factæ sunt plures. Hæc Ecclesia S. Mariæ cùm fuisset destructa incendio simul cum alia per Odoacrem Tyranum, Angelica virtute restaurata est meritis Epiphanii Episcopi nostri. Canonica Cathedralis. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, II, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 8).

part of the dual cathedral in his day, with the cathedral church rebuilt about 476 by S. Epifanio. It is certain that the first cathedral of Pavia was the church of SS. Protasio e Gervasio. The Anonimo del Parata tells us that this first cathedral was built by S. Siro with the aid of a fabulous king who lived 540 years, and that S. Siro himself was buried in the cathedral church of S. Gervasio in the year of Christ 100. S. Siro is said to have been buried at S. Gervasio, but six hundred years later his body was translated to S. Stefano.[8] Amid all the fabulous details the tradition that the first cathedral of Pavia was the church of S. Gervasio, and that this was founded by S. Siro, rings out as worthy of faith. The same tradition is repeated by Gualla[9] and Puricelli.[10] It is, moreover, certain that the cathedral could not have

[8] . . . . . a Beato Syro primo Papię episcopo, qui populum eiusdem ad Christi fidem conuersit, hac enim Ciuitate ad optatū finem perducta Rex Papienius nobile et ornatissimum templum in eadem Ciuitate in gloria et exaltationis Diuini numinis edificari iussit eo in loco ubi Columba Chyvographum seu scriptulū ore ei' decidit, quę scriptura, seu scriptulum transumpsit, in facie dicti templi prędicti ad perpetuam memoriam imprimi iussit eo anno, et tempore dum prefatę Ciuitatis prima inicecta fuissent fondamenta, Rex Papienius prędictus erat ętatis suę anno 419. uixitque post eius constructionem annos 121., et sic in totum uixit annos 540. (*De Origine Civitatis Papiae,* MS. known as Anonimo del Parata, No. 46, Ticinese, University Library, Pavia, f. 2). . . . Vixitquè dictus Syrus Antistes Beatissimus eius in Episcopatu Papiensi annos quinquag.ta quinque, multaquè miranda in eius uita, et post mortem ostendit, anno autem Christi 100 iussit se uerò in eccl'ia maiori tunc, nunc antèm S.ti Gernasij nomen assumpsit, tumulari, quo in templo spatio annorum 600. ossa eius quiescunt demum translata sunt in ecclesia Maiori Papię in medio confessoris [.] ad Laudem et gloriā summi Dei amici, et conscriptū de origine eius factum est, et de eius nobilitate et eius generositate [.] magis pateat, et Corpora Sancta, et reliquas in dicta Ciuitate, et Diocesi recondita et reconditas, et in quibus ecclesiis et locis specificè registj, etiam infras'ta [= infrascripta] sigillatim tractabimus. (*Ibid.,* 3). The following catalogue of relics is from an official list made by the bishop Robaldo in 1236:

Primo in Ecclesia Maiori, quę Beatę Virgini gloriosmę Marię et Sancto Stefano Prothomar.ri consecreta fuit sunt infras'ta corpora Sanc[torum] secundū ordinem in infras[crip]ta recundita.

In confessorio uerius partem S.ti Stefani iacet corpus Ven.lis Patris Syri Episcopi Papiensis. Carmina reperta ante sepultura paruam Syri in lapide marmoreo scripta u'le [= videlicet]

Annis centenis cum nono dec. mense repletis
Iam tumulus Syri Patris nostri hic ex tempore Christi

Et in eodem confessorio iacet corpus etc. (*Ibid.,* 4). Item de subtus ubi cantatur euangeliū in spargo de ferro iacet corpus S.ti Anastasii etc. (*Ibid.*).

[9] Erecto deniq; primo cathedrali templo sub vocabulo diuorum: Geruasij: atqu; Prothasij: populoq; in Catholica fide confirmato . . . Obijt sanctus Syrus anno salutis secūdo [et] centesimo Pontificatus q[ui]nquagesimo sexto: . . . eodē in delubro sepelitur. . . . In ea etia; sacra Ede: venerāde reliquie quiescūt sanctorū. s. Crisanti presbyteri: presbyterij ordinatione a diuo patre Syro consecrati. Fortunati itē cōfessoris. Daynneti, Bonini atq; Satyri martyrio coronati. (Gualla, 8).

[10] *Dis. Naz.,* Cap. XXI, 127 f.

been transferred to its present site before 476, because it is definitely known that in the year 525 it was still without the walls of the city.[11] It must therefore have been the church of S. Gervasio that S. Epifanio rebuilt. In fact, it was only in the second half of the VII century that the cathedral was moved from S. Gervasio. Bosisio[12] has published a notice preserved on a manuscript slip of Bosio to the effect that S. Damiano, who became bishop of Pavia in 680, built a baptistery and an episcopal palace.[13] There can be no doubt that the construction of these accessory edifices was occasioned by the removal of the cathedral from S. Gervasio to S. Stefano.

From this time S. Stefano continued to be the chief seat of the bishop. In the VIII century, however, S. Maria del Popolo was added to S. Stefano as an accessory structure. The two buildings served together as dual cathedral, the church of S. Maria to the southward being officiated in winter, that of S. Stefano in summer.

An inscription perhaps composed in the XII century, and found when a chapel of the old cathedral was demolished in 1709, doubtless refers to the foundation of S. Maria del Popolo. The original stone is unfortunately no longer in existence, and the several extant copies show considerable variation among themselves. If, however, due regard be held to the leonine metre, it is not difficult to restore approximately the original reading, and especially to perceive that the last word, instead of being the monstrous English word *God* intruded out of a clear sky, is really merely an abbreviation for *gaudent*. The inscription, as I restore the text, is to the following effect: "In the name of the Virgin to whom this church is dedicated. In the time of the excellent king Luitprando, Anso founded this temple which he adorned externally with beautiful marble, and internally with the splendour of many metals. Those who pray to the dear Virgin Mary in her own temple are heard in Heaven, and their vows reap reward."[14]

The dual cathedral of S. Maria and S. Stefano is referred to in the time of the bishop Giovanni III (912-924).[15]

[11] Bosisio, 27. [12] 32.

[13] ✝ 680 S. Damianus Biscossia Papiensis ab anno 680 ad 710. Obiit die 12 aprilis. Jacet in summo templo. Eximius Theologus. . . . Episcopus vero anno sequenti [680] creatus in Patria aedes Episcopii sibi et successoribus construxit ac duos sacros fontes suo aere ad baptismata facienda excitavit.

[14] NOMINE QUOD VOCITANS ORNAVIT MARMORE PULCRO
INTIMA CUM VARII TEMPLI FULGORE METALLI
TEMPLUM DN̄O DEVOTUS CONDEDIT ANSO
TEMPORE PRAECELSI LIUTPRANDI DENIQUE REGIS
AEDIBUS IN PROPRIIS MARIAE VIRGINIS ALMAE
OR[A]NTES PENITRENT HINC COELOS, VOTA GOD̄ [*sic*, lege gaudent]. (Troya, III, 553-555. See also Zaccaria, 206).

[15] Bosisio, 54.

In regard to the subsequent history of the churches of S. Maria and S. Stefano the documents are silent. The style of the architecture makes it evident that both were rebuilt in the Romanesque period, but no notice of the reconstruction has come down to us. In the XIII century the clergy of the cathedral had been formed into a chapter regular[16] and Robolini believes that such a chapter existed at least as early as 1045.[17]

The description of the church made by the anonymous writer in the XIV century is of such interest that it merits quotation. "In the cathedral church and in many others are several chapels amply endowed."[18] "The cathedral church, because it is formed of two churches which adjoin each other and are not separated by any wall, is almost two hundred feet broad. Nevertheless it is vaulted throughout, and has columns. Before the façade is a piazza which is called the atrium, and this is as long as the church is broad and longer, and here all the year round may be bought all articles necessary for human life. . . . The statue of Prudence [the corresponding statues of three other virtues were placed in the various city gates] is placed in the middle of the summer cathedral, on the left-hand side as one enters, and to the north of the axis of the church. . . . The city of Pavia is wonderfully beautiful, not only because of the loftiness of its innumerable towers, but also because of the height of the palaces and churches. Three of the latter, that is, S. Michele Maggiore, S. Giovanni in Borgo, and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, are larger than many cathedrals, yet are smaller than the two churches which serve as the cathedral of Pavia and which eclipse all other churches of the city. Several other churches indeed are only a little smaller than the three mentioned, or almost of the same size. Several of the larger churches are roofed with leaden tiles, especially the cathedral and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The campanile of the cathedral, although inferior in height to several towers belonging to laymen, since it seems never to have been completed, nevertheless surpasses all in its width. A stone stairway constructed in the centre of the wall from angle to angle, gives access to the upper portions, and there are similar stairways leading to the roofs in many of the other churches, either straight like these or else spiral. Of the churches there are about fifteen which have great crypts with vaults and marble columns. Such crypts are commonly called *confessoria* and in them rest the bodies of saints in marble sarcophagi. Several churches have mosaic pavements in different colours with figured scenes and inscriptions. Some have stone sculptures or wonderful reliefs purely decorative or with figured subjects on the façade and side walls, and notable among others in this respect is the church of S. Michele Maggiore, which is decorated with figures of admirable and incredible beauty. Some of these

[16] Robolini, II, 219. [17] *Ibid.*, 322.

[18] Tam in Ecclesia Cathedrali, quàm in multis aliis sunt Capellaniæ plures sufficienter dotatæ . . . (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiæ*, XV, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 33).

churches were dedicated by the Roman pontiffs, very many by other bishops. The cathedral church has four doors in the façade. The other principal churches have each three doors in the façade as well as lateral doors. All the churches, both large and small, have in the centre a screen to separate the men from the women, and this rail is completely solid, and has no openings nor windows, so that the women can not see the altar, except through one opening in the middle in the screens of the smaller churches, or three openings in those of the larger churches, and even these openings may be closed when necessary during the celebration of the offices."[19]

"There is in both basilicas of the cathedral a very beautiful pulpit, erected over a vault and carved with different images and figured sculptures in stone, or plaster, and from these pulpits is read the word of God out of the Gospels, the Epistles, or the evening lessons. Both of these pulpits have two lecterns in stone, one for the Gospels, the other for the Epistles and the lessons. And that of the summer basilica looks to the south and that of the winter basilica

[19] Ecclesia Cathedralis, eo quòd ex duabus Eclesiis perficitur, sinè medio parietc contiguis, quemdam magnum prætendit in latitudine cursum in tertiam ferè partem stadii, habens nihilominus testudines undique cum columnis, ante cujus frontem est Platea, quæ dicitur Atrium, æquæ longitudinis Ecclesiæ latitudinis & ampliùs, in qua toto anno possunt omnia humanæ vitæ necessaria venalia reperiri etc. . . . At verò Prudentia in medio Basilicæ æstivalis Cathedralis Ecclesiæ magìs versùs sinistram partem in Aquilonarem in corde Templi. . . . [Civitas] mirabilem præbet aspectum non solùm ob innumerabilium celsitudinem Turrium, sed etiam propter Palatiorum, & Ecclesiarum sublimitatem, quarum tres, scilicet S. Michaëlis Majoris, S. Joannis in Burgo & S. Petri in Cœlo-aureo, sua magnitudine multas Cathedrales Ecclesias superant, exceptis duabus illis, quæ sunt pro Cathedrali, quæ omnibus aliis eminent. Aliarum verò quamplurimæ sunt paulò minores illis tribus, in quasi æquales. Quædam majores Ecclesiæ tegulis plumbeis sunt coopertæ, præsertim Ecclesia major, seu Cathedralis & S. Petri in Cœlo-aureo. Campanile verò Majoris Ecclesiæ, licet plures sint ibi Turres Laicorum paulò celsiores illo, quod videtur etiam non fuisse completum, latitudine tamen superat universas; quòd per lapideas scalas ab angulo in angulum in medio muri concavatas ascenditur, sicut & plures ipsarum Ecclesiarum, quæ possunt in tecta per hujusmodi gradus, & cocleas circumeuntes ascendi. Ex ipsis Ecclesiis quindecim vel circa reperiuntur, quæ cryptas maximas cum testudinibus, & columnis marmoreis habent, quæ vulgò Confessoria vocantur, in quibus SS. Corpora requiescunt inter marmoreas arcas. Plures Ecclesiæ pavimentum habent minutis lapillis stratum, ex quibus per diversos colores historiales imagines, & literæ sunt formatæ. Quædam in frontium & laterum lapidibus saxeis extrinsecus sculptas, seu cælatas habent diversas mirabiliter & figuras; & maximè inter alias Ecclesia S. Michaëlis Majoris, quæ incredibili & admirabili pulchritudine decoratur. Quædam ipsarum Ecclesiarum per Romanos Pontifices, quamplurimæ per alios sunt Episcopos dedicatæ. Ecclesia Cathedralis quatuor habet portas in fronte. Reliquæ verò post illam Majores Ecclesiæ tres habent portas in fronte singulæ, præter portas collaterales. Habent autem omnes tam magnæ, quàm parvæ Ecclesiæ in medio murum cancellorum, quibus separantur à mulieribus viri, totum solidum sinè foraminibus, vel fenestris, unde non possunt mulieres Altare videre, nisi per unum ostium in medio in parvis Ecclesiis, in majoribus verò per tria ostia, quæ, cùm necesse fuerit, possunt claudi valvis, celebratis officiis. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* XI, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 17, 18, 19).

looks to the north. All the larger churches and many of the others have pulpits. . . . All the larger churches have a sacristy for which special revenues are appropriated. There are likewise special revenues for the *fabbriche*, particularly in the cathedral."[20]

The anonymous writer speaks of the tower of the commune as being very broad.[21] This tower was none other than the campanile of the cathedral, as may be gathered from the following passage: "They make all these processions amid the ringing of all the bells of the commune which are in the great campanile, for in addition to the innumerable bells of the other smaller churches the cathedral or the commune has several very large ones, the sound of which can be heard for six miles and more."[22]

In 1487 it was determined to demolish the ancient dual cathedral, and to erect a new church in the Renaissance style. In 1488 the ancient baptistery was destroyed.[23] Work upon the new cathedral proceeded slowly, and in 1526 it was found necessary to restore the old church of S. Stefano. At this epoch S. Stefano was walled off from S. Maria, which had already fallen into ruin, and which was finally closed in 1576. Little by little the new Renaissance Duomo was extended to the westward, and the corresponding portions of the old church of S. Maria destroyed. In 1854, while certain of the old piers were being demolished to make room for the absidioles of two chapels of the new structure, a remarkable mosaic pavement came to light. This was unfortunately broken into small pieces by removal, but a facsimile in colour made on the spot is now preserved in the Museo Civico, together with the original fragments. In the same museum are also preserved several architectural fragments coming from the church.

The work of demolishing the old cathedral continued almost to our own times, and as late as 1894 the notable ancient façade was barbarously destroyed to make place for the existing ugly construction. This deplorable work, to the eternal shame of the city of Pavia, was carried on without protest, with

[20] Est enim in utraque Basilica [cathedralis] pulpitum pulcherrimum utramque super testudinem factum habens diversas imagines, & historias sculptas in saxis, vel gyso, ad pronunciandum Dei verbum, vel Evangelium, Epistolas, vel Lectiones nocturnas. Habet enim utrumque duo Lectorilia lapidea, unum pro Evangelio, aliud pro Epistola, vel Lectionibus quorum unum Basilicæ æstivalis respicit ad Meridiem, aliud verò Basilicæ hyemalis respicit ad Aquilonem. Omnes majores Ecclesiæ, & plures aliæ pulpitum habent. . . . Omnes majores Ecclesiæ Sacristiam habent, & pro illa reditus deputatos; similiter reditus pro Fabrica Ecclesiæ, præsertim Ecclesia Cathedralis. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiæ*, XIX, XX, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 41-42).

[21] *Ibid.*, 24.

[22] Faciunt autem omnes has Processiones cum pulsationibus campanarum Communis tantùm, quæ sunt in campanili majori; nam præter campanas aliarum Ecclesiarum minorum innumerabiles major Ecclesia seu Commune plures maximas habet, quarum sonus per sex & ampliùs millia passuum audire potest. (*Ibid.*, 35).

[23] Bosisio, 44.

the exception of a feeble and ineffectual remonstrance on the part of Beltrami. Moiraghi's account of the destruction is so valuable and important for the study of the architecture of the church, that I cite below the most significant passages.[24]

[24] Liberato l'interno della facciata dai posteriori ingombri, apparvero colonne, capitelli, fregi e cordonature del più bello stile lombardo in gran parte perfettamente conservati. . . . Tosto infatti apparvero, anche nella parte più alta della facciata, le quattro elegantissime finestre bifore ed una feritoia, con graziose colonnine, e capitelli molto semplicemente fregiati. . . . Levato in gran parte l'intonaco, che copriva la facciata, la quale si manifestò corrente dalla Torre della Città fino al primo ordine di camere, che s'addossava alla sinistra del muraglione chiudente a destra l'androne, si scoprirono sulla facciata segnate sette arcate, delle quali quelle sprovviste di porte s'adornavano con fregio d'arenaria, corrente orizzontalmente a legare i due opposti capitelli. Indizii di peduzzi e di mensole, per sostenere gli archi, che formavano l'atrio antestante alla basilica, il famoso atrio di S. Siro, già prima evidenti, dopo questi saggi, apparvero visibilissimi. . . . Fu facile scoprire anche l'antica porta maggiore di S. Stefano; la quale all'interno si presentò coll'arco formato da mattoni regolarmente intersecati da arenaria, ed all'esterno ornata di fregi e cordonature, parte dei quali fu certo tolta e usata per ornare le tre porte che si formarono, sulla gradinata, per accedere all'androne, non prima del secolo XVII. Questa altissima porta maggiore primitiva s'apriva di sopra e alla sinistra della porticina minore sinistra dell'androne. Della porta minore destra finora non apparvero traccie. . . . Le ricerche [sulla facciata di S. Maria del Popolo] furono coronate dalla fortunata scoperta della elegantissima porta [centrale] della basilica iemale; la quale porta, pur avendo un fianco ed il sommo dell'arco distrutti, ed alcune parti assai guaste, presenta di sè sì bell' aspetto, da gareggiare coi migliori edifici congeneri. . . . Ritornando ora ad accennare le principali scoperte avvenute nell'interno delle basiliche, diremo che di S. Stefano rimane quasi intatta la nave minore sinistra, nelle sue varie superfetazioni. In mezzo alle sconciature prodotte dall'adattamento ad uso di cantine o di abitazioni, apparve tosto in un sotterraneo parte della *banchina,* che girava intorno al muro interno della basilica. Levate le recenti murature e tolti i sobrii capitelli, in terra cotta, acconciatura del secolo XV, od anche più tardiva, si scopersero intere le due prime campate della navata minore sinistra, la prima più ricca per fregi e per materiale che non l'altra, e gli avanzi delle successive. L'arco è formato dalla connessione regolare di mattoni e di arenaria; il pilastro è tutto di arenaria, ed i capitelli, che nel Santo Stefano sono sempre più riccamente lavorati che non in S. Maria del Popolo, sono di arenaria, fregiati con draghi, chimere, agnelli, aquile, basilischi, centauri e sfingi, con alcune teste umane, ben lavorate, ed imberbi. Nel muro, che chiudeva a settentrione la basilica, alle colonne della navata corrispondono le lesene, con capitelli assai guasti. Si scorgono quà e là traccie di pitture antichissime, a cui furono sovrapposte altre più recenti. Notevolissimo è il secondo pilone, formato da mattoni con capitello in arenaria, ornato da un graziosissimo affresco. . . . È gentile lavoro del Rinascimento che pur troppo sta per scomparire. Questa colonna in laterizio riveste una colonna marmorea, con ricco capitello, certo avanzo del tempio pagano [*sic*]. . . . Corrispondente alla linea della colonna, che riveste il capitello, e la colonna romana, s'è scoperto dalla parte destra del muro, che terminava l'androne, un' altra colonna di granito, sormontata però da capitello longobardo, che sporgeva dal muro ed in parte era visibile nell'angolo, anche prima dei lavori di demolizione. Partendo da questa colonna per giungere alla facciata, si trovò, incastrata nel muro, altra colonna, avanzo del tempio pagano. Essa era formata da due pezzi, uno di marmo pario, scanellato, guasto da una parte,

III. Only the southern side aisle (Plate 171, Fig. 3), portions of the northern arcade (Plate 171, Fig. 2) and part of the crypt of the cathedral of S. Maria del Popolo survive, and these have suffered so severely from being converted into private houses that it is exceedingly difficult to trace the original dispositions. It is evident, however, that the church had three aisles separated by two rows of five piers. These piers varied among themselves considerably in section, but the system was uniform. Remarkable was the predominance of shafts; certain of the piers appear to have consisted in section entirely of semicircular members. A system of five shafts, the three central ones of which were always semicircular, rose from the pavement to the clearstory (Plate 171, Fig. 2, 3). A peculiarity of the church was the extreme variation of the heights of the arches of the main arcade, of which the westernmost were high, those of the following bay low on the southern side (but on the north side the two westernmost bays appear to have been of the same height), those of the third and fifth bays high, those of the fourth low. The side aisles were covered with groin vaults in the bays with low arches, with barrel vaults in the bays with high arches. The barrel vaults of the first, fourth and sixth bays of the southern side aisle were covered by transverse gable roofs, which must have given to the exterior a bizarre appearance. According to Brambilla, who saw the edifice when it was in better preservation than it is now, the façade of each of these transepts (I know of no other name to give them) was characterized by a semicircular window, a cornice with saw-tooth mouldings, and inlaid majolica plaques. De Dartein states that the nave was covered by a rib vault, clear traces of which were still extant in his time.

somigliante a quel monolito, che serviva già di base a bassorilievo d'Ati e che, di maggiore diametro, stava nell'androne, a destra, accanto al muro, che nella stessa posizione nascondeva le due mezze colonne ora scoperte. Al frammento scanellato serviva di sostegno altro pezzo di colonna, di granito, quasi liscio, con base allargantesi e terminata in quadrato, difesa negli angoli da rudimentale foglia protezionale. Un'epigrafe vi doveva essere incisa, ma finora non vi abbiamo letto che un MI nella prima linea, e un VI nell'ultima, con poche altre lettere, di grandi dimensioni, ma assai corrose. . . . Dal S. Stefano si passava alla gemina Basilica di S. Maria del Popolo. Le colonne, gli archi, le mensole, i capitelli, ed i peduzzi qui scoperti ci fanno ritenere che le due basiliche sorsero contemporaneamente, tanto è regolare l'intersecazione dei muri ed uguale il materiale di fabbrica. Che originariamente esistesse un muro divisorio tra le basiliche, non è finora emerso. Solo converrà notare che l'ornamentazione dei capitelli di S. Maria del Popolo è molto più semplice di quella di S. Stefano. Rappresentano ordinariamente foglie, alberi con due o tre rami, rose, pochi animali, e dei più comuni, rarissime figure umane, e queste assai rozze ed appena sbozzate. Nell'interno della basilica di S. Maria del Popolo . . . si sono scoperti alcuni pregevoli frammenti del suo celebre mosaico, e le due prime arcate della navata minore sinistra, e conseguentemente quattro colonne, in laterizio con capitelli di marmo e fregi assai sobrii. Le mezze colonne addossate al muro di facciata ed i loro capitelli sono assai deperiti. Sopra la prima colonna, verso la navata maggiore di questa basilica esistono preziosissimi avanzi di affreschi, che forse risalgono ad una età anteriore al mille. . . . (Moiraghi).

The crypt extended under the choir and the side aisles. At first glance, it appears to be a later edition of the edifice, since half of one of the upper piers of the church penetrates the wall, and the base of this pier is placed much higher than the floor of the crypt. In style, however, the capitals of the crypt are identical with those of the nave, and it is therefore probable that this peculiar method of construction was merely due to the anxiety of the builders to supply a sufficiently firm foundation for the great piers. The crypt was walled off from the church by a solid wall, pierced with doorways, one of which, opening into the southern side aisle, is still extant. The surviving portion of the crypt contains remains of six bays. The domed groin vaults are supplied with wall ribs.

The ancient ambo was described by Brambilla (who saw it when the edifice was in much better condition than it is at present) in the following words: "To the exterior wall of the crypt was added in a remote epoch and for a purpose which is unknown, another construction with a little groined vault, supported on one side by a colonnette resting upon the ancient base moulding.[25] Another peculiar construction, which is also not contemporary with the remainder of the edifice, is that which may be seen in the existing ruin between the third and fourth piers on the right. It consists on the outer side of an arch of fine bricks different from those of the original edifice in shape, colour and material. On this arch, on transverse arches and on the side-aisle wall is supported a rib vault covering the space over the corresponding side aisle. The diagonals are joined by a keystone of marble on which is sculptured the Lamb of God. The ambo, it will be remembered, was accurately described by the anonymous writer of the XIV century in a passage cited above. It is evident that it was added to the original structure perhaps in the XIII century.

The groin vaults of the side aisle, which are still preserved, have transverse arches in two orders. They are constructed of bricks laid in regular courses like ashlar. These vaults, however, have probably been reconstructed or at least repaired, since in certain cases traces of a board centering may be distinctly seen in the plaster of the soffits.

The portal of S. Maria del Popolo is the only part of the ancient façade of the dual cathedral which still remains in its original position. This portal was placed in the centre of the nave, and appears to have been the only one with which the edifice was supplied.

The masonry of the church consists for the most part of brick, although the capitals and trimmings are executed in stone. The cross-hatched bricks are regular in size and shape, and neatly laid in horizontal courses separated by fairly thick beds of mortar.

[25] This appears to have been not an addition, but part of the original crypt.

IV. The archivolts of the main arcade were unmoulded, of a single order on the side of the nave, and of two orders on the side of the aisle. The western portal, however, has a roll-moulding. Traces of a triangular engaged gable are extant above the arch of this portal.

The capitals for the most part are either figured, foliated or cubic, and are characterized by a certain flabbiness in the execution (Plate 171, Fig. 4). Even the capitals of the crypt, technically excellent as they are, still lack the crisp, incisive feeling characteristic of the other churches of Pavia (Plate 171, Fig. 5). Certain of the acanthus leaves are of a curious dry type which recalls the capitals of S. Flaviano at Montefiascone (Plate 152, Fig. 1). Grotesque figures are frequently inserted among the vegetable ornament, and at times the unearved leaves tend to assume a broad, flat form, suggestive of French Gothic types (Plate 171, Fig. 4). One of the figured capitals has been explained by Brambilla as depicting the union of spiritual and temporal power in the reign of Luitprando. It is more likely that it represented the life of some bishop of Pavia.

The mosaic discovered in the nave near the third pier from the north side represented two scenes from the psychomachia of Prudentius (Plate 171, Fig. 1). In the first was depicted Faith—FI[DES]—a figure entirely destroyed except for the feet, who transfixes Discord—DISCORDIA—with a lance. In the second the vanquished vice—DIS|COR|DIA—is dismembered by Faith—FIDES—and a young man who assists her, and her sundered limbs are eaten by a wolf—LV|P[VS]—and a crow—COR|VVS. These scenes evidently formed part of a large circular disk enclosing a central medallion. Part of the border and one of the angles—which apparently represented grotesque animals—are also shown in the drawing (Plate 171, Fig. 1).

V. S. Maria del Popolo, notwithstanding its extraordinary, and in many ways unique, form, evidently falls between S. Giovanni of Borgo (c. 1120) and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132). It is more advanced than S. Giovanni, in that the system was uniform instead of alternate, and in that the rib vaults of the nave were oblong instead of square in plan. It is less advanced than S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in that the engaged gable of the central portal was placed immediately over the arch, instead of being raised above a horizontal string-course, and in that the diapering of the shafts and roll-moulding of the portal, while similar to the corresponding decoration at S. Pietro (Plate 177, Fig. 1), is less refined and skilful. The execution of the capitals in the coarseness of the workmanship calls to mind S. Giorgio in Palazzo of Milan (1129)—Plate 128, Fig. 5—and S. Flaviano of Montefiascone (c. 1130)—Plate 152, Fig. 1. The monument may consequently be ascribed to c. 1130.

PAVIA, S. MARIA IN BETLEM

(Plate 170, Fig. 3, 4)

I. The first archæologists to study the church of S. Maria in Betlem were the brothers Sacchi, who published in 1829 a description of the edifice which is still of value.[1] A drawing of the façade was published in 1845 in the *Grande Illustrazione*.[2] In this is seen a baroceo portico and above this is a barocco window. It is, therefore, evident that the central part of the existing façade (Plate 170, Fig. 4) has been restored. Exeellent half-tones are eontained in Annoni's hand-book in the Bonomi series.

The historians of Pavia have almost all spoken at greater or less length of S. Maria in Betlem. A manuscript of Bosio preserves a not particularly important inscription which formerly existed in the Renaissance portico.[3] The researches of Cavagna-Sanguiliani deserve especial mention.

II. Romoaldo, on the authority of a manuseript of Bossi (who must be the same as Bosio), states that the hospital of S. Maria in Betlem was founded in the time of the Lombard kings.[4] This, however, is in all probability an error. The hospital was mentioned in a now lost document of 1130.[5] It is mentioned in extant documents of 1132, 1135, 1141, 1148, 1150, 1162, 1164, 1172, 1173, 1181, 1183, and 1190.[6] It may consequently be assumed that the institution was founded not very long before 1130.

In the XIII eentury the hospital was referred to in a doeument of 1257, published by Legé e Gabotto.[7] In the XIV eentury it was described by the anonymous writer in the following words: "The chureh of S. Maria in Betlem is directly dependent upon the bishop of Bethlehem. . . . The hospital is

[1] Le tre navi, che formano l'interno di questa chiesa, sostennero moderne variazioni, se non nella disposizione, almeno nelle forme delle colonne e de' fregi; forse nel 1739, tempo in cui si alzarono i fianchi che portano il tetto, sicchè vennero pari alla cupola. L'abside stessa fu distrutta, avranno venti anni, per allargarvi il coro. Però l'ortografia esterna . . . a meno un portichetto che si costruì innanzi all'unica porta, serba la sua anticha forma. (Sacchi, 103).

[2] I, 758.

[3] in templi uestibulo
Ecclesia parochialis sanctæ Mariæ de Bethleem. (*Memoriae Ticinenses Nouantiquae*, Hieronymi Bossii, MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 175).

[4] Non si hanno certe notizie de' tempi in cui si edificò, pure il Bossi, dietro alcune carte che asserisce aver visitate nell'archivio della cattedrale, la tiene fondata dai re Longobardi, e in molte scritture intorno ad essa dettate verso al mille, in cui si parla d'un antico ospedale di Santa-Caterina a lei unito, la si accenna sempre siccome d'antichissima. (Romualdus a S. Maria, *Papia Sacra*, 1, cites Bossi, MS. Sulle Chiese di Pavia).

[5] Cavagna-Sangiuliani, *Doc.*, 57.

[6] *Ibid.*, 56, 59, 70, 124, 139, 233, 260; Robolini, III, 301. [7] 158.

situated on the other side of the Ticino and is commonly called 'in Betlem.' It is renowned and wealthy, and there are many male and female conversi in it."[8]

According to an inscription still extant the church was consecrated in 1886.

III. The interior of the church was so completely denatured in the barocco period that it is impossible to conjecture what were its original forms. Some remnants of the Lombard construction survive only in the central cupola and in the façade (Plate 170, Fig. 4).

IV. The façade (Plate 170, Fig. 4) is divided into three divisions corresponding to the side aisles by heavy rectangular buttresses. The rake of the gable is followed by double arched corbel-tables supported on octagonal or cylindrical shafts or on pilaster strips, and surmounted by a flat corbel-table and a cornice formed of several rows of saw teeth. Below the corbel-tables is a gallery, peculiar in that its base is stepped, following the rake of the cornice, while the crowns of the arches are often level. The fine central portal (Plate 170, Fig. 3) is moulded and supplied with a richly carved archivolt, and with grotesque capitals. Grotesque sculptures in high relief (Plate 170, Fig. 4), resembling those of S. Michele (Plate 174, Fig. 3), are inlaid on the buttresses. Six windows, all restored in part or in whole, are pierced in the façade (Plate 170, Fig. 4), of which four have the form of moulded oculi, one that of a Greek cross, while one is a biforum. The entire central part of the façade is evidently modern. Most of the porcelain tiles which were once inlaid on this façade have disappeared.

V. The façade of S. Maria in Betlem (Plate 170, Fig. 4) closely resembles that of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (Plate 177, Fig. 3), an edifice consecrated in 1132. In both the composition is divided into three parts by heavy rectangular buttresses. In both there is a series of double arched corbel-tables supported on shafts; in both there is a gallery following the rake of the cornice. Moreover, the masonry of the two edifices is very similar in character. S. Maria in Betlem, however, appears to be somewhat more primitive than S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The windows are in less orders. The portal is simple instead of being surmounted by an engaged pediment. The reliefs inserted in the buttresses of S. Maria in Betlem recall those of S. Michele (Plate 174, Fig. 3), an edifice which dates from c. 1100. The carving of the portal of S. Maria in Betlem (Plate 170, Fig. 3) shows striking analogies with that of S. Maria del Popolo, a monument which dates from c. 1130, but is somewhat more primitive in that it was not surmounted by a triangular

[8] Ecclesia S. Mariæ de Bethlem, quæ immediatè subest Episcopo Bethlemitico. . . . Hospitale ultra Ticinum, quod vulgo dicitur de Bethlem, Nobilissimum, & ditissimum, in quo sunt Conversi & Conversæ multæ. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, V, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 14).

gable. In view of all these considerations S. Maria in Betlem may be ascribed to c. 1129. This accords with the inference to be drawn from the documents that the hospital was founded shortly before 1130.

PAVIA, S. MICHELE

(Plate 172; Plate 173, Fig. 1, 5; Plate 174, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 175, Fig. 1, 2, 4; Plate 176, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)

I. S. Michele of Pavia has always been ranked among the most important and conspicuous edifices of the Lombard style, and has consequently attracted the attention of almost all general historians of art and architecture. Such notices, however, for the most part merely resume what has been said elsewhere of the monument, and contain little that is new or of real scientific value. The serious study of the monument must be founded especially upon three manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Pavia, none of which has been edited. The first is a chronicle entitled *De Origine Civitatis Papiae,* but which is more usually known as the Anonimo del Parata.[1] The Pavia copy was written by Parata in 1543, and taken from an older volume of 1459. The chronicle appears to have been compiled largely on the basis of a document of 1236, but was re-written—or at least received additions—subsequently to 1353, since it mentions a translation of relics performed at this date. The second is by Girolamo Bosio, and is entitled *Memoriae Ticinenses Novantiquae.*[2] This work preserves copies of inscriptions which have now disappeared or have become illegible. It is not older than the XVII century, since it contains a copy of an inscription of 1592. The third manuscript was written by Pietragrassa in 1606, and is entitled *Annotazioni diverse spettanti alla fondazione della regia città di Pavia.*[3]

Of great importance also for the history of S. Michele is the compilation of the XV century, known as the *Catalogo Rodobaldino,* published by Boni and Majocchi. The work of Gualla, first published in 1505, and reprinted in 1587, contains a few historical notices of value. Rossi's history of Ravenna, published in 1589, contains a study of the relics of S. Eleucadio. The antiquarian Castiglioni[4] noticed the church of S. Michele in 1625. In 1690 Ciampini published an illustration and description of the mosaic of the choir, which to-day forms a primary source for the study of this important monument.[5] Romoaldo's *Flavia Papia Sacra,* published in 1699, contains some important notices. In 1785 appeared a history of Pavia by Capsoni, which contains, I believe, the earliest extant illustration[6] of the church of

[1] MS. No. 46, Ticinese. [2] MS. No. 180.
[3] MS. No. 113. This is only a copy of the original work.
[4] 113. [5] II, pt. 2, p. 4. [6] 128.

S. Michele. The archæological revival of the XIX century was marked at Pavia by the appearance of the history of that city by Robolini, a work which remains the standard authority on the subject. This book was published in 1823, and in the same year appeared the large work of Séroux d'Agincourt, which contains several drawings of S. Michele, important because they show the condition of the edifice in the first quarter of the XIX century.[7] Two years later a sumptuous plan[8] and elevation of the façade[9] were published by Voghera. These fine drawings are of the greatest importance, since they show accurately the condition of the edifice before the restoration. Voghera's drawings also include a section of the church,[10] and drawings of the south portal,[11] of a fragment of the mosaic,[12] and of numerous capitals.[13] In 1829 appeared the earliest archæological study of the monument, written by the brothers Sacchi,[14] and still useful because made before the restoration. The valuable work of Giardini appeared in 1830. The plates of Knight,[15] published in 1845, are important. From them it is evident that the present pontile is entirely new. In the perspective view of the interior, the old Renaissance choir, with baroceo altar and raised seventeen steps above the nave, is plainly seen. The drawings show clearly the exterior of the apse and cupola as they were in the middle of the XIX century, and the western portal at a time when its sculptures were much less corroded by the weather than at present. Similarly valuable is the engraving of Zuccagni-Orlandini,[16] published in the same year. In 1848 appeared Terenzio's important description of the mosaic, written at the epoch of its discovery. The illustrations of De Dartein are the most extensive, as well as the most accurate, that have been published of the monument. The writings by the brothers Dell'Acqua comprise a monograph by Carlo (which appeared in 1862); four articles by Carlo on the restoration, two of which were published in 1864, one in 1876, and one in 1894; and two articles on the restoration by Siro, published in 1866. The accounts of the restoration are particularly important. In 1873 Aus'm Weerth published a study of the mosaic. De Fleury, in his work upon *La Messe,*[17] the publication of which was begun in 1883, contributed important observations upon the edifice, and illustrated it in a sumptuous plate.[18] Müntz published an important study of the mosaic in his *Études Iconographiques,*[19] printed in 1887. The best study of the sculptures that has yet appeared is that of Zimmermann,[20] but this author has unfortunately underestimated the age of the edifice, assigning the choir and the transepts to c. 1130, and the façade to c. 1155. The successive studies of Cordero, Cattaneo, and Rivoira have resulted in overthrowing the opinion of local scholars in regard to the fabulous antiquity of the edifice, and in placing its chronology upon a reasonable basis.

[7] IV, Plate XXIV, Fig. 6-15. [8] Plate XV. [9] Plate XVI. [10] Plate XVII. [11] Plate XIX. [12] Plate XXII. [13] Plate XXIII. [14] 39-58. [15] I, Plates XIII, XIV, XV. [16] I, *Lombardo Veneto, Tempi Bassi,* 2, I. [17] III, 29. [18] CXC. [19] 14-15. [20] 56.

Numerous capitals have been illustrated by Venturi.[21] Also of value for its illustrations is the little book of Annoni, published in the Bonomi series. Pretentious photographs have been published by Martin.

II. It is the ancient tradition that S. Michele was founded by Constantine. Bosio has left us the copy of an inscription which in his day existed on the south side of the choir. This inscription reads: "The body of S. Eleucadio was brought to the city of Pavia in the time of Constantine the Great. Formerly Ravenna was ruled by this bishop, but now the altar of this church, where is seen the sculptured image of the saint, contains his relics."[22] Further along in the same manuscript is another copy of the same inscription, with, however, the addition of the date 1573.[23] This gives some reason to believe that the inscription in question was no older than the eighth decade of the XVI century.

The oldest source for the Constantine tradition is the chronicle called the *Anonimo del Parata,* in which we read that the church of S. Michele was founded and constructed by Constantine, "king of Italy," and endowed by the bishop S. Damiano. The chronicler goes on to relate that the church contains the bodies of the saints Damiano, Ennodio, Eleucadio and even that of the king Theodoric.[24]

The same notices are repeated in the *Catalogo Rodobaldino.*[25] Gualla, writing in 1505, was well acquainted with the Constantine tradition, since he states at considerable length his disbelief of it.[26] In Rossi's history of

[21] III, 214 f., 424.

[22] In odaeo ad dextrum latus.

Diui Eleucadij dilatum est corpus in Vrbe Ticini Magno Constantino Imperitante Pastorem hunc habuit quondam longaeua Rauenna Ciuis translatas nunc maior continit ara Relliquias ubi sculpta eius spectatur imago. (Bosio, *MS. cit.,* f. 49 f.).

[23] *Ibid.,* f. 214.

[24] In Ecclesia prędicta Sancti Michaelis maioris quę fuit fundata, et constructa p[er] Constantinum Regem Italię, et dotata p[er] Damianū episcopū iacet corpus dicti Damiani.

Item iacet corpus in dicta Ecc'lia Regis Theodorici.

Item in confessorio dictę Ecclesię iacet corpus S^ti^ Enodij Episcopi Papię et Doctoris Ecclesię qui fuit Episcopus decimus Papię, qui construxit Ecclesiā Sancti Victoris, et ibi prius tumulatus fuit, et deinde ibi translatus.

Item retrò altari quod est primū uersus meridiem extrà confessoriū iacet corpus Eleucadij Archiepiscopi Rauennę. (*De Origine Civitatis Papiae,* MS. known as Anonimo del Parata, No. 46, Ticinese, University Library, Pavia).

[25] In ecclesia sancti michaelis maioris fundata et hedificata per dominum constantinum regem ytalie et deinde dotata per damianum qui ibi iacet, iacet corpus sancti enodij episcopi papiensis et doctoris sancte ecclesie dei in confessore [*sic*].

Item retro altare quod est primum a parte dextra, iacet corpus sancti Eleuchadij archiepiscopi ravene.

Item iacet corpus regis theodorici. (*Catalogo Rodobaldino,* ed. Boni e Majocchi).

[26] Illud nāq; diui Michaelis archangeli delubrum: vt per institutum ordinem temporum gradiar: non a primo Constantino: post que; plures eiusdē nominis principes

Ravenna, written in 1589, occurs the following important passage: "On the fourteenth of February, in the year 112, Eleucadio died. He was buried without the walls of Classe, where, not long afterwards, was built a church in his honour, and this was still standing in the time of Pietro Damiano, and the sacred anniversaries were still celebrated in it. His bones, as many think, were translated to Pavia by Astolfo, king of the Lombards, and placed at S. Michele. In a certain book of this church where there is an account of the relics of the saints who are there buried, we read as follows concerning Eleucadio: "On the right-hand side, in the horn of this church, is the body of S. Eleucadio, archbishop of Ravenna, . . . and it was translated hither from Ravenna by the most Christian emperor Constantine, the son of S. Elena, who founded this basilica in the year of the Nativity of Our Lord, 315, on account of the glorious triumph which he, at the prayers of the standard-bearer, S. Michele, at that time obtained over the Gauls rebellious against his empire."[27] From this passage we learn who was the mysterious king of the Lombards, vaguely referred to by Gualla. We also learn the source of the Constantine tradition. Although we have no means for ascertaining the date of the manuscript which Rossi cites, it is evident that in the church of S. Michele of Pavia there was preserved a document which recorded that the body of S. Eleucadio had been translated from Ravenna by Constantine to be placed by him in the basilica of S. Michele which Constantine had there founded. It is from this source that were undoubtedly derived directly or indirectly all the notices previously cited, as well as the one which still remains to be noticed, namely, that contained in the manuscript of Pietragrassa.[28]

Castiglione, without quoting his authority, states that the church was completed by the piety of the Lombard kings.[29] However this may be, it is certain that the edifice existed at the end of the VII century, since it is mentioned by Paulo Diacono, in connection with events which took place

fideli scripturarum testimonio latio regnasse feruntur. At ab alio italie rege ticinensium cronice attestantur edificatum: eundēq; Constantinum in eo fuisse tumulatum. Cuius gesta: & tempora non referam: quoniam me latent. (Gualla, 39).

[27] Anno duodecimo supra centesimum ab Christi ortu XVI. kal. Mart. obiit [Eleocadius]. Sepultus extra muros Classis: vbi non multo post ædificatum est eius nominis templum, quod Petri Damiani tempore adhuc extabat, inque eo anniuersaria sacra fiebant. Eius ossa deinde, vt pleriq. opinantur, ab Astulpho Longobardorū Rege Ticinum translata sunt, & in D. Michaelis posita. In cuius templi libro quodam, vbi de reliquiis Diuorum quæ ibidem locatæ sunt, fit mentio, hæc de Eleocadio leguntur: A parte dextra, in cornu ipsius templi est corpus sancti Eleocadii Archiepiscopi Rauennatis . . . & Rauenna huc translatum fuit per Christianissimum Imperatorem Constantinum, natum sanctæ Helenæ; qui hanc Basilicam fundavit, anno natiuitatis Domini CCCXV. propter gloriosum triumphū, quem tunc obtinuit contra Gallicos, Imperium non uerentes, precibus signiferi S. Michaelis. (Rossi, 34).

[28] . . . la Chiesa di San Michele da Costantino Magno edificata. (*MS. cit.*, f. 109).

[29] Phanum item D. Michaelis opus est a singulari Longobardorū Regū pietate profectū, in coq; SS Episcopi Aenodius, et Eleucadius perhonorificè conquiescunt. (Castiglione, 113).

about 682.[30] The same author refers to the church again about the year 738.[31] A certain piece of ground was bequeathed to the church in May, 774, by Tuidone of Bergamo,[32] and the church is referred to in a diploma of Lodovico III, of 902.[33]

In 924 the city of Pavia was destroyed by fire. The chroniclers relate: "Vulcan, with strength increased by the winds, descended upon the temples of God and upon the whole city."[34] "The Hungarians, under the leadership of King Berenger whom the Lombards had driven out, devastated Lombardy and burned the populous and wealthy city of Pavia. On that occasion innumerable treasures perished, forty-three churches were burned, and the bishop of Pavia and the bishop of Vercelli who was with him, were killed by the fire and smoke. From the almost innumerable multitude that inhabited the city, only two hundred are said to have been saved alive, and these collected from the ashes of the burned city eight pecks of silver which they gave to the Hungarians, ransoming thus their lives and the walls of the empty city."[35]

In a diploma of Rodolfo of August 18, 924, the church of S. Giovanni Domnarum was confirmed in the possession of all goods which it held "before the city of Pavia was burned by fire."[36] Whether the church of S. Michele was one of the forty-three burned at this time, there is no evidence to prove. It has been supposed that the description of Frodoardo is much exaggerated, since the king was able to live at Pavia a few months after the fire.[37] This fact, however, is not conclusive evidence that the church was not destroyed. Indeed, a document of 935 explicitly states that the imperial palace, which it is known was situated near the church of S. Michele, had just been rebuilt.[38] It is consequently logical to suppose that the church, as well as the palace, was burned in 924.

[30] *Hist. Long.*, V, 3, ed. Waitz, 185.

[31] *Ibid.*, VI, 52, ed. W., 236.

[32] This text has been cited above under S. Giulia of Bonate, Vol. II, p. 162.

[33] Robolini, II, 51.—Congregatis ticinum in ecclesia Beati michaelis archangeli, qui dicitur major, multis fidelibus nostris. (Tiraboschi, *Nonantula*, II, 84).

[34] Vulcanusque suos attollens flatibus artus
Templa Dei, patriamque simul conscendit in omnem. (Liutprandi, *Hist.*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., II, 444).

[35] Hungari ductu Regis Berengarij, quem Langobardi pepulerant, Italiam depopulantur. Papiam quoque, vrbem populosissimam atque opulentissimam, igne succendunt: vbi opes periere innumerabiles. Ecclesiæ XLIII. succensæ, vrbis ipsius Episcopus cum Episcopo Vercellensi, qui secum erat, igne fumòque necatur: atque ex illa penè innumerabili multitudine, ducenti tantùm superfuisse memorantur, qui ex reliquiis vrbis incēsæ, quas inter cineres legerant, argenti modios octo dederunt Hungaris, vitam murósque ciuitatis vacuæ redimentes. (*Chronicon Frodoardi*, ed. Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scrip.*, II, 594).

[36] *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 870.

[37] Giulini, I, 462.

[38] Dum in Dei nomine, Civitate Papia, in Palacium noviter ædificatum ad domnum Ughonem gloriosissimum Rex. . . . (Placito of 935, ed. Affò, I, 340).

Several documents anterior to the year 1000 speak of the church of S. Michele as a monastery.[39] It is probable that the term 'monastery' merely denotes that the edifice was officiated by a body of secular priests, not necessarily canons regular.[40]

In 1004 Pavia was again burned. "On Sunday Enrico was elected in the church of S. Michele called Maggiore and he was crowned on the following day which was Monday, the twelfth of May [*sic;* in the year 1004 the twelfth of May fell on a Friday and Enrico was crowned on Sunday the fourteenth of May]. After he had been crowned the city of Pavia was burned."[41]—"Enrico came to Pavia, and, when the city did not obey him, burned it."[42]—"All the buildings of Pavia which had of old been constructed nobly by the industry of the citizens, were burned."[43] The extent of the damage caused by this fire is likewise unknown, and it is impossible to ascertain whether or not the church of S. Michele suffered by it. The facts that a document of 1005 defines a piece of ground as being not far from the basilica of S. Michele, and that another was executed in the palace near the church of S. Michele[44] are entirely inconclusive.

In Romoaldo we read: "This church of S. Michele . . . was endowed by a certain S. Damiano for this purpose, namely, that it should be erected into a prepositura and collegiate church, officiated by canons, and that there the divine worship might flourish under the direction of the canons regular of St. Augustine living under the rule of that holy father. These canons were taken under the apostolic protection by the pope Paschal II, in the year 1116."[45] In the margin is a reference to a bull in the episcopal archives. While there is no absolute proof, it is natural to conjecture that the chapter

[39] Robolini, II, 29, 215.

[40] In a document of 915 we read: tradidit dominus Luittefredus uenerabilis sancte ticinensis ecclesie presul . . . Rozoni eiusdem ecclesie acolotho abbacias duas quas sunt sitas intra hanc ticinensem ciuitatem in loco que dicitur fora mania unam in honore sancti archangelis michahelis alteram uero in honore sancti iacobi apostoli dicatas. . . . Actum est hoc anno pontificatus domini Luittefredi sanctissimi presulis I. indictione tertia. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.,* VI, 38).

[41] Et in die Dominico, qui fuit die Mensis Madii inter Basilicam Sancti Michaëli, quæ dicitur Majore, fuit electus Henricus, & coronatus in secundo die, qui fuit die Lunæ XII. die Mensis Madi, & coronatus Civitate Papia ab igne combusta fuit. (*Chronicon Regum Italiæ,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IV, 149).

[42] [Henricus] veniens verò Papiam, quum non ad votum sibi obtemperasset, uno totam concremavit incendio. (Arnulphi, *Hist. Med.,* I, XVI, ed. Muratori, IV, 12).

[43] . . . omnibus simul ædificiis Papiae exustis, quæ veterum construxerat industria illustris. (*Chronog. Saxo,* ad ann. 1004, cit. Muratori, R. I. S., IV, 12, note 69).

[44] Dell'Acqua.

[45] Ecclesia hæc . . . à Sancto quodam Damiano dotata fuit, ad hoc, vt in Præposituram, & Canonicam Collegiatam erecta, inibi Diuinus cultus vigeret, quod præstare cæperunt Canonici Regulares S. Augustini, sub eiusdem, scilicet, S. P. Regula viuentes. Qui a Paschale II. Pontifice, anno 1116 sub sua, & Apostolicæ Sedis protectione acceptati fuere. (Romoaldo, I, 28).

regular had been founded in the third quarter of the XI century.[46] It is equally natural to connect the foundation of the chapter with the reconstruction of the basilica, that must have taken place about this time.

The church of S. Michele Maggiore is praised at length by the anonymous writer of the XIV century, who speaks of it, together with S. Giovanni in Borgo and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, as among the most conspicuous edifices in Pavia, and waxes enthusiastic over the sculptures.[47] "The church of S. Michele Maggiore contains the bodies of the holy confessors Eleucadio, bishop of Ravenna, and Ennodio, bishop of Pavia, who was sent to Constantinople by Hormisdas the pope, and converted all the Greeks from the Eutychian heresy. His body was translated hither from the church of S. Vittore which he himself had constructed. There are also other relics of saints. The church is collegiate."[48]

In 1380 a new altar was erected, as is known from an inscription preserved in a rough copy of Bosio.[49]

Another important inscription, also preserved in a rough copy by Bosio, has been published by Robolini[50] very inaccurately. The meaning seems to be: "Since the great vault of the church had to be remade to prevent the ruin of the ancient cupola and transepts, Bartolomeo Negri, the canon, restored this work for the temple, for the canons and for thee, O pious Siro."[51] Now it is known that Bartolomeo Negri was canon of S. Michele in 1456 and 1496.[52] Consequently the choir vault must have been remade in the second

[46] Robolini, III, 91.

[47] This passage has been cited above in connection with S. Maria del Popolo, page 191.

[48] Ecclesia S. Michaëlis Majoris, in qua jacent Corpora SS. Confessorum Eleucadii Episcopi Ravennatis, & Ennodii Episcopi Papiensis, qui missus Constantinopolim ab Hormisda Papa universam gentem Græcorum ab Hæresi Eutychiana convertit, cujus Corpus illuc de Ecclesia S. Victoris, quam ipse construxerat, translatum est. Item sunt ibi aliæ Reliquiæ Sanctorum. Canonica. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, II, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 10).

[49] Ibidem in maxima ara ad latus dextra

✠ 1380 indictione 6 die nonũ Iulij ad honorem Dei et Virginis Mariæ, et Beati Michaelis et Sanctorum Confessorum Ennodij, atque Eleucadij quorum corpora iacent in praesenti . . . . . uenerabilis uir dominus Ioannis de Sancto Gregorio Canonicus Lapicssis [= Lateranensis?], et huius ecclesiæ diaconus fecit fieri hoc opus et consecratum fuit die 28 mensis octobris in festo Apostolorum Simonis et Judæ per R. P. D. AF. dei gratia episcopum Papiensem, ac etiam prędictus dominus Ioannis Maciostratum [?] super positam cum altari fecit proprijs sumptibus fabricari.

[50] IV, 240.

[51] In odai seu chori fastigio
Quum cuperet reficit testudo maxima templi
Tiburium atque alas in vetere exitium
Instauranit opus Niger hoc tum Bartholomacus
Phano huic canonicis vel pie Syre tibi. (*MS. cit.*).

[52] Robolini, IV, 240.

half of the XV century. That the nave vaults were reconstructed about the same time is known from another inscription, also preserved by Bosio, and also inexactly printed by Robolini.[53] "Girolamo of Rosate, prevosto of this sacred edifice, adorned the interior of this church with a hollow vault."[54] Girolamo da Rosate was prevosto of S. Michele in 1496.[55]

Another inscription, preserved by Bosio,[56] recorded a consecration of the altar in 1592. The crypt was restored in 1612.[57]

In 1860 a thorough restoration of the church was begun by Vergani, and continued by Dell'Acqua. The edifice was not reopened for worship until March 4, 1876. The changes consummated at this period included the opening of the two side portals of the façade (which had been walled up), the closing up of a rose-window, the reopening of the old windows walled up in the barocco period (notably the oval-shaped window in the transept), the stripping of the intonaco from the interior, the opening of the portal in the north wall, the restoration of the portal of the southern transept, and the walling-up of the barocco windows throughout the edifice. During the restoration there came to light under the high altar a portion of the mosaic which had been hitherto unknown. The coupled windows of the cupola were remade on the traces of the ancient ones that came to light, but there was no authority for the new choir windows which were erected, nor for the balustrade of the choir. The restorers remade entirely the western vault of the northern side aisle. Until 1860 the tiles of the roof had rested directly upon the vaults in the galleries and transepts. The restorers naturally did not hesitate to remedy this defect in the ancient construction.

The restoration of the portal in the southern wall was particularly radical. The lower parts of the jambs were missing, and in consequence four entire colonnettes were added. Several capitals which were lacking—or much weathered—were replaced by copies of those on the opposite side.

In 1899 a new restoration of the cupola was undertaken.

III. The edifice consists of a nave two double bays long, two side aisles, projecting transepts with eastern niches, a choir of a single bay and a semicircular apse (Plate 172). Chapels were added to the outside walls in the Renaissance period. Beneath the choir and apse is a crypt, and a campanile of which only the base is ancient rises to the east of the north transept. The edifice is entirely vaulted, the nave and choir with rib vaults erected in the XV century (Plate 176, Fig. 5), the transepts with barrel vaults, the apse with a half dome, the crypt, side aisles and gallery with groin vaults, the

[53] IV, 12.

[54] Ibidem in media templi fornice
Hieronymus sacra Rector hac aede Roxatus
Hoc intus ornauit cauia testudine templum. (*MS. cit.*).

[55] Robolini, IV, 12. [56] *MS. cit.*

[57] Anno 1612 renouatum fuit subterraneum Confessorium. (Romoaldo, I, 30).

crossing with a cloistered dome. Without doubt the system of the nave was originally alternate, and square rib vaults covered each a space corresponding to two bays of the side aisles (Plate 176, Fig. 5). To carry these vaults a continuous system of five shafts was engaged on the alternate piers. The intermediate piers had a system of only a single shaft, which was crowned at the level of the gallery by a capital supporting a string-course or flat corbel-table (Plate 176, Fig. 5). When quadripartite oblong vaults were substituted for the original ones in the XV century, the intermediate system was extended by the addition of a flat, pilaster-like member above the capital. Under the nave may still be seen the remains of the ancient square vaults. The easternmost is probably the original one of the XII century, but that to the west of slightly different character shows that the vaults were reconstructed in the last part of the same century. The upper part of the nave walls shows many traces of having been frequently rebuilt and made over. Originally there was doubtless a clearstory, the windows of which are still preserved, above the existing vaults. The ancient cornice has entirely disappeared. It was, however, remade in the late XII century, since a part of a cornice of this epoch, consisting of arched corbel-tables supported on shafts, still exists in the east bay, south side. In the XV century, when the existing vaults were erected, the clearstory was eliminated and a new cornice of flat corbel-tables (Plate 175, Fig. 2) was substituted for the late XII century cornice everywhere, except in the eastern bay of the southern side. To still further strengthen the edifice, transverse walls were erected beneath the transverse arches of the gallery.

In the present condition of the monument it is impossible to say how the nave vaults were reinforced originally, but it is evident that in the XIII century there was a transverse buttress above each of the transverse arches of the galleries, although the system was alternate (Plate 175, Fig. 2). In the XV century these buttresses were all made over. Large cracks abundant in the masonry of the clearstory wall make it perfectly clear why all these reconstructions were necessary.

The choir was perhaps covered originally by a barrel vault. The diagonal ribs of the existing rib vault are somewhat heavier than those of the nave vault, but there is documentary evidence that the two are about contemporary.

The groin vaults of the gallery have wall ribs and are much domed. The soffit is covered with plaster so that the character of the masonry can not be studied. The side-aisle vaults are of similar character, but present the peculiarity that they are so highly domed that the extrados of the crowns rises above the level of the floor of the gallery, causing curious little bumps in the latter which must have seriously impeded the use of this part of the edifice. The octagonal cloistered vault of the cupola is carried on two sets of

conical squinches. The groin vaults of the crypt are domed, and have disappearing ribs.

The western bay of the galleries has been walled up and opens into the nave only by means of a coupled window. This wall was doubtless built in the XV century to reinforce the unstable vault.

The edifice is constructed of stone and brick mixed somewhat arbitrarily. The interior is mostly brick, but the capitals, bases, piers, system, trimmings, etc., are of stone. The change from stone to brick is found throughout the higher portions of the edifice, and was probably made in order to lighten the weight of the upper part of the wall, and does not necessarily indicate a break in the works nor a reconstruction in the XV century. The transition, however, is made very suddenly and irregularly, and produces a strange effect. In the central bay of the façade the tufo employed in the upper part is of an entirely different variety from that used in the work below the line of the vaults. This part of the edifice was therefore probably constructed in the XV century. The façade as a whole is constructed of ashlar masonry in stone, but the archivolts of the gallery are of brick covered with stucco to make them resemble stone. In the stone masonry the joints are very fine and the blocks most carefully cut and laid, but the courses are of uneven depth and frequently broken. In the transept façade and in the clearstory walls more brick and less stone is used than in the west façade. There are numerous square scaffolding holes.

IV. The capitals of S. Michele form a most interesting study (Plate 176, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6). Among the favourite motives are the eagle and a sort of griffin with wings (Plate 176, Fig. 1, 4, 6). Other grotesques of various kinds (Plate 176, Fig. 2, 3) abound as well as rinceaux, interlaces, acanthus leaves, vine patterns, palmettes, anthemia, and decorative forms of similar character. In general the execution of these capitals is somewhat coarse, and lacks the finesse that we find, for example, at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (Plate 178, Fig. 2, 3, 4). On the other hand, the design is more restrained and self-conscious than in the capitals of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 118, Fig. 2; Plate 120, Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5; Plate 122, Fig. 2). The capitals of the crypt (Plate 176, Fig. 2), while different in type from those of the nave, are obviously about contemporary.

Certain capitals of S. Michele show a distinct advance over those of S. Ambrogio in that they represent what are undoubtedly biblical subjects. Adam and Eve are unmistakable, Cain and Abel bring their offerings. An angel and a demon fight for the soul of a dying man, and a naked seated figure, with conical bonnet, between two lions, is in all probability intended to represent Daniel (Plate 176, Fig. 3).

The apse, cupola and façade are all supplied with open galleries (Plate 173, Fig. 5; Plate 175, Fig. 2). The capitals of the façade galleries appear to be somewhat later in style than those of the rest of the edifice, and

one, indeed, is of the XIII century. There is, however, no reason to suppose that this gallery was added after the completion of the edifice, since it is quite similar in style to that of the apse. The threatened ruin of the vaults at the end of the XII century doubtless necessitated its restoration. The eastern bay of the south clearstory still retains its cornice of arched corbel-tables supported on shafts (Plate 175, Fig. 2), a motive which recalls S. Lazaro of Pavia (Plate 169, Fig. 3, 4)—1157—and S. Maria of Calvenzano (Plate 39, Fig. 2)—c. 1140—and shows that this portion of the edifice was reconstructed c. 1160. The cupola has a cornice of blind niches surmounted by a flat corbel-table (Plate 173, Fig. 5). The apse also has a flat corbel-table supported on shafts (Plate 173, Fig. 5), and flat corbel-tables are likewise used to form the cornice for the transept façade and the clearstory of the nave, with the exception of the eastern bay on the southern side already noted (Plate 175, Fig. 2). Most of these flat corbel-tables were probably added either in the XIII or the XV century. However, those of the transept (Plate 173, Fig. 5) and apse (Plate 173, Fig. 5) and those which form the triforium string-course in the interior (Plate 176, Fig. 5), are certainly original. Blind arches supported on engaged colonnettes are used to break the wall surfaces of the apse and transepts internally.

The windows are of characteristic form, being circular, in the shape of a Greek cross, or coupled. One in the transepts is of oval shape, the bottom as well as the top being rounded. This is not, as might be supposed, the result of barocco restoration, since similar windows are found in the church of Vaprio d'Adda and elsewhere. Certain windows of the transepts and apse are in several orders and richly moulded (Plate 173, Fig. 5). The apertures are so large that it is certain that some system of glazing must have been employed.

Among the most richly ornamented portions of the edifice are the portals (Plate 173, Fig. 1; Plate 174, Fig. 3), all in several orders and moulded. Figure sculptures are used in some of the lintels and tympana, but purely decorative or grotesque ornament is more abundant. On the outer jambs of the north portal are grotesque animals climbing up and down, similar to those of the portal of S. Ambrogio. Interlaces, vine patterns, rinceaux, grotesques, palmettes and anthemia abound in almost incredible profusion on jambs, archivolts and architraves. The buttresses of the façade (Plate 174, Fig. 3) and apse (Plate 173, Fig. 5) consist of a group of shafts, and those of the façade (Plate 174, Fig. 3) are carved irregularly with spiral flutings, zigzags and rinceaux.

In the exterior walls of the edifice and particularly in the façade are inlaid at irregular intervals bands of sculptures with figure reliefs, grotesques or bits of pure ornament, such as rinceaux, interlaces, anthemion-like motives and others of similar character. These bands of sculpture are peculiar in that the reliefs project from the wall surface, whereas in the other carvings

of the church the outer surface of the relief is flush with the wall surface, the background merely being depressed. To this circumstance is perhaps due the unfortunate weathering of many of these carvings that makes it to-day almost impossible to recognize their character. The great majority of the reliefs appear to be purely grotesque, and were doubtless designed to *deludere stultos,* as the master-builder of Montefiascone expressed it. Others, however, appear to have a definite content.

On the spur wall at the extreme end of the façade beyond the buttress are three curious and much weathered reliefs. In the first is seen a man on horse-back and another figure behind. The second is so badly weathered as to be now entirely indistinguishable. In the third are depicted two warriors and another figure on horse-back.

In the north bay of the façade are depicted (beginning at the top) five fabulous animals, a woman standing between two trees (the same subject is repeated on one of the capitals in the interior of the church and recalls the representations either of a martyr standing between two palms or of the month of April in the sculptured zodiacs), grotesque animals and human figures, a hunting scene, in which two men are shown carrying an antelope or chamois suspended from a pole that rests on their shoulders, the same scene repeated, a bird that I take to be a peacock, another precisely similar, a bird eating one fish and holding another in its claws, grotesque animals of various sorts, two animals engaged in sexual intercourse and a siren (on the capital). Above the portal is a large relief of a bishop (probably S. Eleucadio), accompanied by two figures, doubtless angels, with censers. In the tympanum is an angel. On the archivolt of the principal portal (Plate 173, Fig. 1) are represented a seated person (David ?) playing the harp, a dog before him; two women, one of whom has a staff, a horse's (?) head between them; five grotesque panels; the Lamb of God, an angel on either side; a crane and a serpent; a seated person blowing an enormous trumpet; a pornographic subject; two birds; a person on horse-back; a seated person holding a child upside down, another at his knees; a person falling headlong.

On the capitals of the jambs Daniel and the lions; a devil; a bishop (perhaps S. Ennodio); S. Michele; two devils.

On the outer face of the jambs: nine animals, one on top of the other; David (?) seated, playing the harp, a girl stands before him (Plate 175, Fig. 4); a man falling, and a person with long hair, his hands raised; three persons at a table; a naked person, blowing a trumpet, seated on a clothed prostrate person with long hair, two other figures in the background (Samson and Delilah?); two men dressing an animal (recalls the December of the zodiacs); a dog biting a stag that stands on his forefeet; an animal fighting against a man with a shield—this is repeated three times; the next is almost the same except that the animal is a dragon; a bird carrying away an animal; a man and a dragon with three heads; a griffin and another animal engaged

in sexual intercourse; two griffins drinking out of a vase; two birds drinking out of a vase.

On the inner face of the jamb: a seated man astride a dolphin; the next three so weathered as to be irrecognizable; a person playing a violin, a small figure before him; a person falling headlong (Pride?); a person with raised hands which are grasped by another (murder of Cain by Abel?); a person bearing a sheaf of wheat to an altar (Cain?); a man and a woman clasping each other by the hand (Luxury?); a person doubled over, holding a staff, a second figure stands on top of him and seizes his hair; a seated person astride a dolphin.

In the central bay are represented (beginning at the top): four men at work (probably hewing a log); a demon seizing a soul; the devil approaching a seated person; five persons and a dog hunting; a deer pursued by a horseman and a dog; Daniel between two lions; two persons perhaps grinding flour; a man between two birds the bills of which he holds; two birds; two persons and a saddled horse (a subject which recalls May in the zodiacs); a stallion eating a plant, with another animal on his back; a bird; Jonah and the whale; a person astride a monster (doubtless Samson and the lion); another similar subject, a naked figure behind; a griffin; a man holding a horn in his left hand and astride a madly galloping stag, a demon flies behind;[58] a man and an animal hold a shield between them; another animal on the back of the first, whose foot is bitten by a dragon; behind the man a griffin; St. George and the dragon (Plate 175, Fig. 1); Samson and the lion again.

Above the central portal is a relief of the archangel S. Michele (Plate 173, Fig. 1), standing on the dragon and holding a flowering sceptre and a ball. The wings of the angel are long and graceful, but the face is expressionless and the drapery is indicated by conventional parallel lines.

In the southern bay are represented in profusion animals of various kinds, persons sometimes riding and sometimes on foot, two men carrying animals suspended on poles from their shoulders, a person carrying an object now impossible to identify, a woman engaged apparently in washing, two men carrying four fish on a pole, Jonah and the whale, more animals, two blacksmiths at work, a person astride a monster, more animals and grotesques, two persons engaged in killing a stag, a man, a lion and a stag, two painters, an old man carrying an animal on a pole over his shoulder and talking to a young man, the Adoration of the Magi, Adam and Eve, two lions hunting a stag. Over the portal is another relief of a bishop, doubtless S. Ennodio. On one of the capitals of the portal are sculptured sixteen heads, on another is an angel. In the tympanum is an angel which, like the angels in the tympanum of the portals, has been restored.

In the spur wall beyond the south buttress are many grotesques, the brazen serpent, and a battle scene. On one side are depicted two knights

[58] This suggests the Theodoric and Peer Gynt legends.

on horse-back, three on foot, one prostrate on the ground, and five heads. On the other one knight on horse-back, six on foot, and a dog.

In the portal of the south wall is depicted in the tympanum an angel, and on the architrave a medallion containing the bust of Christ who gives a scroll to St. Paul and the keys to St. Peter, who is on Christ's left. Above is the inscription (easily restored with the help of Bosio's copy):[59]

ORDINO REX ISTOS SUP[ER] OMNIA RE[GNA MAGISTROS]

In the façade of the south transept is a relief representing the Annunciation. The Madonna is weaving the purple, and at her feet is seated one of the virgins of the temple (Plate 174, Fig. 1). Other reliefs represent an angel, the Madonna and Child (the latter with inscribed halo), a man on horse-back and another person, Jonah and the whale.

In the tympanum of the portal of the north transept is a relief of an angel surrounded by the inscription:

HEC EST DOMVS REFVGII ATQ [C]ONSO[LATIONIS][60]

In the lintel are medallions of SCS NICHOLAVS; Christ, with the inscription: [PER] ME SALVVS ERIT P[ER] ME Q[VI] VOTA VOVEBIT; and S[ANCTVS] ENODIVS. In addition to the figures and carved ornaments, the façade of S. Michele was anciently adorned with coloured tiles inlaid at irregular and unsymmetrical distances. Some of these may still be seen, but the great majority has been torn out. In the choir are preserved fragments of the ancient ambones, but the railing of the pontile is new.

In the choir beneath the altar and elsewhere are remains of a mosaic pavement, now best studied in the drawings of Ciampini and of Siro dell'Acqua, of which the latter is preserved on a roller on the west wall of the north transept (Plate 174, Fig. 2). The centre of the composition showed a labyrinth, in the middle of which was depicted Theseus killing the Minotaur—THESEUS INTRAUIT MONSTRUMQUE BIFORME NECAUIT. At the angles of the labyrinth, bringing its form to that of a square, were four grotesque subjects, as follows: at the south-west angle, the figure of a winged horse, with the inscription, EQVS; at the north-west angle, the figure of a dragon—DRACO—chained by a naked man; at the north-east angle, the figure of a goat—C|APRA—riding astride a wolf at full gallop; in the south-east angle, the figure of a man riding astride a goose which he belabours with a cudgel (Plate 174, Fig. 2). To the east of the labyrinth, and probably also to the north and south of its eastern half, were depicted the year and the months of the year in niches. Of these, only a few were still intact at the time of the restoration. In the niche in the centre, directly east of the labyrinth, was represented the Year—AN|N|V S—crowned and bearing a

[59] *MS. cit.*

[60] The lacunæ are supplied from Bosio's copy. (*MS. cit.*).

sphere and a sceptre, and seated on a throne (Plate 174, Fig. 2). To his right were the two months of March and April; of March there remained only part of the upper portion of the figure, showing the flaming hair, and the two trumpets, held in either hand, and on either side of the mouth (Plate 174, Fig. 2). April—A|P|R|I|L|IS—on the other hand, was well preserved. The figure is that of a bare-headed youth, who bears in either hand three freshly budding branches. To the left of the year was preserved only May—MA|D|I|V|S—represented by the figure of a bare-headed youth cutting hay with a scythe. To the north of the western half of the mosaic was represented David—DAVID—killing Goliath—GOLIA. Of the two inscriptions, the first:

SUM FERUS, & FORTIS CUPIENS DARE VLNERA MORTIS

is evidently spoken by Goliath. The second:

STERNITUR ELATUS, STAT MITIS AD ALTA LEUATUS.[61]

by David. To the south of the western half of the labyrinth was depicted the sea, with fish swimming about in it.

This last subject gives the clue for the symbolical meaning of the mosaic. According to the church-fathers,[62] the sea represents the Church, in which the fish (who symbolize men) swim about and live and have their being. The sea with its fish is used as a background for the works of the months in the mosaic at Piacenza, and there can be no doubt that here the symbolism is the same. The symbolism of the labyrinth with Theseus and the Minotaur is similar. The labyrinth stands for the world, with its many temptations to go astray. Theseus is Christ who conquers the Minotaur, that is, the devil. David also is a well known symbol of Christ, and David's victory over Goliath is the symbol of the victory of the Saviour over sin. The apparently unconnected subjects of the mosaic are, therefore, all bound together by the underlying symbolism. The artist wished to express the dangers and terrible temptations to which man is exposed during the revolution of the months and years, and to indicate that his hope of salvation lay in the Church, and in the victory of Christ over sin.

V. The date of S. Michele has been very much discussed, and possibly no building of Europe has been assigned to such widely differing epochs. In the absence of documentary evidence the only method of determining the period to which it belongs is to compare it with other edifices, the date of which is either known or can be determined. The organic structure of S. Michele is more advanced than that of S. Ambrogio, since the nave vaults were raised above the clearstory, whereas in S. Ambrogio (c. 1070-1090) the clearstory was omitted. On the other hand, the structure appears less advanced

[61] Ciampini, II, pt. 2, 4.

[62] See my article on S. Savino of Piacenza.

than that of S. Savino of Piacenza, consecrated in 1107, for the clearstory of S. Michele was much smaller than is that of S. Savino. Moreover, at S. Michele, the nave vaults were at least partially buttressed by high galleries, whereas at S. Savino, the galleries were dispensed with, and the vaults boldly suspended, reinforced only by the external buttresses of the clearstory walls. S. Michele is less advanced than S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132), because the nave vaults are rectangular in plan.[63] The structural forms of the church therefore are such as we might expect to find in a building erected between 1090 and 1107.

More characteristic however are the ornamental forms of the basilica. The capitals (Plate 176, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6) appear later than those of either the nave (Plate 118, Fig. 2; Plate 122, Fig. 2) or the atrium (Plate 119, Fig. 2; Plate 120, Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5) of S. Ambrogio and hence can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the XII century. A number are carved with figure sculptures, whereas this motive of decoration seems to be just beginning at S. Ambrogio. Moreover the technique of the carving is freer, the design more orderly and unified than is the case with the capitals of the famous church of Milan. The capitals are perhaps less refined than those of the Chiesa d'Aurona in Milan (Plate 114, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 115, Fig. 1) begun in 1099, but this may be explained by supposing a difference of skill on the part of the sculptors of the two edifices. In the rinceaux of the portals and in the applied ornament generally, there is notable at S. Michele to a striking degree the absence of that fineness and minuteness of execution that characterizes to a certain extent the similar ornament of S. Maria del Popolo (c. 1130)—Plate 171, Fig. 4, 5—and much more that of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132)—Plate 177, Fig. 1. These sculptures are also distinctly more barbaric than those of the portal of S. Stefano (c. 1120)—Plate 179, Fig. 5.

Two features of the ornament of S. Michele are extraordinary—the use of flat corbel-tables and of galleries, both motives characteristic of the style of a much later epoch. The earliest example that I know of a gallery used for decorative purposes is at S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115), while flat corbel-tables were not common before the second half of the XII century. Moreover, the buttresses formed of grouped shafts suggest a late date, although something similar is found on the apse of S. Abondio at Como (1095).

The sculptures of S. Michele show close points of contact with those of S. Ambrogio of Milan, and with those of S. Giovanni in Borgo and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, at Pavia, but they are absolutely without points of contact with the sculptures of Guglielmo da Modena, or with those executed by the sculptor of Pontida. Notwithstanding their grotesque and barbaric character, they do not seem to be as early as they would appear at first glance. A certain

[63] This fact however is not conclusive, because the earliest rib vaults that are extant in Lombardy (those of Sannazzaro Sesia) are oblong in plan, whereas the alternate system survived as late as 1129 at S. Giorgio in Palazzo of Milan.

number of the subjects are drawn from the Bible, or from sacred sources. The grotesque element, although prominent, is decidedly less so than at S. Ambrogio and the technique shows a certain development. On the other hand, the sculptures of S. Michele were evidently executed at a period when the influence of the notable works executed at Modena, at Pontida and at Calvenzano, had not yet reached Pavia.

In view of all these considerations I do not hesitate to assign S. Michele of Pavia to c. 1100. So large a building could obviously not have been erected in a single year, and much time must have elapsed between the commencement and the completion of the edifice. However it is difficult to say which parts are the older, for the entire building seems to have been executed according to the same design and in the same style. The vaults and the clearstory wall, as has been seen, were subsequently remade at least twice, and the existing vaults of the nave and the choir are of the second half of the XV century.

PAVIA, S. PIETRO IN CIEL D'ORO

(Plate 177, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 178, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4)

I. The venerable basilica of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, mentioned by Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, and within whose walls Boethius, St. Augustine and Luitprando were buried, is one of the most renowned sanctuaries in all Italy, and has been frequently studied by historians and antiquarians. The manuscript entitled *De Origine Civitatis Papiae,* but commonly called the Anonimo del Parata,[1] contains an important account of the church. Other valuable notices are contained in the *Catalogo Rodobaldino* edited by Boni and Majocchi. The history of Gualla, which was first published in 1505, is important because it contains the earliest extant copy of the epitaph of Luitprando. Breventano, in 1570, published another copy of the epitaph, and added archæological notices of value to the modern student.[2] In 1625 the Milanese antiquarian, Castiglione, printed an account of the church.[3] In 1726 appeared the controversial work of Fontanini,[4] which is of great value because it contains a plan and section of the crypt. From these drawings it is evident that, in the early part of the XVIII century, the crypt consisted of five aisles of seven bays, and thus extended well into the nave. It was divided into two parts by a step and a transverse rail. In 1773 Allegranza[5] published two epitaphs of Boethius. The history of Capsoni,[6] published in 1785, contains an engraving of the façade of the church, showing the Renaissance dome, the campanile, and other features that have since disappeared. Robolini, the classic historian of Pavia, whose work appeared

[1] No. 46, Ticinese, Biblioteca dell'Università di Pavia. [2] 82-84.
[3] 113. [4] 37. [5] *De sepulcris christianis,* Epitaphia, 49. [6] 230.

1823-1838, speaks repeatedly and at length of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The description of Millin,[7] written in 1817, would be of great value were it not for the unfortunate fact that that indefatigable traveller has confounded S. Michele with S. Pietro, so that his statements can not be relied upon. The description of the brothers Sacchi, which appeared in 1829, is so full and important that it deserves to be reprinted.[8] In 1845 Knight[9] published an important elevation of the apse and cupola, showing the church as it was before restoration. Although this engraving is mislabelled as S. Teodoro, it appears to be an accurate and important reproduction of the monument, made in the first half of the XIX century. The elaborate plates of Losé,[10] published in 1867, also form a valuable source for the history of the building in the XIX century. The most sumptuous illustration of the church that has appeared is undoubtedly that of De Dartein, whose plan[11] was made before the restoration. An engraving of the façade as it was before the restoration, and a description of the church, are contained in the notices of Prelini, published in 1877, which are also of value for the modern ecclesiastical history of the monument. The description of Mothes[12] included in that author's general history of Italian architecture, printed in 1884, contains some historical notices of value. In the same year appeared the monograph of Zuradelli, a conscientious work, which, however, is marred by the absence of a sense of archæological criticism. This book contains valuable drawings of the façade and south flank of the church, made before the restoration. The latter is particularly important because it shows the rectangular absidioles and the southern side aisle in ruin. In 1886 a description of the mosaic was published by Brambilla.[13] Another local scholar, Moiraghi, in 1889, offered a more rational explanation of the subjects represented in the mosaic. The pamphlet entitled *Per la Solenne Riapertura,* contains a cut of the façade, showing its condition before the restoration. Two square windows appear on either side of the central portal and baroeco lunettes at the ends of each side aisle. In 1896 Majocchi published a critical study of the various versions

[7] II, 21.

[8] Alla tribuna, a cui salivasi per ampia gradinata, era la confessione che teneva la forma semicircolare dell'abside, e venne distrutta nel secolo XVII, allorchè i frati vollero all'altare unire l'arca di Sant'Agostino. I capitelli de' pilastri offrivano tutti fregi simbolici, de' quali se ne serbano tuttavia intatti sei nella navata sinistra entrando: que' de' pilastri incapati della nave destra non sono più, perchè quella navata fu gittata, que' de' pilastri isolati furono scarpellati e ridotti piani, forse perchè presentavano simboli che furono creduti d'idolatria o poco convenienti alla dignità della chiesa. . . . Nulla possiamo dire delle altre decorazioni interne, perchè mani moderne vi tolsero ogni traccia primitiva, vi aggiunsero dei dipinti, e spesso colorarono anche i bassi-rilievi simbolici superstiti. . . . Then after having mentioned the angel of the central portal: Era scoperta questa porta dell'ambulacro che vi fu tolto avranno alcuni secoli. . . . vi hanno sparse poi ad ornamento [of the façade] molte ciotole varie di grandezza e di colore, dipinte o sgraffite in oro. (Sacchi, 87).

[9] I, Plate XV. [10] 13. [11] Plate LXIV. [12] I, 269. [13] 726-728.

of the epitaph of Luitprando, and attempted to establish a critical text. In the same year there appeared in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*[14] a photograph of the cupola made before the recent restoration. For an account of this restoration the work of Talini should be consulted. The sculptures were studied by Zimmermann[15] in 1897. In 1898 Stiehl,[16] who had the advantage of seeing the edifice during the recent restoration, and hence before it had lost important portions of the original structure, published a number of notes of value. In 1904 Venturi[17] included in his general history of Italian art a reference to the mosaic.

II. Considerable obscurity surrounds the origin of the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. There is a generally accepted tradition that the philosopher Boethius, who died in 526, was here buried. This tradition, although it can not be traced back farther than an inscription cited by the anonymous writer of the XIV century,[18] was universally believed in later times—witness the two epitaphs of Boethius which existed in the church in the time of Allegranza. There is, nevertheless, at least a possibility that the body of the philosopher was translated to S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro from some other place of burial, and long after his death, so that the existence of the church in the VI century is not proved.

In Paolo Diacono we read: "In the year 604, the singer Peter was struck by lightning in the basilica of S. Pietro the Apostle at Pavia."[19] This probably indicates the existence of the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in the opening years of the VII century, although it is impossible to prove that Paolo by S. Pietro means our church. The anonymous writer of the XIV century mentions three other churches dedicated to S. Pietro at Pavia: S. Pietro Appodiato, near the church of S. Felice, S. Pietro *ad Murum*, and S. Pietro *ad Vincula*. Moreover, it is the constant tradition at Pavia that S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro existed before Luitprando founded the monastery. An inscription preserved for us by Bosio, and in his time placed near the stairs of the choir, stated that Luitprando, the renowned king of the Lombards, on account of the translation of the body of St. Augustine, restored the church, and endowed the monastery.[20] In the important account of the church in the Anonimo del Parata the foundation of the basilica is even referred to S. Siro. "In the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro lie two bones of the body of king

[14] Anno 23, 424. [15] 25. [16] 16. [17] III, 422.

[18] See text cited below, p. 219.

[19] Eodem tempore [604] . . . apud Ticinum quoque in basilica beati Petri apostoli Petrus cantor fulmine ictus est. (Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Lang.*, IV, 31, ed. Waitz, 159).

[20] prope scalas chori
Liutprandus Longobardorum Rex inclytus ob translatum diui Augustini corpus templum hoc simul . . . . . coenobium religiosis inibi degentibus cum dote instaurauit. (*Memoriae Ticenenses Nouantiquae*, Hieronymi Bossii, MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 81).

Luitprando, and the bones of the body of king Asprando, his nephew. This church was first built by the blessed father S. Siro, but was enlarged and endowed by king Luitprando. In it lies the body of St. Augustine, the bishop, and near the stairway which leads to the high altar, on the south side, is the body of Severinus Boethius, and of Torquatus, both philosophers. Likewise, in the middle by the tomb of King Aliprando, lies the body of S. Luitprando, abbot of the above-mentioned monastery; and near the tomb of the king, in a certain little sarcophagus, which is in the wall of the choir-screen of the said church, on the southern side, lies the body of St. David."[21] Finally, it is known that a diploma was conceded to the church by Ariberto I (653 to 660). This diploma is referred to in another one of Luitprando which has since disappeared, but which was seen by Mabillon in 1686.[22] It is also referred to in a diploma of the X century still extant.[23] It is, therefore, nearly certain that such a diploma existed. It should be noticed that Paolo Diacono, in his account of the foundation of the monastery, says nothing of the *church* having been constructed by Luitprando.[24] The anonymous writer of the XIV century implicitly states that Luitprando enlarged the church, which, it is therefore to be understood, pre-existed.[25] The *Cronica de Corporibus* even ascribes the foundation of the monastery (meaning thereby doubtless the church) to Constantine.[26] It is only in the late—and consequently untrustworthy—chronicle of Bologna that Luitprando is credited with having constructed the church.[27] It is, therefore, not open to doubt that the church existed before the foundation of the monastery in the VIII century.

In Paolo Diacono we read: "This very glorious king Luitprando built many basilicas in honour of Christ in the different places where he was accustomed to sojourn. He founded the monastery of S. Pietro which is

[21] In Ecclesia Sancti Petri in cęlo aureo quę Ecclia prius fuit constructa à Beato Patre Sto Syro donec Rex Luitprandus dictã Ecclesiam amplificauit, et ualde dotauit, quã Ecclesiã hodie uacatur uosa [?] iacent duo ossa corporis dicti Regis Luitprandi, et ossa corporis Regis Asprandi eius nepotis dicti Regis.

Item iacet corpus Sancti Augustini Episcopi etc. . . . et apud scalam quam itur ad altare majus uersus meridiem iacet corpus Sti Seuerini Boebij (*sic*) et Torquati Phylosophi. Item in mediam archam Regis Aliprandi iacet corpus Beati Luitiprandi Abbatis dti Mon'strij et prope arcam Regis in quadam parva archa quę est in muro cancellorum dictę Ecclesię uersus meridiem iacet corpus beati Dauid etc. (*De Origine Civitatis Papiae,* MS. known as Anonimo del Parata, No. 46, Ticinese, University Library, Pavia, f. 12).

[22] Idem Liutprandus anno regni sui tertio [715] donationem decessoris sui Ariperti regis confirmat *basilicæ beatissimi Apostolorum principis Petri, sitæ faris muros civitatis Ticinensis, & venerabili viro Lucedo Presbytero.* Is abbas erat [*sic*], sed ob reverentiam Ordinis sacerdotalis tantum *Presbyter* more veteri appellatus. (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum,* I, 219-220).

[23] *Hist. Pat. Man.,* XIII, 902.

[24] See below, p. 219. [25] See below, p. 219. [26] See below, p. 220.

[27] *Cronaca A, Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium,* Muratori, ed. Carducci, XVII, pt. I, 366.

situated outside the walls of the city of Pavia and is called Ciel d'Oro."[28] In the anonymous writer of the XIV century we read: "The church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro was enlarged and endowed by Luitprando, king of the Lombards. In it lies the body of the renowned doctor, St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, which has performed there many miracles, as well as the bodies of the blessed martyrs Lussorio, Cisello, Camerino, Robustiano and Marco and of S. Appiano, bishop and confessor, all of which were translated from Sardinia together with the body of St. Augustine by the above-mentioned king. Also the body of the king himself lies there, having been translated from the church of S. Adriano by the abbot Olrico. There too is the body of Severinus Boethius, the philosopher and man of God, who composed during his exile from Rome in the above-mentioned city a book on the consolation of philosophy, and this book written by his own hand has been preserved there almost to the present time. That Boethius was beheaded in this city is evident from the verses written upon his tomb, which are to the following effect: 'In this sarcophagus lies Boethius, a great man and one greatly to be praised'; at the end is written, 'He was accused before wicked King Theodoric and exiled in his old age to Pavia. Here, to console his sadness, he wrote a book. Afterwards he was slain by the sword.' It is said of Boethius that after he had been beheaded, he carried his head in his arms to the above-mentioned church."[29]

In the *Catalogo Rodobaldino* we read that the basilica of S. Pietro,

[28] Hic gloriosissimus rex [Luitprandus] multas in Christi honore per singula loca ubi degere solebat basilicas construxit. Hic monastrium beati Petri, quod foras muros Ticinensis civitatis situm est et Caelum Aureum appellatur, instituit. (Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Lang.*, VI, 58, ed. Waitz, 240).

[29] Ecclesia S. Petri in Cœlo-aureo, quam amplificavit Liutprandus Rex Longobardorum, atque dotavit. In qua jacet Corpus Beatissimi Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis Doctoris eximii, qui multas ibi virtutes ostendit; & corpora BB. MM. Luxorii, Ciselli, Camerini, Robustiani, & Marci, nec non B. Apiani Episcopi & Confessoris, quæ omnia translata sunt de Sardinia illuc cum Corpore B. Augustini per dictum Regem; cujus Regis illic etiam Corpus quiescit translatum de Ecclesia S. Adriani per Abbatem Olricum. Item Corpus Severini Boëtii Philosophi viri Dei, qui in præfata Urbe exul a Roma librum de Philosophiæ Consolatione composuit, qui Liber manu sua conscriptus usque ad hæc ferè tempora ibi servatus est, & in hac Urbe ipse Boëtius trucidatus occubuit, sicut patet in versibus, in ejus tumulo scriptis, qui sic dicunt:

Hoc in Sarcofago jacet ecce Boëtius arco
Magnus, & omni modo orando magnificandus homo

In fine verò sic scriptum est.

Qui Theodorico Regi delatus iniquo
Papia senium duxit in exilium
In quo se mœstum solans dedit inde libellum
Post ictus gladio exiit à medio

De quo fertur, quòd decollatus à loco decollationis usque ad præfatam Ecclesiam caput suum inter ulnas portavit. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, IV, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 13).

"called a monastery," was founded and endowed by Luitprando,[30] while in the *Cronica de Corporibus* Luitprando is credited merely with having endowed the monastery,[31] founded by Constantine.

In addition to these texts the foundation of the monastery by Luitprando is referred to in a diploma granted by Otto I,[32] in another false diploma of the same emperor and the same date,[33] in one of Otto II of April 11, 978,[34] in one of Hugo of March 12, 929,[35] in a bull of Gregory V of October, 996,[36] in a diploma of Corrado II of 1033,[37] and in a bull of Giovanni XV of 987.[38] Furthermore, in the necrology of S. Evasio of Casale Monferrato,[39] the same tradition is repeated, as well as in the works of the later historians, Gualla,[40] Sigonio[41] and Castiglione.[42]

The tradition of the foundation of the monastery by Luitprando is further confirmed by the fact that the tomb of that monarch was in the church. He was originally buried, it is true, at S. Adriano, for in Paolo Diacono we read: "The body of Luitprando is buried in the basilica of S. Adriano the Martyr, where is also the tomb of his father,"[43] but the body of the king was subse-

[30] In basilica apostolorum petri et pauli que appellatur monasterium sancti petri in celo aureo quod hedificavit Rex lineprandus et dotavit qui rex in dicta ecclesia iacet: In confessore iacet corpus gloriosi doctoris ecclesie beati Augustini episcopi.

Item in altari subtus campanile iacent corpora sanctorum Marcij et Robustiani fratrum et martirum. . . . Item penex scalam gradus qui est in medio ecclesie in archa a parte dextra ascendendo Iacet corpus sancti Severini dicti boetij philosophi. . . . (*Catalogo Rodobaldino,* ed. Boni e Majocchi, 25).

[31] In basilica sanctorum apostolorum petri et pauli que hodie dicitur sancti petri in celo aureo, quod Monasterium edificavit Costantinus Rex, dotavitque liutprandus Rex longobardorum, Jacet corpus venerabilis doctoris ecclesie dei Augustini et theologorum philosophi. . . . Jacet et corpus Boetii Aristotelis fidelis interpretis, et corpus translatum dicti regis. (Ed. Boni e Majocchi, 38).

[32] Otto divina favente gratia imperator augustus. . . . Insuper etiam petiit . . . conjux nostra . . . ut jam dicto cœnobio dignaremur confirmare . . . omnes . . . possessiones, quascumque idem cœnobium longo tempore dinoscitur possedisse a Liutprando rege ipsius monasterii fundatore concessas. . . . Data V idus aprilis, anno dominicae incarnationis DCCCCLXII, imperii vero domni Ottonis piissimi imperatoris I, indictione V. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XIII, 1126).

[33] *Ibid.,* 1130.

[34] . . . Liutprando ipius loci fundatore . . . (*Ibid.,* 1374).

[35] omnes res et possessiones, quascumque idem monasterium longo tempore dinoscitur possedisse a Liutprando rege ipsius monasterii fundatore concesse . . . Data IIII idus martii anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCXXIX domni vero Hugonis piissimi regis tertio, indictione II. (*Ibid.,* 902).

[36] . . . Liutprandi regis ipsius loci structoris . . . (*Ibid.,* 1618).

[37] . . . a Liudprando ipsius loci fundatoris concessas . . . (Troya, III, 620). This diploma cites another one of Luitprando.

[38] This text will be cited below, p. 224.

[39] This text has been cited above, Vol. II, p. 246.

[40] *Sanctuar. Papie,* Pavia, 1505, 48 f. [41] 98. [42] 113.

[43] Corpusque eius in basilica beati Adriani martyris, ubi et eius genitor requiescit, sepultum est. (Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Lang.,* VI, 58, ed. Waitz, 242).

quently transferred to S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro by the abbot Olrico, as is narrated by the anonymous chronicler cited above.[44] The epitaph upon the tomb was probably composed in the XII century[45] and is derived largely from the text of Paolo Diacono. It existed on the tomb until the XVI century, when by order of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) all tombs of secular persons were removed from Catholic churches. The tomb consisted of a sarcophagus supported on four marble columns, and was adorned with a painted statue of the king. It was placed near the entrance of the crypt on the right-hand side.[46] The epitaph was copied by Gualla, Bosio,[47] Pennotti and Breventano, while it was still in existence, and the version of Sigonio was published in 1574. These copies vary considerably among themselves and on the basis of them different versions have been published by Bianchi, Troya,[48] Waitz[49] and others. The most critical text however is that of Majocchi, which I follow, with some slight variations derived from other sources. "Flavius Luitprando is buried in this tomb. He was an illustrious king of the Lombards, fierce in arms and a victor in warfare. To this bear witness Sutrio, Bologna, Rimini and the unconquered walls of Spoleto, which he laid low, showing himself stronger in arms. Rome, besieged by this soldier for a long time, greatly feared his strength. Before him trembled even the fierce Saracens, whom, when they oppressed the Gauls, he energetically drove out at the prayer of Charles. Aided by this man alone the Hungarians, the Franks and all the neighbouring people lived continually in happy peace. It is wonderful how religion waxed and flourished under this king, so that thanks to him even the Apennines now possess very large churches which he erected during his lifetime. Because of these temples he shall ever be famous and immortal to the end of time. Amongst others he dedicated this church of Ciel d'Oro to Peter, the key-bearer of Heaven. In this church lies Augustine, translated hither by the same king from elsewhere, Augustine by whose doctrine the church is illumined."[50]

[44] P. 219. [45] Majocchi. [46] Breventano, 82-84.

[47] The copy of Bosio (*Memoriae Ticinenses Nouantiquae*, Hieronymii Bossii, MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 81) appears to have escaped Majocchi.

[48] IV, 135. [49] Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Lang.*, ed. Waitz, 242.

[50] Flavius hoc tumulo Lyutprandus conditur, olim
Longobardorum rex inclytus, acer in armis
Et bello victor. Sutriumque Bononia firmant
Hoc et Ariminum necnon invicta Spoleti
Moenia, namque sibi subiecit fortior armis.
Roma suas vires jam pridem hoc milite multum
Obsessa expavit, deinceps tremuere feroces
Usque Saraceni, quos dispulit impiger ipso
Cum premerent Gallos Karolo poscente iuvare.
Ungarus a solo hoc adiutus, Francus et omnes
Vicini grata degebant pace per omnes.
Rege sub hoc fulsit, quod mirum est, sancta frequensque

The foundation of the monastery by Luitprando is further confirmed by the fact that that monarch translated to S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro the body of St. Augustine. This event doubtless occasioned the foundation of the monastery and the enlargement of the church.

The most authoritative text on the translation of the body of St. Augustine is that of Paolo Diacono: "When Luitprando heard that the Saracens had ravaged Sardinia and polluted even those places where the bones of St. Augustine the bishop had formerly been translated because of the devastations of the barbarians and had been honourably buried, he sent and bought them for a great price, and translated them to the city of Pavia where he buried them with the honour due so great a father."[51] In a bull of January 25, 986, occurs the phrase 'King Luitprando, deliverer of this place, who translated the sacred body of St. Augustine to this church and buried it there.'[52] The translation of St. Augustine is referred to also in a false diploma fabricated probably in the XII century.[53] In Galvaneo della Fiamma we read: "Luitprando translated the body of St. Augustine from Sardinia to Pavia. He himself is buried in the church of St. Augustine (*sic*),"[54] and a late chronicler of Ferrara states "Luitprando besieged Ravenna, overthrew the city of Classe, and destroyed Faenza. He translated the body of St. Augustine from Sardinia to Lombardy, and buried it at Pavia."[55]

Although the fact that Luitprando translated the body of St. Augustine to S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro is indubitable, the year in which this translation took place is by no means so clear. Mabillon, who visited the monastery in

> Religio ut recolunt Alpes, ecclesia quarum
> Nunc habuit vincente ipso, et pergrandia templa
> Quae vivens struxit, quibus et famosus in orbe
> Semper et aeternus lustrabit secula cuncta.
> Praecipue Petro coelesti [h]ac sede dicata
> Clavigero, statuit coelo quam providus aureo;
> Augustinus ubi huc aliunde abductus eodem
> Rege iacet, cuius doctrina ecclesia fulget.

[51] Liutprand quoque audiens, quod Sarraceni, depopulata Sardinia, etiam loca illa, ubi ossa sancti Augustini episcopi propter vastationem barbarorum olim translata et honorifice fuerunt condita, foedarent, misit, et dato magno pretio, accepit et transtulit ea in urbem Ticinensem ibique debito tanto patri honore recondidit. (Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Lang.*, VI, 48, ed. Waitz, 231).

[52] . . . Liuprandi regis ipsius loci servatoris, qui sacrum corpus ejusdem sancti Augustini detulit ad eamdem ecclesiam et recondidit illic. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 1450).

[53] *Ibid.*, XIII, 5.

[54] Corpus beati Augustini de Sardinia in Papiam transtulit. Ipse vero in ecclexia sancti Augustini sepultus est. (Galvanei Flammae, *Chron. Maius*, ed. Ceruti, 541).

[55] Luprandus Longobardorum Rex Ravennam osidens oppidum Classem subvertit, Faventiam mox destruxit, qui corpus Beati Augustini de Sardinia in Italiam translatum Papiæ locavit. (Ricobaldi Ferrariensis, *Compilatio Chronologica*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IX, 230).

1686, saw a book of privileges which has since disappeared. In this was contained, not only a copy of the diploma of 715, mentioned above, and which seems to imply that at this early date Luitprando was already very particularly interested in S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, but another document of the first year of the reign of Luitprando, in which S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro is spoken of as already possessing the body of St. Augustine.[56] This document of 712 led Mabillon to suppose (I think rightly) that the translation of St. Augustine was performed at least as early as this, and possibly even before Luitprando came to the throne. Mabillon, in consequence, changed the opinion which he had held previously in common with many of the historians of Pavia, that the translation took place about the year 722.[57] The chronicle of Piacenza places the translation in 724,[58] and Baronio ascribes it to the year 725, on the strength of a letter of Pietro, archbishop of Milan, which he produces.[59] This letter, however, is an evident forgery, and the document seen by Mabillon seems more authoritative than those which ascribe the translation to various dates subsequent to 712.

On June 29, 743, the church was consecrated by the pope Zaccaria, accompanied by the king Luitprando, as may be deduced from a text of Sigonio, the Latin of which, however, is so ambiguous as not to be entirely

[56] Post ecclesiam sancti Petri in Cælo-aureo vidimus chronicon loci, a quodam Canonico regulari compositum, in quo varia ejusdem ecclesiæ privilegia ex integro referuntur. Primum est Liutprandi regis, abbati & monachis concessum, quibus varias possessiones confirmat donatque. *Hæc omnia,* inquit, *quæ supra diximus, adjudicamus venerabili monasterio sancti Petri in Caelo-aureo, in quo sanctum ac venerabilem Augustinum adduximus. Datum IV. Non. Aprilis, regni Liutprandi primo, Indict. X.* quæ notæ respondent anno Inc. DCCXII. quo proinde anno, qui Liutprandi primus erat, translatio sancti Augustini facta est, non anno DCCXXII. ut ego cum aliis aliquando opinatus sum. (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum,* I, 219).

[57] Gualla, 47; Zuradelli, 117; Troya, III, 410; Robolini, *loc. cit.* The anonymous author of the XIII or XIV century, *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi* (*Hist. Pat. Mon.,* V, 1479), is, I believe, the oldest authority to give this date. The notice of Sigonio (98) gives the year as 721.

[58] Anno Christi DCCXXIV. Corpus S. Augustini Papiam translatum est per Liutprandum Regem Longobardorum. (*Chronicon Placentinum,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 449).

[59] Domino Regum piissimo Carlo Magno Petrus Oldradus indignus Mediolanensium Archiepiscopus perennem in Christo coronam. Opus quod celsitudo vestra, dum in urbe Mediolani moraretur, mihi imponere dignata fuit, ut aliquid de translatione corporis beati Augustini Episcopi de Sardinia Papiam inquirerem, & fideli sermone celsitudini vestræ transcriberem: quantum humana fragilitas laborare potuit, elaboravi, & quod ex litteris & libris Regum Longobardorum, & etiam ex traditione multorum legi & audivi, Deo adjuvante, breviter scribam. . . . Et [Liuthprandus] beato Petro Apostolorum principi in suburbio Papiensi monasterium construxit, artificis opere excellenter ornatum, cui etiam indidit nomen, Cœlum aureum. . . . Translatio corporis Sancti Augustini facta fuit pridie Kalendas Martii, sedente in sancta Petri Sede bonæ memoriæ Gregorio ejus nominis secundo. . . . Datum in urbe Mediolani anno salutiferæ Incarnationis Domini Septingentesimo sexto. (Baronio, IX, 53, sub anno 725).

intelligible. "There the pope was received by the royal messengers sent to meet him; on the twenty-eighth of June on the eve of the feast of the Holy Apostles, he arrived at Pavia, and after having visited the basilica of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro entered the city. On the following day, which was the festival of the Apostles, he returned with the king to the same church, and celebrated the consecration with great pomp."[60]

Mabillon states, on the authority of a certain Nalgodus, that the monastery in the second half of the X century had completely fallen into decay, and was restored by the same S. Maiolo who was also instrumental in the foundation of S. Salvatore.[61] This notice must be ultimately derived from a bull of Giovanni XV of 987 which declares that the monastery of S. Pietro is under the protection of the Apostolic See, and threatens excommunication and the direst anthemas to the bishop of Pavia and his canons who had attempted to interfere in the consecration of the abbot of S. Pietro and usurped certain other rights.[62] The monastery is mentioned in a document of 984.[63]

The vast wealth of the abbey in the X and following centuries is attested by a long series of diplomas published by Muratori and in the *Historiae Patriae Monumenta,* which specify lands and churches belonging to the abbey in places as far distant as Vercelli, Monferrato, Bellinzona and Albi.[64]

In the early XII century the quarrel between the monks of S. Pietro and the bishop of Pavia broke out anew, and ended in the triumph of the monks when the bishop died in 1105. The documents relating to this controversy have been published in part by Robolini.[65]

The triumph of the monks may have instigated the reconstruction of the basilica. At all events, a new church was consecrated in 1132. In the

[60] Ibi à regiis optimatibus obuiam missis exceptus IIII Kalendas Iulii in ipsa beatorum apostolorum vigilia Papiam peruenit, ac basilica S. Petri ad cœlum aureum visitata vrbem intrauit. postridie, qui dies erat apostolorum festus, in eandem ædem cum ipso rege regressus magna pompa sacris est operatus. (Sigonio, 114).

[61] Addit Nalgodus, eiusdem Mayolum monasterium, quod vulgo Cella-aurea dicitur, & pæne collapsum fuerat, restaurasse ad unguem. (Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini,* Lib. XLIX, Cap. LVII, IV, 14).

[62] Iohannes episcopus servus servorum Dei. Widoni ticinensis episcopo karissimo filio nostro omnique clero suo salutem in Domino. . . . Ideirco, karissime fili, per has nostras tibi innotescimus litteras, quia, ut audivimus, monasterium sancti Petri, quod coelum aureum nuncupatur, a beati Liutprandi regis tempore, quod id ab eo constructum est, regulam sancti Benedicti non tam provide ibi coluerunt monachi, nec officina monasterii tam egregie constructa fuerunt, quam nunc sunt per patrem Azonem, quem manibus consecravimus nostris, ordinante tam apud nos, quam apud imperatore sanctissimoque viro Majolo abbate; sed maligno instigante spiritu, qui omnem invidet bonum, sunt aliqui, qui eos perturbare conantur, et maxime vos, o karissime fili, vestrique insuper canonici. . . . Datum quarto nonas aprilis . . . Anno pontificatus domini nostri Iohannis sanctissimi quintidecimi pape secundo . . . inditione XV. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XIII, 1461).

[63] Tiraboschi, *Nonantula,* II, 125.

[64] Muratori, A. I. M. A., I, 595. [65] III, 223 f.

anonymous writer of the XIV century we read: "The church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro was dedicated by the pope Innocent II, as was also the neighbouring chapel of S. Michele. S. Pietro was formerly a monastery of Benedictine monks, but is now occupied by Eremitani. There is also a chapter of canons regular. The monastery is privileged."[66] There is a tradition recorded by Robolini that the anniversary of the consecration was celebrated on the eighth of May, and it is known that in May, 1132, Innocent II was in Lombardy. Indeed, a bull of that pontiff issued in favour of the monastery at Piacenza on June 4, 1132, and cited by Robolini, contains the phrase "by the aid of the Holy Spirit, we consecrated the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro with our own hands."[67]

In 1213 the gentle monks of S. Pietro murdered their abbot; to punish them for this and other irregularities the monastery was suppressed and a chapter of canons regular introduced in 1221 by Pope Honorius III.[68] In 1310 Eremitani monks appeared at Pavia, and obtained permission to construct a hospice near the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. Some years later the pope Giovanni XXII decreed that the canons regular must admit the Eremitani to the basilica itself.[69]

The anonymous writer of the XIV century describes at length the church as it was in his time, and mentions that it and the basilicas of S. Michele and S. Giovanni in Borgo were the most conspicuous edifices in the city. The roof was covered with lead,[70] and the church was officiated by Eremitani monks and canons.

In 1487 a notable restoration—which included the rebuilding of the vaults—was carried out in the church. Two inscriptions preserved by Bosio give details of this reconstruction.[71]

[66] Hæc Ecclesia dedicata est per Romanum Pontificem, scilicet Innocentium Secundum, cum Capella S. Michaëlis contigua. Olim fuit Monasterium Nigrorum. Delecta est per Heremitas. Monasterium Canonicorum Regularium exemtum. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* IV, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 13).

[67] quod utique cooperante Spiritus Sancti gratia manu propria consecravimus . . . . . Dat. Placentiae per manum Aymerici S. Romanae Ecclesiae Diac. Card. et Canzel. II. Nonas Junii Indictione decima Incarnationis Dominicae an. 1133. Pontificatus vero D. Innocentii Pape 2.di anno tertio. (Robolini, III, 253. There is a better edition apud Pennotti, 204. Cf. Jaffé, I, 856).

[68] Robolini, IV, pt. 2, 100.

[69] Robolini, IV, pt. 2, 102.

[70] Majocchi (26-27) states that the vaults were painted, the windows filled with stained glass, and the vaults leaded c. 1400.

[71] In fornice templi prope sacellū maximum.
1487 restaurata fuit ecclesia authori ucnerabili
patre Martino de Verullis . . . . . atibus nobilibus
D. Io. Antonii Beretta et d. Rinato di Strata
in eodem fornice
Magister Iacobus de Candia et frater eius
hoc opus fecerunt.

In 1509 canons of the order of the Lateran were substituted for the chapter of Mortara which had previously existed. Violent quarrels ensued between the new canons and the monks, and continued almost without interruption until 1781, when Padri Conventuali were substituted for the canons. In 1785 the Eremitani monks were replaced by Dominicans. In 1799 both monks and canons were finally suppressed. The church was afterwards desecrated, and served as a barn for the cavalry. In consequence of the ill-usage to which it was subjected it rapidly fell into ruin. On December 4, 1877, while projects for the restoration of the basilica were being discussed, the roof of the nave fell in, carrying with it about a third of the vaults underneath. The westernmost pier on the south side collapsed, and in consequence, the barrel vault of the narthex and the first rib vault of the nave fell. This disaster stimulated the restoration which was directed by Brambilla, Caffi, Dell'Acqua and Zuradelli. The church was reopened for worship on June 15, 1896. Works, however, were not entirely completed until 1899, when the crypt was restored under the direction of Sivoldi.

This restoration was so radical as to amount practically to a reconstruction of the basilica, and very largely destroyed both its artistic and archæological value. The vaults of the nave were remade almost entirely, the interesting cornice of the north transept disappeared,[72] the southern side aisle was completely reconstructed, both absidioles built anew, a great quantity of new capitals added to replace old ones mutilated or destroyed, the crypt remade, the apse restored, the windows and portals overhauled. Until the restoration the site of the northern absidiole had been occupied by a campanile. In destroying this campanile to erect the absidiole, a mosaic pavement came to light.[73] The restorers believed that the triumphal arch between the nave and the choir had been raised, and that the capitals had been made over in 1487. They accordingly rebuilt this arch at what they supposed to have been its original height. Before the restoration, the inner member of the jambs of the principal portal had been cut away in order to allow the passage of vehicles. The tympanum had been also destroyed, together with the architrave, and part of the archivolt had been roughly repaired in brickwork. The restorers changed all this, and rebuilt the portal in what they believed to have been its original form. Old drawings seem to have furnished the principal authority for the reconstruction of the crypt and cupola.[74] The area of St. Augustine, which had been transferred to the cathedral at the time of the desecration of the church, was brought back by the restorers, and placed over the altar in a position it was never intended to occupy.

During the restoration, portions of an ancient timber roof came to light above the vaults.[75] Brambilla states that the ancient cross-beams were of most perfect construction, were still in part entirely or partially preserved,

[72] Stiehl, 16. [73] Brambilla, 27. [74] Zuradelli, 238.
[75] Losé, 13; Brambilla, 15-16; Zuradelli, 42.

and were of such a form that they must have been intended to be seen from the nave of the basilica.[76] Of this roof, so wonderfully ornamented, the restorers destroyed every scrap and fragment, and preserved nothing by which later archæologists could judge of the accuracy of their description. The vague phraseology in the descriptions of both Brambilla and Zuradelli, however, gives reason to suppose that they are written with a certain amount of exaggeration, especially when Brambilla speaks of the *ornamenti svariatissimi di intaglio* of the consoles. The restorers were embarrassed to explain how a vault could have been erected beneath this roof, and even resorted to the wild hypothesis that the roof had been lifted up bodily seven or eight feet in 1487. The truth seems to be, that their desire to find something which should justify the epithet of the church *Ciel d'Oro* led them into an extravagant interpretation of simple facts. It is known to-day that the basilica of Luitprando, which probably did have a golden ceiling, was replaced in 1132 by the existing vaulted basilica. The wooden roof erected above the vaults in the XV century probably did have carved consoles, like many other roofs of the same period, and it was these that were found by the restorers. That the church of the XII century did not have a wooden roof, but was vaulted, is clearly proved by indubitable traces of the original vault, still extant, and described in detail below.[77]

III. The edifice consists of a western narthex or transepts, a nave (Plate 178, Fig. 4) four bays long, two side aisles (Plate 178, Fig. 2; Plate 177, Fig. 4), transepts, three apses, and a crypt extending beneath the crossing and principal apse. The eastern transepts are covered with barrel vaults, the western narthex with three barrel vaults (of which the one corresponding to the nave has an axis parallel to that of the church), the apses with half domes, the crossing with a Lombard cloistered dome supported on conical squinches, the side aisles with groin vaults, the nave with oblong rib vaults. The vaults of the nave (Plate 178, Fig. 4) have been restored on the lines of vaults erected probably in the XV century to replace the original ones. Some fragments of the ancient vaults may still be seen under the nave roof. The wall ribs are preserved in every bay and in one instance some fragments of the vault itself still survive. The original vaults therefore were oblong in plan, and supplied with transverse and wall ribs. There is no absolute proof that there were also diagonal ribs, but I believe such to have been the case. The side-aisle vaults (Plate 177, Fig. 4; Plate 178, Fig. 2)

[76] Ora pertanto parve importantissimo ad agevolare opportune conclusioni lo aver constatato, che gli antichi cavalletti di perfettissima costruzione, in parte ancora interamente o parzialmente conservati, sono di tal forma, ed erano così disposti da indurre piena convinzione, che esse dovevano costituire la stabile ed anche ornata evidente copertura della navata maggiore della basilica.

[77] It is possible that the wooden roof was erected after the destruction of the first vaults and served to cover the church until the new vaults were built in 1487.

are domed, and have wall and transverse arches. They are slightly oblong in plan, and the transverse arches are stilted.

The system of the church is uniform (Plate 178, Fig. 4), there being no alternation of responds. The system which is carried through the capitals of the main arcade includes three large members, regularly segments of circles in section, but in the second pier from the east on the south side, and in the first and second piers from the west on the north side, the central members are pilasters. The side-aisle responds include five members, of which the central one is semicircular (Plate 177, Fig. 4; Plate 178, Fig. 2). In the western narthex are various shafts and orders which support nothing, and it is evident that the architect was embarrassed to discover a means of adapting a barrel vault to a substructure designed for rib vaults.

The exterior of the clearstory walls evidently terminated originally where there is the existing cornice of arched corbel-tables, but the wall was subsequently raised, probably to afford opportunity for a timber roof. The heavy buttresses of the apse were made over in the recent restoration, but the buttresses of the clearstory wall, some of which are prismatic, are original. In the façade are the amortizements for an exterior narthex (Plate 177, Fig. 3), but it is probable that such was never erected. The masonry (Plate 178, Fig. 1), in brick with stone trimmings, shows the perfection of the mason's art in the XII century. The bricks of regular size are evenly laid in perfectly level courses separated by thin beds of mortar.

IV. The capitals of the southern side aisle (Plate 178, Fig. 2) and of the crypt are largely modern. The ancient ones which exist still in the church (Plate 177, Fig. 4; Plate 178, Fig. 1, 4) are characterized by simplicity and restraint when compared with those of S. Michele (Plate 176, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6) and earlier edifices. The grotesque element is almost entirely eliminated, and there are no figured sculptures. There is little undercutting, but the technique is impeccable.

The same feeling of restraint is notable in the central portal (Plate 177, Fig. 1; Plate 178, Fig. 1), in which, it is true, grotesque and figure sculptures occur, but are relegated to an entirely subordinate position. The ornament is extremely fine as compared with the coarser work of S. Michele (Plate 173, Fig. 1) and the shafts, jambs, archivolts and mouldings are carved with diapers, rinceaux, interlaces or vine-patterns, extraordinarily minute and refined in character (Plate 177, Fig. 1). Indeed, the whole design of the portal with its pediment enclosed in an oblong field (Plate 177, Fig. 3), shows a feeling for form and an almost classic quality that is absolutely lacking in the barbarously exuberant S. Michele.

Arched corbel-tables are used on the façade (Plate 177, Fig. 3), on the clearstory and on the interior of the west wall and of the apse[78]—the latter

[78] These are restored, but I presume with authority.

an extraordinary feature which recalls S. Celso of Milan. The cornice of the façade (Plate 177, Fig. 3) is formed of double arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips or grouped shafts. Flat corbel-tables are freely used. Practicable galleries occur on the façade (Plate 177, Fig. 3), the cupola and the apse. The arches of the main arcade (Plate 178, Fig. 1) are in a single order, but the portal (Plate 177, Fig. 3) is in several orders and moulded, as are also the windows. Windows in the form of a Greek cross, oculi and bifora are used (Plate 177, Fig. 3). In the façade many of the original tile disks are preserved. The pontile and the unfortunate fresco of the half dome of the apse are modern.

In the pediment of the principal portal is sculptured an angel with halo and wings, bearing a flowering sceptre and a ball. On either side are two supplicating figures, one of which appears to be crowned. The significance of these reliefs has not been interpreted.

The mosaic discovered in 1885 was broken up. The fragments are now preserved in the Museo Civico, together with a facsimile drawing, made at the time it was discovered. From this drawing, with the aid of Brambilla's[79] description, it is possible to recognize the subject represented, although neither Brambilla nor the person who made the drawing understood the iconography correctly. In the centre is shown a knight—undoubtedly St. George—who transfixes the dragon. From the height of the city gate (which was represented with battlements, windows and towers) peered the anxious princess. About this scene was disposed conventional and grotesque ornament—rosettes, coloured bands, a panther and a chimera facing each other, a wolf, and two dogs on their hind legs.

Until the time of the restoration the church retained notable traces of its original decoration in colour and fresco, but all this was destroyed by the restorers.[80]

In the Museo Civico are also preserved numerous Carlovingian fragments discovered at the time of the restoration, and which must be counted among the most important extant monuments of Italy anterior to the year 1000. These fragments consist of capitals with carefully carved volutes, and simple rosettes of scratched acanthus leaves (Plate 177, Fig. 2). One, carved with seven figures, has a rope-moulding.

V. The Carlovingian capitals in the museum show the same exact technique and careful workmanship that amazes us in the carved slab of Bobbio (Plate 24, Fig. 1), also executed at the order of King Luitprando. There can, consequently, be no doubt that these are authentic remains of the basilica built by Luitprando and consecrated in 743.

[79] 726-728.

[80] Brambilla, 11.

The existing basilica, on the other hand, is an authentically dated monument of 1132, and as such of great significance for the history of Lombard architecture. Although there is no evidence to show when the building was commenced, the fact that the style is homogeneous throughout leads us to suppose that the construction proceeded with speed. On the other hand, so large an edifice could hardly have been constructed in less than ten years. We may consequently assume that the building was begun c. 1120.

PAVIA, SS. PRIMO E FELICIANO

(Plate 179, Fig. 6)

I. The church of SS. Primo e Feliciano is but very little known. The brothers Sacchi described it in 1829,[1] and Giardini a few years later wrote an account of the vicissitudes through which it had passed in his lifetime. A half-tone of the façade is contained in the handbook of Annoni. For historical notices the classic work of Robolini[2] should be consulted.

II. According to the inaccurate chronicle of Fruttuaria the bodies of the saints Primo and Feliciano were translated from Rome to S. Benigno in 1014.[3] This, however, is improbable, since Giulini has shown that the body of S. Primo and relics of S. Feliciano were translated to Leggiuno as early as 846.[4] This event may possibly have occasioned the foundation of a church in honour of these saints at Pavia as early as the IX century.

Land belonging to the church of SS. Primo e Feliciano at Pavia is mentioned in a document of 1095.[5] At this epoch, therefore, the church was certainly in existence. According to Romoaldo, in the year 1230, the church passed into the possession of nuns of the Vallombrosan order.[6] Robolini states that a chapter of canons was instituted between the years 1150 and 1270.[7] If this be true, it is improbable that there were nuns in 1230. There is, at all events, no doubt that the church was subsequently collegiate. Romoaldo[8] states that the chapter was regularized in 1363. Bosio has preserved a now lost inscription (formerly in the portico), in which the church is referred

[1] 105. [2] IV, pt. 2, 123; III, 301.

[3] *Chronicon Abbatiae Fructuaricnsis,* ed. Calligaris, 119.

[4] Giulini, I, 194.

[5] Tiraboschi, *Nonantula,* II, 212.

[6] Ex schemmate, quod exterius in anteriori sui parte, antequam, superioribus proximè elapsis annis, ad nouam redigeretur formam, plurima pollere antiquitate deprehendebatur Templum hoc. . . . De anno 1230 Gynæceum obtinens anexum Moniales illud incolebant, vt fertur, Ordinis Vallis Vmbrosæ. . . . In Præposituram, & Collegiatam subinde euasit. (Romoaldo, III, 75-76).

[7] Robolini, III, 301. [8] *Loc. cit.*

to as collegiate and of parochial rank.[9] The anonymous writer of the XIV century mentions the church very briefly as collegiate.[10] Giardini states that the chapter was founded in the XIV century, but that the canons were succeeded by Padri Serviti (these priests were established in 1354, according to Robolini)[11] who remained until they were suppressed in 1810. The church then became dependent upon S. Francesco.[12]

The edifice was reconstructed in 1619. This is recorded by Romoaldo[13] and in an inscription preserved in the manuscript of Bosio.[14]

III. The building was entirely remade in 1619, and of the Romanesque period there survives only the façade.

IV. This façade (Plate 179, Fig. 6) is characterized by a cornice of double arched corbel-tables supported on shafts, and surmounted by flat corbel-tables and saw teeth; by an open gallery; by windows in many orders, and by end buttresses. Certain of the arches of the gallery were in two orders. Porcelain plaques were inlaid at intervals. The portal and the upper window are barocco.

V. The façade of S. Primo (Plate 179, Fig. 6) is strikingly analogous to that of S. Maria in Betlem (Plate 170, Fig. 4). In both edifices the cornice of double arched corbel-tables, the shafts, the flat corbel-tables, the saw teeth, the end buttresses, the inlaid plaques, and the masonry, show the closest similarity. S. Primo appears slightly more advanced than S. Maria in Betlem, in that the windows are in more orders, and an extra order is introduced into the buttresses. Since S. Maria in Betlem dates from c. 1129, S. Primo may be ascribed to c. 1130.

PAVIA, S. STEFANO

(Plate 179, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5)

I. The first archæologists to study the remains of the ancient summer cathedral of S. Stefano were the brothers Sacchi, whose description of the

[9] Ad SS. Primi et Feliciani
in templi Vestibulo
Ecclesia Collegiata, et Parochialis Sanctorum
Martyrum Primi et Feliciani
(*Memoriae Ticinenses Nouantiquae,* Hieronymi Bossii, MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 57).

[10] Ecclesia SS. MM. Primi, & Feliciani. Canonica. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* III, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 11).

[11] IV, pt. 2, 123. [12] Giardini, 30. [13] III, 76.

[14] in anteriori limine templi
Frater Blasius Cagna Papiensis huius conuentus Profvtnus [*sic*] hoc templum restaurandum curauit 1619. (*Memoriae Ticinenses Nouantiquae,* Hieronymi Bossii, MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 57).

edifice is of great value because based upon the now lost plan of 1705.[1] This same plan was subsequently seen in the archivio of the cathedral in 1858 by Bosisio, and in 1883 by Mothes,[2] but is no longer to be found. The drawings of the cathedral made c. 1825, by Luigi Sacchi, for the promised, but never published, atlas to the work of the Sacchi brothers, are also lost. The architecture of S. Stefano has been studied by De Dartein[3] and Brambilla, the latter of whom has contributed a particularly important description. Valuable notices in regard to the condition of the edifice before the destruction of the façade may be found in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*.[4] In the manuscript diary of Giovanni Battista de Gasparis, preserved in the library of the University at Pavia,[5] is an account of the destruction of the ancient cathedral, written by an eyewitness. In addition to these works, those cited above under S. Maria del Popolo should be consulted, for the history of the two churches which form the dual cathedral is so intertwined that it is impossible to study one without taking into consideration the other.

II. It has been shown above[6] that the episcopal seat was transferred from the church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio c. 680 and established in the church of S. Stefano. S. Stefano undoubtedly existed before it became a cathedral,[7] but the new dignity may well have occasioned a restoration or a reconstruction of the church. In the time of Luitprando (712-743) the church of S. Maria del Popolo was erected as an accessory structure to S. Stefano.

In the XIV century the edifice was described by the anonymous writer in these words: "The church of S. Stefano, the protomartyr, contains the bodies of the holy confessors and bishops Siro, our first preacher, Giovanni, bishop of Nicea, and Armentario, bishop of Pavia. It likewise contains the body of S. Gengolfo, the martyr, who was a soldier of Pepin, king of the Franks. . . . Above the crypt of S. Siro is a very great and very broad

[1] La basilica di Santo-Stefano era a cinque navi, quella di mezzo più grande, più strette le due laterali. . . . Aveva pure la cupola, come vedremo parlando di Santa-Maria del Popolo. . . . La facciata era formata da sette archi, tre corrispondenti alla navata dei mezzo, gli altri quattro ognuno corrispondente alle quattro navate laterali; s'entrava per tre porte negli archi secondo, quarto e sesto. Di questi archi ne esistono i primi tre fra i quali la prima porta a varii piani lineari ed a bassi rilievi, che corrispondeva al principiar del primo arco della navata di mezzo, e sopra di essa si apre una finestra. . . . Le porte ed i capitelli de' pilastri erano di arenaria con bassi rilievi, e di questi tuttora ne esiste una intatto, che offre nella fronte due guerrieri a cavallo [Plate 179, Fig. 2]. . . . Delle porte ne esiste tuttora intatta la prima a sinistra del riguardante [Plate 179, Fig. 5]. . . . Le altre porte più non sono nella loro antica forma, perchè si gittarono per erigervi la nuova cattedrale; però a fregio delle porte di questa si posero in opera parte degli antichi basi rilievi di Santo-Stefano. (Sacchi, 30).

[2] I, 234. [3] 295. [4] Anno XXIII, 1896, 121.

[5] MS. 183. [6] P. 189. [7] Bosisio, 46.

stairway. . . . Tapestries woven with images and sacred scenes are hung on either side of the church, and exposed there all summer."[8]

In 1487 the construction of the new Duomo was begun, but proceeded so slowly that in 1564 it was found necessary to restore the basilica of S. Stefano to adapt it to serve temporarily for the celebration of the offices. To pay the expenses of these works the lead of the roof was sold.[9] From 1610 to 1615 the choir and sacristy of the new cathedral were erected. This necessitated the destruction of the choir of S. Stefano.[10] *Androni* leading to the new cathedral were opened in 1641 and 1645.[11] Between 1755 and 1760 the remainder of the nave of S. Stefano was destroyed, and one of the ancient columns which came to light was placed in the piazza.[12] In 1768 the church was finally closed. The façade, however, continued in existence until 1894. The important description of its destruction, written by Moiraghi (who was an eyewitness), has been cited above. To this I will add a quotation from the official report of the Italian Department of the Fine Arts: "When the demolition of the façade containing traces of the ancient basilicas had been

[8] Ecclesia S. Stephani Protomartyris, in qua jacent Corpora Sanctorum Confessorum, & Episcoporum Syri primi prædicatoris nostri, & Joannis Episcopi Nicensis, ac Armentarii Episcopi Papiensis. Item corpus Sancti Gengulfi Martyris, qui fuit miles Pipini Regis Francorum . . . Maximum & latissimum gradum S. Stephani Majoris, qui est supra Cryptam S. Syri . . . In Ecclesia Majori S. Stephani extenduntur cortinæ Imaginibus, & historiis textæ ab utroque latere Ecclesiæ, & ibi per totam æstatem dimittuntur. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 8, 28, 39).

[9] A Santo Stefano fù dedicato il Duomo Vecchio che nell'anno 1564 minaciando ruina fu reparato. atteso che le colone sotili, tonde, et canelate, come quelle di S. Maria in Pertica, riducendosi dette colone in quadro, come di presente si vedono, e per tal riparatione fu venduto il tetto di Piombo con il quale era coperto tutto il Duomo. (De Gasparis, *MS. cit.;* cf. Robolini, IV, 39).

[10] Nell'anno 1610 essendosi creato Priore della fabrica del duomo il Marchese Covengo Verinbardi, in cinque anni stabili le tre naui del choro del duomo nuouo con la sacristia; onde nel primo anno fece rifare l'arco, e la Nichia del Choro, come, che era stimata bassa, e mal fatta, nel secondo anno fece alzare del architrauo sin al tetto li due piloni di mezzo con il suo arcone di pietra d'Angera, e li archi fra l'un pilone e l'altro con sopra li suoi corridori, nel terzo anno si messe in opra le due Armi della Città, et il cornicione di sopra con li speroni al di fuori per fortezza delli Arconi, nel quarto anno s'alzava del Architrauo sino al tetto li altri due piloni più grossi con il cornicione facendoli avere l'arcone doppio, e si finirono li Corridori, e le uolte con il tetto sopra di tutto il Duomo nuouo, nel quinto anno, che fù del 1614 fece unire il Duomo Nuouo con il uecchio gettando a terra il suo choro, e parte della Sacristia, consalvare le muraglie da tutte le parti sino all'altezza del Duomo Nuouo facendo fare il tetto, che sostiene la sofitta, et ogni altra cosa, come hora si uede. (De Gasparis, *MS. cit.*).

[11] Il braccio con la Porta uerso Piazza grande fu aperta nell'anno 1641 e dalla parte di Canagnavia nell'anno 1665. Atteso che restono finite le due Capelle. (*Diario Sacro e Profano delle cose della città di Pavia,* compillato da Gio. Batta de Gasparis. MS. No. 183, Biblioteca dell'Università, Pavia, f. 316).

[12] Robolini, IV, 39.

begun with the purpose of erecting a new façade for the cathedral, the architect of the government, in consequence of the greater importance which these remains came to assume during the course of the destruction . . . was twice compelled to order work stopped, that an exact drawing of the ancient fragments might be made. Some of the columns of the ancient wooden-roofed basilica, buried in brickwork at the time of the rebuilding of the church, could easily have been preserved. . . . However, through impatience to erect the new edifice with inadequate means, no respect was shown to these memorials."[13]

III. The church of S. Stefano was an imposing edifice of five aisles, but at present nothing remains but two bays of the northern side aisle denatured in the time of the Renaissance, the campanile, and some fragments, including one of the portals (Plate 179, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5), that have been placed together in the south wall of the tower. One of the piers seen by Brambilla contained four members, two rectangular and two semicircular. This section sounds as if it were Romanesque, and it is probable that De Gasparis, in the passage cited above, was in error when he stated that the supports of the church were columns until the XVI century, when the columns were enclosed in square piers. The columns had been embedded much earlier in Romanesque piers, which were perhaps in some cases given a square form in 1564. Of these ancient columns, thus enclosed in later Romanesque masonry, at least four were discovered during the destruction of the church. From the account of Moiraghi, these appear all to have been in the piers which separated the inner from the outer side aisles, and to have existed in the two western bays on both sides of the church. Brambilla describes how one of these columns was found embedded in a pier in his time, and he states that two other marble columns, with Corinthian capitals, discovered at an earlier epoch, were in his day to be seen in the interior of the cathedral. The four ancient columns are now preserved in the court of the Museo Civico. They appear to be pilfered Roman, although the bases were evidently executed when the columns were set up in the church. Two still stand their entire height; the other two are smaller and broken. A pair of Corinthian capitals, now in the Museo Civico, and placed under the fragments of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, also came from S. Stefano, and doubtless belonged with two of the columns.

Brambilla, in describing the discovery of one of the ancient columns, goes on to say: "On the great stilt-block of the column of the capital described above, there rested nearly semicircular arches, one of which still stands towards the basilica of S. Maria, and is supported on a mass of ancient masonry and rubble cut down and altered to afford space for a pier of the basilica. This pier was constructed of the same material, and hence is later than the half column corresponding to it, which has remained in position to the present

[13] *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, Anno XXI, 1894, 247.

day. These two supports mark the limits of the corridor of communication between the two basilicas."[14]

From the different drawings and reproductions of the façade, as well as Moiraghi's description, it is evident that the church was preceded by a narthex or atrium. This was seven bays long on the side adjoining the façade. There is nothing to show whether the portico was continued in the form of a hollow square about the piazza, nor whether it was continued along the façade of S. Maria del Popolo. The church had three doorways, of which the central one opened into the nave, the side ones into the inner side aisles. The portal which still exists in the campanile (Plate 179, Fig. 5) was the north minor portal. The central and minor south portals had been severely damaged before 1893. It is probable, but not certain, that there were galleries over the inner side aisles. At least in the two western bays S. Stefano communicated with S. Maria del Popolo by means of simple arches.

IV. The lower part of the campanile is adorned with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, like those of S. Sepolcro at Milan (Plate 133, Fig. 2). The ancient doorway (Plate 179, Fig. 5) is in four orders, and adorned with roll-mouldings and rich ornaments consisting of rinceaux, interlaces, grotesques and leaf-motives. In the centre of the tympanum is the relief of an angel standing in a niche, and holding a sceptre and a sphere. One of the extant capitals shows two knights on horse-back engaged in a tournament (Plate 179, Fig. 2). Other capitals have rather dry Byzantine-like foliage (Plate 179, Fig. 1), quite different in character from that of S. Maria del Popolo (Plate 171, Fig. 4). A grotesque console, representing a lion, is still extant (Plate 179, Fig. 4), and is executed with admirable technical mastery.

The windows of the façade of S. Stefano, according to Moiraghi, were either bifora or in many orders and moulded. One of the latter is still extant in the campanile, where a biforum has also been reproduced, as well as the amortizement of the ancient vault of the narthex.

V. The lower part of the campanile of S. Stefano, because of its resemblance to S. Sepolcro at Milan, may be assigned to c. 1030. The upper part is much later, and evidently of the XII century, while the belfry is obviously a work of the Renaissance. The columns embedded in the Lombard piers doubtless belonged to a wooden-roofed basilica which may have been erected when the episcopal dignity was conferred upon S. Stefano c. 680. This columnar basilica was transformed into a vaulted church in the XII century. Comparing the ornament of the extant portal (Plate 179, Fig. 5) with that of S. Michele (c. 1100)—Plate 173, Fig. 1—we notice that at S. Stefano the grotesque element is decidedly less prominent, and that instead of monsters, sirens, and comic figures, we have almost exclusively vegetable forms. Even the animals that are introduced are used in a much more deco-

[14] Brambilla, 25.

rative and less humorous way. The angel, moreover, is distinctly more advanced than the angels of S. Michele. The figure is more dignified and even foreshadows the work of Nicolò in the large head, and in the niche in which it is placed. The capital of the tournament, moreover, notwithstanding the crudeness of the horses, is more serious and less naïve than any sculptures at S. Michele. On the other hand, the decoration of S. Stefano is distinctly less refined than that of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132)—Plate 177. Fig. 1. It shows less analogy with the work at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro than does the portal of S. Maria del Popolo, with which, nevertheless, it has strong points of contact. Moiraghi remarked that the masonry showed that the two churches of S. Stefano and S. Maria del Popolo were about contemporary. In view of all these considerations it seems probable that the reconstruction of the cathedral began with S. Stefano and proceeded systematically until S. Maria also had been rebuilt. We have seen that S. Maria must date from c. 1130. S. Stefano may consequently be ascribed to c. 1120.

PAVIA, S. TEODORO

(Plate 180, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7)

I. The church of S. Teodoro was first studied by the brothers Sacchi, whose description is still of value because made before the restoration.[1] These authors speak of the exterior (with the exception of the west façade), and especially of the north portal, as being well preserved. Knight published a valuable engraving of the edifice,[2] but erroneously entitled it S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. A drawing of the façade made before restoration was published in the *Grande Illustrazione*.[3] From this drawing it is evident that the existing façade is entirely modern, and that the restorers had authority only for the two oculi on either side of the Greek cross window, and for the buttresses. Prelini[4] wrote a description of the church as it was before the restoration, in which he speaks of the pointed arches built to reinforce the vaults of the nave.[5] Sumptuous illustrations of the monument were made by De Dartein.[6] Losé[7] published a drawing of the church made before the restoration, but

[1] Ai pilastri della parte interna della navata di mezzo si è aggiunto di recente un rinforzo che sale ad arco acuto, e sostiene la volta. . . . L'ortografia esterna, volta a ponente, è affatto rinnovellata, e solo vi restarono d'antico due finestre rotonde, intorno a cui girano cordoni d'arenaria. (Sacchi, 96).

[2] I, Plate XV. [3] I, 736. [4] 15.

[5] Notisi che accanto a questo altare [third from west on south side] evvi un sepolcro dell'antico monastero di S. Agata, ivi traslato nel secolo scorso, come a malapena si può dedurre da una carrosa ed obliterata lapide sul pavimento, della quale rimangono queste parole, ecc. (18).

[6] 282. [7] 11.

erroneously entitled it S. Eufemia. The archæological observations of Stiehl[8] deserve especial mention. The little pamphlet entitled *S. Teodoro,* published anonymously in commemoration of the dedication of the basilica in 1910, gives historical notices of value and an exhaustive account of the recent restoration. Excellent half-tones are contained in the handbook of Annoni. Robolini, with his usual diligence, has collected the historical notices which refer to the basilica.[9]

II. The church of S. Teodoro was originally dedicated to S. Agnese.[10] There is absolutely no documentary evidence to indicate at what epoch it was first built. It has, however, been conjectured that its construction was due either to the bishop S. Pietro I (722-736) or to S. Teodoro himself (736-778).[11] S. Teodoro was buried in the church of S. Giovanni in Borgo, but his body was subsequently translated to S. Agnese. This translation took place about 899, according to the conjecture of Robolini, or a century earlier, according to the conjecture of the brothers Sacchi,[12] and of the author of the pamphlet.[13]

In the anonymous writer of the XIV century we read: "The church of S. Agnese, virgin and martyr, was called by the name of S. Teodoro, bishop of Pavia. By the merits of the above-mentioned virgin, and in accordance with an angelic revelation, this bishop was elected by Desiderio, king of the Lombards. This was the holy bishop Teodoro, to whom the pope Zaccaria wrote, . . . and who protected Pavia for nine years by his prayers against the siege of Charles, king of the Franks. The nephew of Charles, killed by an arrow wound in the throat, he called again to life. . . . The church is collegiate."[14]

The church was restored in 1510, as is known from an inscription found

[8] 16. [9] I, 228; II, 18; III, 300.

[10] In Ecc'lia Sancti Theodori Episcopi Papiensis quę antiquitus appellab.r Ecclia S.tae Agnesis iacet corpus Sancti Theodori Episcopi Papiensis, etc. (*De Origine Civitatis Papiae,* MS. known as Anonimo del Parata, No. 46, Ticinese, University Library, Pavia, f. 5).

[11] *S. Teodoro,* 10-11. [12] 96. [13] 22.

[14] Ecclesia S. Agnetis V. & M. quæ dicitur S. Theodori Episcopi Papiensis, qui revelatione Angelica fuit per Desiderium Longobardorum Regem electus meritis præfatæ Virginis. Hic est Sanctissimus Theodorus Episcopus, cui scripsit Zacharias Papa, sicut habetur in XXX q. III. pitatium; qui B. Theodorus novem annis Papiam tutavit suis orationibus ab obsidione Caroli Regis Francorum, cujus Nepotem sigitta percussum in gutture mortuum suscitavit. Ecce facta Resuscitatio Juvenis suffocati. Simili modo, intervenientibus tam orationibus Theodori, quàm Agnetis, ne Papiæ virginitas perderetur. *Me expectaverunt,* inquit, *peccatores ut perderent me,* sodalesque stupidos sanavit, & de sua morte dicto Regi certum signum dedit. Hunc B. Leo Papa, Angelica revelatione admonitus, & ante ejus exitum Papiam veniens, sicuti illi promiserat, in præfata Ecclesia sepelivit. Canonica. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* II, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 11).

in the recent restorations.[15] The date, 1519, given by Prelini,[16] perhaps refers to the completion of the work.

At this epoch the vaults were reinforced by the construction of great pointed transverse arches built against the piers. In 1692-1693[17] other alterations were carried out in the barocco style, thanks to which the Lombard architecture of the edifice largely disappeared beneath embellishments of various kinds.[18] These barocco additions have been described in the following words by Robolini who saw the church before the recent restoration: "In the nave three pointed arches were constructed to sustain the vaults. To the cupola two other cupolas were added and the church was ornamented with frescos that are not without merit. These innovations are sufficient to denature completely the interior of the church. The exterior was also transformed. Windows in a style very different from the original ones were added."[19] At the end of the XVI century a barocco campanile adjoining the south transept was erected.

The restoration of the basilica begun in 1887 was continued with interruptions until 1909 under the direction of Zuradelli and Moiraghi. This restoration was very radical owing to the dangerous condition of the church, which was so unstable that at one time the government was obliged to direct that the edifice be closed for worship. The upper lantern of the cupola shown in the old drawings as of Renaissance style, has been completely rebuilt, and the lantern below it has been restored. The three bifora of the drum of the cupola are modern. The vaults of the nave and side aisles have all been restored, but the original forms have been preserved. Most radical was the reconstruction of the façade. The window in the shape of a Greek cross is an unauthorized addition of Zuradelli. A great rose-window was gratuitously added to the façade by the same architect, but this window was later walled up and replaced by the present triple window, for which, however, there is no better authority. The cornice, destroyed in the barocco period, was remade out of whole cloth,[20] as was also the gallery below it.[21] Throughout the edifice the windows were remade almost without exception, but some traces of the ancient windows were found, especially in the crypt. The masonry was thoroughly restored, internally and externally.

III. S. Teodoro consists of a nave (Plate 180, Fig. 1) three bays long, two side aisles (Plate 180, Fig. 3), transepts (Plate 180, Fig. 2), three apses, and a crypt extending beneath the transepts and apses. The choir is much raised (Plate 180, Fig. 2). The transepts are barrel-vaulted, the apses have half domes, over the crossing rises a Lombard dome supported on conical squinches, and the crypt, nave and side aisles are covered with groin vaults.

[15] *S. Teodoro*, 51. [16] 39. [17] Prelini, 39.
[18] *S. Teodoro*, 53. [19] Robolini, III, 300. [20] *S. Teodoro*, 56-59.
[21] See the view of the façade published in the *Guida* of Dell'Acqua, 48.

The vaults of the nave (Plate 180, Fig. 1, 2) are slightly oblong in plan. They have wall ribs and transverse arches in two orders, and are highly domed.

IV. The church is characterized by a singular absence of ornament. The capitals of the nave (Plate 180, Fig. 2) are all of cubic type. Those of the crypt (Plate 180, Fig. 4, 5, 6), on the other hand, are of varied and interesting types, being carved with sirens (Plate 180, Fig. 5), grotesque birds (Plate 180, Fig. 4), or acanthus leaves uncarved, or of a curiously stiff, crinkled type (Plate 180, Fig. 6). The Attic bases with griffes are executed in stone or brick. The windows are in several orders and moulded (Plate 180, Fig. 7). The northern portal, which is ancient, is also moulded. The cupola is ornamented externally with a gallery, the apse is decorated internally with shafts (Plate 180, Fig. 2)—these have been restored—and externally with arched corbel-tables supported on shafts. The cornice of flat corbel-tables, which crowns the side-aisle and clearstory walls, has been almost entirely remade in the restoration. Fragments of the ancient tile disks inlaid on the cupola are extant, but those of the façade have been restored. The church contains numerous frescos.

V. Owing chiefly to the restoration, it is not an easy task to determine the date of S. Teodoro, for the masonry has largely lost its character. It is evident, however, that the church belongs to the last phase of the Romanesque art of Pavia. The simple cubic capitals (Plate 180, Fig. 1, 2, 3) are similar to the capitals of S. Lanfranco (Plate 168, Fig. 2), a monument which dates from c. 1136, and are distinctly different from the more ornate capitals of the earlier churches of Pavia. The simplicity and restraint which run through the entire edifice are similar to the same sobriety at S. Lanfranco and in strong contrast with the rich and exuberant ornament of S. Michele and the other earlier churches of Pavia. The northern portal, with its simple roll-moulding and capitals ornamented chiefly with vegetable forms, is entirely similar to the portal of S. Lanfranco (Plate 168, Fig. 3). The structure of the church, on the other hand, recalls that of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (Plate 178, Fig. 4), in that the system is uniform, but is evidently later, because groin vaults are substituted for rib vaults in the nave. S. Pietro was consecrated in 1132. In view of all these considerations, S. Teodoro may be ascribed to c. 1135.

PESSANO DI BOLLENGO,[1] S. PIETRO

I. To the extent of my knowledge, this monument has never been published.

II. The date, 1741, inscribed upon the transverse arch of the nave, probably records the epoch at which the nave was rebuilt. The church is now abandoned.

[1] (Torino).

III. The edifice consists of a nave of a single aisle, an apse and a campanile. The nave is entirely modern. The masonry of the apse consists of small uncut stones, or bits of brick, uncross-hatched, and laid in courses approximately horizontal, or in herring-bone fashion. The mortar-beds are enormously wide.

IV. The apse has arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips, grouped four and four.

V. The ancient portions of the church may be assigned, on the style of the masonry, to c. 1040.

PIACENZA, CATHEDRAL

(Plate 181, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; Plate 182, Fig. 3, 4)

I. The cathedral of Piacenza, notwithstanding the recent restoration which amounted almost to the destruction of the ancient building, is, nevertheless, a remarkably impressive monument, and one of the most imposing religious edifices in northern Italy. It is therefore surprising that no adequate monograph upon the church has ever been written, and that the scattered notices of it found in various authors who have occupied themselves chiefly with other subjects are generally inadequate and even misleading. The scanty historical documents relating to the edifice have been collected by Campi and Poggiali, the classic historians of Piacenza. The drawings of Osten, which include a plan, a section across the transepts and an elevation of the façade, as well as a perspective of the apse,[1] are valuable because made before the restoration. In the time of Osten, however, the interior was entirely masked by barocco stucco, and the restorations ventured in these plates were, in consequence, founded upon insufficient authority. Thus, no galleries are shown in the interior, whereas it is certain that the mediæval edifice had galleries. As for the two statues which the perspective shows at either end of the east gable, I hardly know whether these really existed and have been destroyed or whether they are figments of the imagination of the artist. The little guide-book of Scarabelli[2] contains an account of the building which deserves mention. Numerous observations upon the cathedral, of more or less importance, are contained in the various writings of Ambiveri. Mothes[3] has resumed in his usual dry manner the history of the edifice. Important studies upon the style of the sculptures have been contributed by Zimmermann.[4] The illustrations of the sculptures published by Venturi are particularly valuable.[5] This critic, as is known, identifies Guglielmo da Modena with

[1] Plates Nos. XX-XXIII. [2] 7. [3] II, 430. [4] 94.
[5] III, 175-182, 251-260, 417.

Guglielmo da Verona, and is inclined to ascribe to him and to his assistant Nicolò practically all the early XII century sculptures in northern Italy. He ascribes the sculptures of the façade at Piacenza to Guglielmo and Nicolò, and gives the reliefs of the trades to an assistant of Guglielmo. Martin has published pretentious photographs of the architecture of the church. Two valuable works upon the cathedral have been published by Guidotti. One is a projected scheme of restoration, the other is a *compte rendu* of the works actually executed between 1894 and 1902. These publications contain an accurate plan of the church and several photographs made before the restoration. They are, moreover, the only sources for knowledge of the radical alterations made in the edifice during the restoration. Plate 182, Fig. 3, is a reproduction of a commercial photograph of the façade as it was prior to 1894.

II. In the year 855, the cathedral of Piacenza was transferred from the church of S. Antonino to its present site.[6] At first the edifice was dedicated to the Virgin, but the title was changed to S. Giustina, doubtless about the time that the body of the saint was translated to Piacenza. According to the chronicle of the bishops of Piacenza that event took place in the last half of the X century.[7] It is true that a diploma of Berenger of July 26, 915, speaks of the church under the title of S. Giustina, but this diploma can not be authentic, for it mentions a chapter regular in the cathedral,[8] whereas it is known that the chapter was instituted only shortly before February 13, 948, by the bishop Evrardo.[9] A diploma of 1045 resumed by Poggiali[10] refers to the cathedral under the dual title of the Assunzione and S. Giustina, from which we may fairly deduce that the edifice was consecrated to S. Maria dell'Assunzione before the translation of S. Giustina.

The old cathedral of Piacenza was in all probability destroyed by the famous earthquake of 1117, which laid low so many religious edifices of northern Italy. At all events the existing structure was begun in 1122. This fact is recorded in a metrical inscription over the southern portal:

✠CENTVM VICENI DVO XPI POST MILLE FVERE
ANNO CVM INCEPTVM FVIT HOC LAVDABILE TEMPLVM

This inscription, at present cut into the stone, replaces an earlier one which

[6] Campi, I, 211.

[7] Hic [Giovanni XV, 985-996] dum in Papatu staret, donavit Placentinis venerabile Corpus B. Justinæ, quod feliciter reconditum est in Ecclesia Majori. (*Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 630).

[8] . . . universo clero sanctae Justinae inibi canonice ordinatis attribuit, partem vero canonicis beati Antonini martyris perpetuo concessit . . . (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 797).

[9] . . . sacerdotes sanctae martyris Iustinae de canonica placentini episcopatus, quae nuper a venerabili Hevrardo episcopo sanctae sedis ejusdem ibidem ab origine constructa dinoscitur. . . . (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 994).

[10] III, 316.

was merely painted. The earlier painted inscription was copied by De Caumont, and has been published by him,[11] in a form which differs slightly but not essentially from the present engraved inscription. This painted inscription, on the other hand, is said not to have been original itself, but a copy of an inscription incised on the base of one of the columns of the same portal.[12] There is, therefore, considerable possibility that an error may have crept into the text of the inscription. Anguissola believed that such was the case, and that those who incised the existing inscription read 1122, whereas it should have been written 1112. For this correction Anguissola claimed to have manuscript authority. His arguments, however, have been attacked by Ambiveri.[13] That the text of the inscription has not been essentially altered is indeed proved by the citation of Giovanni da Musso.[14] Similarly the chronicle of the bishops of Piacenza speaks of the cathedral as having been constructed under the bishop Adriano (1114-1142).[15]

In the chronicle of Giovanni da Musso is the extraordinary notice: "About that time Pope Calisto consecrated the holy cathedral of Piacenza on the fourteenth day of October."[16] Although the precise year is not given, the consecration is mentioned among events which took place between 1122 and 1128, and it is known that Calisto II died December 13, 1124. In a calendar of the church of Piacenza cited by Poggiali[17] we read: "October 14, the nativity of S. Calisto, pope and martyr, and dedication of the church of S. Giustina which Pope Calisto II consecrated in 1123."[18] Now, if we grant that the cathedral was begun in 1122, it is impossible to admit that the church could have been consecrated in the following year, 1123, since obviously no considerable portion of so vast an edifice could have been built in the space of a single year. Furthermore, it is known that Calisto II was not in Lombardy in 1123. It appears evident, therefore, that an error has somewhere crept into these texts, and Poggiali has plausibly conjectured that the consecration in question was performed, not by Calisto II, but by Innocent II, not in 1123

[11] *Excursion Monumentale en Italie.* (*Bull. Monumental,* VII, 1841, 71).

[12] Strafforello, *Piacenza,* 160. Poggiali, IV, 86, in speaking of this inscription remarked that it is *scolpita a caratteri pressochè indelebili.*

[13] *Cat.,* 5.

[14] Anno Christi MCXXII. Ecclesia Major Placentiæ incœpta fuit ad honorem B. Virginis Mariæ & B. Justinæ: unde versus

Centum Viceni Duo Christi Mille fuere
Anni, cùm cœptum fuit hoc venerabile Templum.

(Johannis de Mussis, *Chronicon Placentinum,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 452).

[15] Ecclesia Major ædificatur. (*Loc. cit.*).

[16] Eodem tempore dictus Papa Calixtus consecravit sanctam Majorem Ecclesiam Placentiæ pridie Idus Octobris. (Johannis de Mussis, *Chronicon Placentinum,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 452).

[17] IV, 84 f.

[18] Pridie Idus Octobris, Nativitas S. Calixti PP., & Martyr. Et dedicatio Ecclesiæ S. Justinæ, quam consecravit PP. Calixtus secundus Anno 1123.

but in 1132, when it is known that Innocent was in Piacenza.[19] Support is lent to this hypothesis by the fact that Innocent II confirmed in 1132 the rights, possessions and privileges of the church of Piacenza, and this bull may well have been issued in consequence of the consecration of the edifice.[20]

It is known that in 1179 the assembly of Piacenza was removed from S. Antonino to the cathedral.[21] The assembly of the commune would meet normally in the cathedral, and must have been transferred to S. Antonino when it was no longer practicable to hold it in the cathedral, owing to the reconstruction of the building. The fact that in 1179 the construction of the new cathedral had advanced so far that the assembly could be brought back to its normal quarters, is a proof that the new church was in great part finished by this time.

If the edifice was used for the assembly of the commune in 1179, it is not improbable that it was opened for worship in 1158, as is stated by Mothes,[22] who as usual fails to cite his authorities.

The chronicle of the bishops of Piacenza states that the cathedral was begun by Grimerio da Porta between 1202 and 1215.[23] This notice is obviously incorrect because it is evident, both from documentary sources and the internal evidence of the edifice itself, that the greater part of the existing structure dates from the XII century. A study of the building, however, will make it very clear that considerable portions of the present edifice, including the triforium and the vaults of the nave, date only from the XIII century. I believe, therefore, that the chronicle is right in ascribing to Grimerio da Porta the commencement not indeed of the edifice, but of those portions completed in the early XIII century.

An inscription placed it is not known where, and now lost, records the erection, in the year 1233, probably of some piece of church-furniture, by the master Rainaldo Santo, of Sambuceto.[24] It is therefore probable that the works of construction on the cathedral itself had terminated before that year.

The chronicle of Piacenza commemorates a function celebrated in the cathedral in 1266.[25] In the following century the construction of the campanile

[19] IV, 84 f.

[20] Poggiali, IV, 122; Tomassetti, II, 387.

[21] MCLXXIX. Consules adamplaverunt plateam majorem, et contionem removerunt de Sancto Anton[in]o et ad majorem ecclesiam fecerunt. (*Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. *Mon. Hist. Parm. et Plac.*, III, 11).

[22] II, 430.

[23] Grimerius de Porta Placentinus terræ Castri Arquati fuit electus Episcopus Placentinus Anno Domini MCCII. seditque annis XIII. . . . Hujus tempore fuit incœptum mirabile Templum hujus Civitatis, quod est Ecclesia Major. . . . (*Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 631).

[24] Anno MCCXXXIII.—Hoc opus exegit Rainaldus nominis Sanctus de Sambuceto. (Ambiveri, *Cat.*, 5).

[25] *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. *Mon. Hist. Parm. et Plac.*, III, 235.

was begun, and carried to completion in 1341.[26] The Lombard porch of the central portal was restored in 1553, as is indicated by this date inscribed upon one of the pedestals. During the course of the XVII century the original architecture of the church suffered severely from barocco additions and embellishments. New chapels were added, the triforium was walled up, the choir and crypt enlarged, the interior covered with stucco and intonaco. According to Ambiveri the triforium had not yet been walled up in 1647, since it appears in an engraving of that date which he reproduces. But twenty years later it had already disappeared. In 1718 the cloisters were destroyed,[27] and in 1775 the upper story of the Lombard porch and the central portal were made over.[28] In 1872 the gallery was reopened, and five years later was begun a restoration of the basilica which lasted, with interruptions, until 1902. The greater part of the work was executed between 1894 and 1902 under the direction of Guidotti. This restoration, a classic of bad management and poor taste, denatured and ruined the mediæval architecture more completely than all the vagaries of the barocco period. The most noteworthy innovations wrought were the shortening of the crypt, the reconstruction of the central porch, the rebuilding of the clearstory of the choir and the replacing of the old stones and capitals by new ones, especially in the façade and flank.

III. The semicircular apse is preceded by a short vaulted bay, and by a choir of a single double bay covered with a quadripartite rib vault oblong in the longitudinal sense. There is considerable doubt whether or not this vault be original, and it is impossible to demonstrate the point in the present condition of the edifice. It is almost certain, however, that even if this vault be not of the XII century, it was the intention of the builders to erect such a vault in the choir, unless the restorers have entirely misunderstood the traces of the original building, which they must have seen. The clearstory windows as at present spaced preclude the possibility of sexpartite vaults—but these clearstory windows have been restored. Did the restorers have authority? There is unfortunately no means of answering this question. At present the intermediate system of the choir terminates in a grotesque placed just under the vault. The choir is flanked by two side aisles which terminate in the eastern absidioles. The transepts, three bays long, have three aisles of about the same height and lower than the nave. The two eastern bays of the crossing are surmounted by an octagonal cloistered vault supported on four sets of conical squinches. Both transepts terminate in semicircular apses flanked by niches which are not expressed externally. The bays of the side aisles preceding the absidioles are only as high as the side aisles of the nave. The nave consists of five central bays, and is covered with sexpartite vaults the easternmost of which embraces the first bay of the crossing. A curious

[26] Mothes, *loc. cit.*; Ambiveri. [27] Poggiali, XII, 311. [28] Mothes, II, 430.

structural feature of the church is the fact that the roof is supported on brick columns which rest directly on the extrados of the vaults. The side aisles have highly domed groin vaults with transverse arches and are surmounted by galleries.

The system of the church is alternate (Plate 181, Fig. 5). The supports are all cylindrical, but those of the alternate piers have a colonnette engaged on the side facing the nave, and on the two westernmost intermediate piers are engaged two colonnettes, one on the side of the aisles, the other on the west face. The system of the alternate supports is continued without interruption along the clearstory wall, to support the rib vaults above the impost of the main arcade, and is reinforced above the abaci by two rectangular members. The intermediate system, on the other hand, consists of a central shaft rising from the abaci of the capitals. The piers of the transept are cylindrical in section, but have, in some instances, engaged colonnettes. These transepts are entirely covered with highly domed groin vaults with transverse ribs. The flying buttresses of the exterior appear to be the result of a later addition, but both the walls of the side aisles and the clearstory are vigorously reinforced by salient buttresses.

The choir of the church is notably deflected to the north, an unusual feature in Italy. The crypt extends under the clearstory and the apse, but it appears that originally the side aisles of the choir and absidioles were on the same level as the pavement of the church.[29] The arches of the triforium and clearstory of the choir are round, but in the nave they are pointed, and pointed arches are used in the nave vaults and cupola. The campanile, which rises over the western bay of the northern side aisle, was projected as early as 1140. It was the intention of the builders to erect another campanile flanking the central gable symmetrically on the other side.

The exterior of the church is constructed largely of ashlar, large blocks of stone being skilfully cut and regularly laid. In the façade the lower part is constructed of marble and the upper part of sandstone. In the central apse wide bands of lighter stone alternate with narrower bands of darker stone, forming a polychromatic effect. The walls of the interior and the exterior walls of the clearstory, cupola and the upper portion of the transepts are executed in brick masonry of high technical excellence. The upper portion of the façade cuts across the corbel-tables of the campanile, which, it is known, was finished in 1341. This portion of the façade must, in consequence, be later than that date.

IV. The capitals of the entire interior of the edifice except those parts of the nave and cupola which are above the level of the arches of the main arcade, seem contemporary and doubtless all belong to the edifice of 1122-1150. The acanthus leaves are quite similar to those familiar in other Lombard

[29] Ambiveri, 7-11.

edifices of the period, except that the execution is particularly good. The dry, crisp, evenly serrated, fine volutes have nothing Gothic about them, but a trace of Gothic influence is perhaps visible in some of the broad-leaved capitals. The capitals of the vaulting shafts and of the nave and of the crypt, on the other hand, are Gothic in character, but unfortunately have all been restored, and it is impossible to say how faithfully they reproduce the original types. Certain of the Romanesque capitals are adorned with figure sculptures and grotesques. Among the latter are birds with interlocked heads, a cat, devils, a centaur, griffins and horses. It is now exceedingly difficult to tell with certainty which capitals of the cathedral are original and which restored, and it is impossible to know in the case of those which have been restored whether they are reproductions of ancient ones or mere flights of a modern architect's fancy. However the figured capital of the northern respond of the east arcade of the southern transept is obviously modern.

Arched corbel-tables are freely used in the exterior decoration of the edifice (Plate 181, Fig. 2). Those of the choir are supported on colonnettes, but those of the transept and nave are simple. Open galleries are also used lavishly in the adornment of the exterior. The gallery of the apse is constructed of colonnettes and capitals which appear to be of the XII century. They are, however, used as second-hand material and clumsily fitted in, certain capitals being used as bases, etc. Several corbels of the capitals of this gallery are completely Gothic in character. The frieze of grotesques which runs just below this gallery appears, on the other hand, to be entirely Romanesque. Above the capitals of this gallery are inserted corbels carved with grotesque heads, and the same motive is repeated in the other galleries. The galleries of the absidioles appear to be also of the XII century, but later than that of the central apse. They may be assigned to c. 1160. The galleries of the flanks of the nave are perhaps slightly later, while those of the transepts are frankly late Gothic. In certain cases caryatids are substituted for columns in the gallery.

Each apse is pierced by a single window. That of the central apse has free-standing shafts supported on lions, and a completely undercut roll-moulding. The mouldings of the windows of the nave are more complicated than those of the eastern portion of the edifice. The bases throughout are of the weak type employed at Cremona, and the plinths of the nave piers are circular, but under the colonnettes are square plinths with griffes. The ribs of the nave vault have a fully developed Gothic profile. The diagonals of the choir vault are circular in section, but it is entirely possible they may have been altered.

The cathedral of Piacenza is notable above all for the sculptures with which the façade and the capitals of the piers and other portions of the edifice are adorned. On the third respond from the west in the southern side aisle is a capital which depicts Daniel between the lions. The same subject is

treated grotesquely on the two other faces. The respond of the south-east angle of the choir depicts Samson.

On the capital of the column at the south-west angle of the choir is depicted Abraham and the three angels, with the inscription:

✣ABRAAM T̃RES VIDET[30]

In the first scene the patriarch is seen kneeling before the angels. The second shows Sarah laughing in her house at the prophecy that she should bear a child. One of the angels bears a scroll which doubtless is intended to indicate the prophecy he has just uttered. Abraham stands beside his wife. The inscription is much broken and it is evident that it was badly cut and erroneous before this new disaster befell it. The first word DOMUS is clear. The following letters, ABIAIL, are probably intended to indicate that the house belonged to Abraham. The remaining letters upside down and reversed seem to be ECCE SARA. The final scene possibly represents Abraham showing the three strangers upon their way. Abraham is on horse-back. The three strangers are on foot and all point forward to the way they are going, while Abraham looks back. One of the strangers in this scene is bearded—a curious conception for an angel—and another carries a book. On the extreme right of the capital is represented the sacrifice of Isaac. The divine hand stays the sword of Abraham as he is about to strike the kneeling figure of his son whom he holds by the hair. Above is the curious inscription N̂E ASTEI. Perhaps our sculptor has coined a verb from *hasta,* a spear. (Compare Gen. xxii, 12). This capital still retains its rich colours in which gilt is largely predominant. The figures are heavy and fat, and characterized by enormous heads and necks of fairly colossal size. The faces, however, are well done, much better than the faces in the capitals of the western portion of the edifice.

The western column of the northern arcade has sculptures which depict the stoning of Stephen. In the angle is a figure of Saul with back turned out, holding in his upraised right hand a stone which he is in the act of throwing. In the centre of the upper face kneels the first martyr. On either side are Jews bringing or throwing stones. In style the sculptures are characterized by restless positions and heavy figures, with eyes, heads and chins disproportionately large.

The western respond of the northern arcade has a capital sculptured by the same hand. On the abacus is the inscription:

SAVL✣GOLIAM STRAVIT PVER HIC.STR̂ATV̄ Q̄.N̂ECAVIT.

each one of the three parts of which refers to a section of the composition below. On the left edge of the capital underneath the inscription SAVL is depicted the seated figure of a king holding a sceptre and stroking his beard. On this figure may still be seen the traces of paint. On the left-hand corner

[30] Gen., xviii, 1-16.

of the upper pilaster strip is seen David as a boy without armour, holding in his left hand a sack full of stones, in his right a sling. Near him stands Goliath, in full armour, with spear, shield and helmet. The huge stature of the giant is indicated by allowing his helmet to penetrate the abacus of the capital. To the right is seen David standing upon the prostrate form of the giant, and severing his head with a sword. The head of the giant is held by two figures on the other face, undoubtedly Israelites who have come to assist in the victory of their hero. In the fourth scene of the capital, which is not referred to in the inscription, is depicted the Dance of David. David himself, without a crown, plays the harp. One figure holds two horns, each in one corner of his mouth. A third plays some sort of wood instrument held under his chin. At the extreme right the subject is brought to a grotesque end by a figure standing on its head. It may be doubted whether we have here a repetition of the symbolical dance of David such as is found in the baptistery of Parma and in numerous other Romanesque sculptures of Lombardy, or whether it is merely intended as an historical representation of the rejoicing of the Israelites at the death of Goliath. The figures of this capital are heavy, the noses too short, the eyes too big. Yet the limbs seem to have bones, and motion is admirably represented. The composition however tends to be restless and confused.

Among the most remarkable sculptures of the cathedral of Piacenza are the plaques of the trades inlaid on various columns of the nave. These reliefs represent the guilds of the XII century in Piacenza, and were doubtless erected to commemorate the fact that the columns in which they were inserted had been built at the expense of the respective corporations. These reliefs are unique monuments highly significant for the history of mediæval corporations. On the west column on the north side of the nave is inlaid a plaque representing a cobbler at work. He is seated and holds in his lap a boot upon which he works with an awl. To the right is a bench on which stands a row of three boots. On a shelf above are three more. Below is the inscription:

✠HEC EST COLONA CERDONVM

The technical execution of this relief is excellent. The figure of the cobbler, evidently studied from life, is full of genre charm. The arms move freely, and the leg is entirely undercut. The head, however, is too large, and is attached to the body at the wrong place. The relief still bears traces of the colour with which it was once covered.

A similar plaque on the western pier of the southern arcade shows two tailors or cloth-merchants cutting a roll of cloth with a pair of shears. To the left under an arch is a counter with a roll of cloth such as may be seen in any tailor shop to-day. Below is the inscription:

✠HEC EST COLONNA STACHONARIORVM

The word *staconarii* is not found in the dictionary of Du Cange. It may be written here for straconariorum and be connected with the Italian word *stracci*. In any event its meaning here in the sense of cloth-merchant is not open to question. This relief is by the same hand that executed the plaque of the cobblers just described, and shows the same merits and the same defects. The composition is restful, the figures are fairly well proportioned. There is, moreover, a lively genre interest, but the heads are badly set on the bodies.

On the second column from the west of the southern arcade is the inscription:

HEC EST COLONNA PELLIPARIORVM

A *pelliparius*, according to Du Cange, is a man who dresses skins (*qui pelles paret*), so that this column was evidently erected at the expense of the corporation of skin-dressers. Below is a relief of a curious instrument consisting of a broad blade attached to a handle by two parallel pieces of wood. It must be the knife which the skin-dressers used to shave the hair off the skins of animals. This relief still bears traces of colour and is placed among the XIII century frescos. It is interesting to note how fresco and relief were combined in Lombard architecture. On the second column from the west of the north arcade is an inlaid relief representing a man sharpening on a grindstone a sort of hatchet or knife with a short handle and a flat blade. The inscription:

IOHANNES CACA IN SOLARIO[31]

is enigmatical, but probably means "Giovanni the knife-sharpener at work in his shop." The word *caca* is not given by Du Cange, and so far as I know is not found elsewhere in mediæval Latin. It is probably an onomatopœic word coined to mean a grinder from the sound of the knife touching the wheel. This column was not given by an individual named Giovanni, but Giovanni is simply a type name for the entire guild of knife-sharpeners.

On the north pier on the east side of the south transept is inlaid a relief which depicts the trade of the bakers. Behind is an oven. A man holds over a table a sort of shovel such as is used in baking even to-day. Two women bring the dough which they place upon the shovel. The inscription:

✣HEC EST
COLVMNA FO
RNORIORV[M]

offers no difficulties. In style this relief is similar to, but not so good as, the other reliefs of the trades. It is probably by a pupil of the master who executed the others.

[31] Solarium, quod *soli*, et *auris* pateat, qualis fuit locus in quo David Bethsabee lavantem aspexit et adamavit. (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, XV, 3, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 543). The word frequently denotes a house of a single story.

On the second column from the south of the eastern arcade of the north transept is inlaid another plaque representing the shoemakers. Two seated figures work at their trade. One hammers nails in a nearly completed shoe, the other adjusts the leather to a last. The inscription:

HEC EST COLONNA CORDOANNERIORVM

raises the question whether it is possible to make any distinction between the two words *cerdones* as used in the relief previously described, and *cordoannerii* as used here. Du Cange makes no such difference and on the basis of this relief alone it would be too much to infer that the first denoted the shoesellers and the latter the shoemakers. It is more probable that this guild gave two columns, and was, in consequence, honoured with two reliefs. The workmanship of this relief is as fine as in the other relief of the same guild. The hair of the figure to the left is executed with especial excellence of technique. The figures are full of verve and studied from life. The movement of the arms is free and natural, if not exactly graceful. The draperies are adequately represented, and the proportions are good. Only, as always, the heads are badly set on the bodies.

On the northernmost column of the western arcade of the north transept is a plaque in relief representing a man dyeing cloth in a barrel. The inscription, ✠ VGO TINCTOR, means that Ugo, like Giovanni for the knife-grinders, is taken as a typical representative of the guild of the dyers. Technically this relief is perhaps the finest of the whole series. It must be by the hand of the same artist who executed the reliefs of the cobblers, but in this instance even the head is well set on the body.

In connection with the reliefs of the trades, it is natural to speak of two reliefs of inferior workmanship inserted in the northern column of the western arcade of the southern transept. One of these reliefs shows a seated woman with long hair, her left hand raised, the other on her breast; the other a seated bearded man, his right hand extended towards the woman, his left hand placed upon his stomach. The painted inscription is no longer legible. These badly proportioned and awkward figures contrast strongly with those in the plaques in the west end of the church, and seem to have been influenced by them. They were probably executed subsequently and by an inferior artist. The two persons represented appear to be individual donors who paid for the erection of the column. Another crude and equally inferior relief shows a bearded man without a halo, bare-foot. In his right hand he holds a staff, by his left hip hangs a wallet marked with a cross. It is probably the figure of a donor, depicted as a pilgrim, to indicate that he made a pilgrimage. There is now to be seen no trace of an inscription.

Above the arches of the main arcade is a series of reliefs. Those on the south side represent prophets, those on the north side are saints. The prophet above the third arch of the southern arcade bears a scroll with an

inscription which I was unable to read even with the help of the highest ladder available in Piacenza. It could be satisfactorily deciphered only by means of scaffolding. It seemed to me, however, that through glasses I could make out the letters:

DE F
RVCT
V VEN
TRIS
T . . . . .

The words *de fructu ventris tui* appear frequently in the Bible but in the prophetic writings only in Ps., cxxxi, 11. I therefore suspect that this figure may represent David, although it is without the attributes with which David is usually accompanied. The other four prophets with scrolls, of which the inscriptions have either entirely disappeared or are quite illegible, it is impossible to identify. Of the reliefs of the saints opposite, the Madonna and Child in the middle, facing the David, are easily recognized. Of the other four female saints, S. Candida, [SANCTA] CA$\overline{\text{D}}$IDA, with clasped hands, is identified by the inscription, as is also S. PAVLINA.[32]

In the Museo Gazzola are two figures of prophets which are supposed to come from the cathedral. Venturi believed that they belonged to this series of figures over the keys of the arches, but they are very different in style and are engaged upon pilaster strips, a fact which precludes the possibility of their ever having belonged to the series of the other prophets. The first of these figures (Plate 181, Fig. 4), which is crowned, represents David. He bears a scroll with the inscription:

✠ IN SOLE
POSVIT
TA͡BERNA
CVLV SV
$\overline{\text{U}}$ ET IPSE
TANQV[$\overline{\text{A}}$]
SPONSVS
PROCEDEN[S]
DE THALA
MO SVO[33]

The other (Plate 181, Fig. 3) with bare head and long beard is Ezekiel, as is indicated by the inscription on the scroll:

✠ VIDI POR
TAM IN DO

[32] According to Giovanni da Musso, *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 618, relics of the saints Giustina, Cipriano, Artemio, Candida and Paulina were preserved in the cathedral.

[33] Ps., xviii, 6.

MO DOMINI
CLAVSAM
ET VIR NŌ
TRANSI
ET PER EAM
QM SOLVS
DS INGRE
DITVR ET
EGREDITVR
PER EAM[34]

It is evident, therefore, that we have here, as in the baptistery of Parma and at Borgo San Donnino, the two prophets, Ezekiel and David, placed together. In point of style these two figures are extremely important. The fine folds of the drapery, the working of the beard, the highly arched eyebrows, the perforated pupils, recall Chartres and other French sculptures of the XII century. The cords of the feet in these statues are slightly accentuated, but not so much so as in the work of Guglielmo da Modena. The hands are small and fine. The figures themselves are full of dignity and architectural character; in more than one important particular they foreshadow the work of Benedetto.

On the capital on the north side of the south portal of the façade is sculptured the murder of Abel, ABEL, by Cain, CHAIM. On the lintel are reliefs (Plate 182, Fig. 4) depicting the Presentation in the Temple with the inscription, OFFERTVR DEVS; the Flight into Egypt, ATQ FVGIT; the Baptism of Christ, SIC FONTE LAVATVR; and the three scenes of the temptation by the devil, TEMPTATVR TRIPLICI DEVS ARTE DOLI SIN . . . . . Below is the legend, HOC OPVS INTENDAT QVISQVIS BONVS EXIT ET INT[RAT]. On the northern capital of the portal are sculptured two figures, one bearded, the other beardless. Each holds his right hand on his hip, his left over his ear. It has been conjectured by Zimmermann[35] that these figures depict Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise. On the left jamb of the same portal is the figure of Patience, PACIENCIA, holding a book. On the inside of the jamb a figure sitting cross-legged probably represents Usury. On the other side is Avarice, AVA[RI]CIA, with his hands on his knees, and on the outside of the jamb, Humility, HVMILITAS. In the spandrels of the Lombard porch are two figures with scrolls, representing the prophets Enoch, HENOC, and Elijah, HELIAS. Two hunchbacked caryatids of the same porch perhaps depict vices: the one to the left sits on a monster, resembling a lion; on the pedestal is the inscription:

✠ ENVE[D]IA CELV CV . . . . .

[34] Ezech., xliv, 2. [35] 94.

The figures of Faith, Hope and Charity in the central porch are all modern. On the archivolt of the central portal are reliefs with signs of the zodiac, and other astronomical subjects. They are arranged in this order: ARIES, the ram; TAVRVS, the bull; G[EMI]NI, the twins; CANCER, the crab; LE[O], the lion; VIRGO, the virgin; EVR[IV]S REX VENTORVM, an angel blowing a trumpet; ANGELVS, an angel holding a star, STELLA, represented as a disk upon which is a face emanating rays;[36] LVNA, the bust of a woman holding a crescent above her head; a hand of which the thumb and first two fingers are held up in benediction, DEXTERA DEI; SOL, a disk on which is sculptured the head of the sun surrounded by rays; STELLA COMMETA, symmetrical with the Stella and represented as a disk enclosing a head with conical bonnet, from whose mouth emerge rays—this disk is borne by a flying angel, ANGE[L]VS; AVSTER M͡ERIDIE, an angel or demon blowing a trumpet; LIBRA, a man with scales; SCORPIVS, a scorpion; SAGITARIVS, the archer; CAPRICORNVS, a monster with fish's tail and the fore-quarters of a goat; A[QVA]RIVS, the water-pourer, and PESCES, the fish. It is evident that these sculptures, like the similar ones at Sagra S. Michele by the same sculptor, are full of symbolical meaning. The right hand of God placed in the centre of the relief indicates that the entire universe receives its being and motion from the divine will. On either side of the Deity stand His prime ministers, the sun and the moon. The star and the comet, each in its sphere revolved by an angel, indicate that the revolution of the heavenly bodies is accomplished by the appointed ministers of God. Then follow the two opposing winds, also inspired by the Deity; and finally the twelve constellations of the zodiac, which indicate the twelve months whose succession follows in accordance with the divine will. On the jambs of the portals are the vices Usury, VSVRA, and Avarice, AV͡ARCIA. On the lintel is a series of nine modern reliefs.

On the archivolt of the northern portal (Plate 181, Fig. 1) is the Lamb of God. In the spandrels are the two figures of the two Johns, both with haloes. The Evangelist holds a book, the Baptist a scroll with the inscription: HEC|CE AG|NVS| DEI. The capitals to the left show two naked and contorted figures, those to the right two clothed figures, each with one hand on his face, the other on his hip. They probably depict Adam and Eve, after the fall—first in Paradise and afterwards expelled. At each end of the lintel there is a single standing figure, perhaps a prophet. In the centre are reliefs depicting the Annunciation (Mary stands to the left), the Visitation, the Nativity (Mary is shown in bed and Joseph beside her, overhead is a lamp; the infant Christ rests in the manger above which are seen the heads of an ox and an ass and the star of Bethlehem), the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi. On the jambs are depicted two virtues,

[36] This probably refers to the mediæval astronomical conception that the spheres of the heavens, each of which contained one planet, were revolved by angels.

Patience, PACIEN[TIA], and another perhaps Humility. On the inside of the north jamb, a figure with his hands on his knees, naked above the waist and with protruding ribs, probably represents a vice, though the symmetrical figure seated with his hands on his knees is labelled ATLANS.

The great caryatid to the right (the one bearing the Lombard porch), is supplied with the inscription:

O QAM GRANDE PONDVS SVOR[E] FERO

It is evident that the sculptures of the northern and southern portals present certain marked differences in style. In the northern portal the heads are much too large, the figures stunted and heavy. The bottom fringe of the draperies is formed by a very curious, strongly marked curve, punctuated at intervals by bored holes. The effect is not unlike certain representations of the sea in Japanese art. Draperies of the same type are found in the two Johns of the southern portal, and in the Enoch and Elijah of the central porch, but not to the same extent in the archivolt of the southern portal. In the northern portal, the artist betrays an extraordinary fondness for representing his subjects on their knees, with their heels twisted up back of their buttocks. The Adam and Eve of the northern portal are much more subtle and less heavy than the Adam and Eve of the southern portal. In the southern portal the feet are treated with a technique very different from that shown in the feet of the northern portal. They are much more conspicuous, and not only do they seem to bear no weight, but they appear to be plastered on gratuitously below the garments. These feet are enormously large, and seen in profile or plan. The composition of the southern portal is even more crude and restless than that of the northern portal. Notwithstanding all these differences, however, the sculptures present so many points of contact that it is entirely probable they are by the same hand.

There can be no doubt that this hand is that of the same Nicolò who has left us signed works in the cathedrals of Verona and Ferrara, at S. Zeno of Verona, and at Sagra S. Michele. Not only is the style of the Piacenza sculptures remarkably similar to these others, but numerous iconographical peculiarities are repeated. Thus the inscription *hoc opus intendat quisquis bonus exit et intrat* occurs both at Sagra S. Michele and Piacenza. Similarly, the astronomical cycle is sculptured in both edifices, in a very similar form, and is a subject not repeated elsewhere in Lombard art. The placing of the two Johns, one on either side of the arch of the portal, in the spandrel, is a favourite device of Nicolò, and is repeated in the cathedrals of Verona and Ferrara, and at S. Zeno of Verona. The design of the Lombard porches, the columns supported on caryatids, and the medallions sculptured on the archivolt, are all characteristic of the work of Nicolò. It seems, therefore, beyond doubt that the sculptures of the façade at Piacenza are his work.

The east window of the apse is flanked by interesting sculptures. Above on either side is the Lamb of God. Then is represented the Annunciation,

Gabriel bearing a scroll with the inscription AVE| MARIA| GRACIA| PLENA| DNS| TECV|M, and Mary with the legend ✠ ECCE ANCIL|LA DNI; below the two prophets, Baalam bearing a scroll with the inscription ORIE|TVR| STEL|LA EX| IACOB,[37] and Isaiah with a scroll ECCE| VIRGO| CONCI|PIET| ET PAR|IET FI|LIVM.[38]

The style of these statues of the eastern window seems more advanced than that of the statues of the western portal. The figures still have a little of the blank appearance of the Cremona prophets, and seem to be carved from a rectangular block, a characteristic also shared by a caryatid in the north gallery. On the other hand, the folds of the drapery, while not realistic, are fine and architectural and almost suggest Chartres. The pupils of the eyes are incised, the proportions are fine, and the faces, although rather expressionless, have none of the Assyrian-like appearance peculiar to the Cremona prophets. The arms are glued to the sides; the feet are shown in plan, but the cords are not accentuated. Some of the draperies have a slight tendency to fall in zigzags, but much less so than at Cremona, and the beards and hair are much more freely worked than in the sculptures of Guglielmo da Modena.

In the western portal of the southern transept is a relief depicting Christ seated and holding a book in His left hand, with His right hand raised in benediction. To His right is a kneeling female figure, perhaps S. Giustina, on His left a kneeling angel. The form of the limbs is well expressed beneath the tightly drawn draperies. The legs of the Christ are spread far apart as in the sculpture of the northern transept at Cremona, but the treatment of the faces and the flying drapery of S. Giustina recall the style of the statues of Castell'Arquato, while the capitals indicate an even later date. These sculptures may, consequently, be assigned to c. 1200.

On two buttresses of the southern side of the church are large seated statues of which it is difficult to determine either the epoch or the subject.

V. The construction of the cathedral of Piacenza was begun in 1122 with the inner brick core of the apse. By 1132 the interior of the choir with its vaults, the interior of the transepts with their vaults, the crossing up to the triforium level, and the façade sculptures had been finished. From c. 1135 to c. 1150, the exterior galleries of the absidioles, the side aisles and the nave as far as the triforium level were erected. Then was begun the task of covering the outside walls of the edifice with marble. The apse was finished perhaps c. 1165, but the upper gallery was radically altered later, probably in the XIV century. The stone coating of the flanks of the nave and galleries was erected c. 1165-c. 1175, when work was again interrupted. Soon after 1202 the stone coating of the transepts was undertaken, the southern transept portal was erected, and the exterior galleries of the transepts were finished.

[37] Num., xxiv, 17. [38] Isai., vii, 14.

Between 1202 and 1215 the triforium of the nave and the vaults of the nave and lantern were erected. The crypt was added about the same time. The campanile was erected in 1341 and the western façade was completed subsequently.

PIACENZA, S. ANTONINO

(Plate 182, Fig. 1, 5)

I. A plan, section and capital of S. Antonino of Piacenza, drawn after the XIX century restorations, have been published by Osten.[1] The historians Campi and Poggiali have collected the documentary evidence bearing upon the construction of the edifice, and Ambiveri has published a description of the architecture. Venturi[2] has recently studied the sculptures of the portal.

II. The church of S. Antonino was the first cathedral of Piacenza, and is believed to have been one of the earliest religious edifices of the city. In the *Chronicon Episcoporum Placentinorum* we read: "Vittore I (c. 322-375) was elected bishop of Piacenza in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 322, and sat fifty-three years. . . . He caused to be built the church of S. Antonino, our patron, and consecrated it under the name of S. Vittore. When he was dying, he said to those who were by: 'After my death one greater than I shall rest in my tomb.' This was fulfilled, since in his tomb was buried the body of S. Antonino, martyr, and our patron."[3]

A diploma of Lodovico Pio of April 25, 820, cites an earlier diploma of Ildeprando, of 744. "Flavius Ildeprando the king, to the church of the blessed martyrs and confessors of Christ Antonino and Vittore, situated without the walls of the city of Piacenza where their holy bodies are buried, and to our blessed father Tommaso, bishop and *custode* of that church. . . . It is well known to all that not long ago in just punishment for sin, the city of Piacenza was burned, and all your churches which had been built from the time of our predecessors to the present were destroyed in the same fire. . . . Done at Pavia, in the palace, on the thirty-first of March, in the ninth year of our reign, the fourteenth Indiction (*sic*)."[4] From this diploma, we may

[1] Plate XXIV. [2] III, 252.

[3] Victor Primus Episcopus Placentinus electus fuit in dicto Pontificatu Anno Incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi CCCXXII. & sedit annis LIII. . . . Hic ædificari fecit Ecclesiam S. Antonini Patroni nostri, & eam consecravit sub nomine S. Victoris. Hic dum extrema ageret, dixit adstantibus: *Post obitum meum requiescet in meo tumulo major me.* Quod factum est, quoniam in ejus tumulo reconditum est corpus S. Antonini Martyris Patroni nostri. . . . (*Chronicon Episcoporum Placentinorum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 627).

[4] Flavius Hilprandus Rex Ecclesiae beatissimi Martyris et Confessoris Christi Antonini, et Victoris sita foris muris Ciuitatis Placentin. vbi eorum sancta corpora requiescunt humata, et beatissimo Patre nostro Thomae Episcopo custodi eius. . . .

infer that the church of S. Antonino was destroyed by fire and rebuilt about the year 744. The diploma of Ildeprando was confirmed by Rachi two years later.[5]

In 855 the cathedral was transferred from S. Antonino to the church of the Assunzione, subsequently known as S. Giustina,[6] but as late as 881 the title of the diocese is given as SS. Antonino, Vittore and Giustina in a diploma of Charles III.[7]

A diploma, purporting to be of 915, states that at this date the church was already officiated by a chapter of canons regular, but the document is false.[8] In the early part of the XI century the basilica was rebuilt. The *Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum* states that the bishop Sigifredo (997-1031) "restored the church of S. Antonino, our patron, which was ruined."[9] According to Ambiveri and Mothes[10] this event took place in 1014, but Giovanni da Musso states "in the year of Christ, 1022, the church of S. Antonino e S. Vittore was restored by Sigifredo, bishop of Piacenza."[11] In 1133 the pope Innocent II conceded a bull in favour of the canons of S. Antonino.[12]

Idcirco manifestum est omnibus, quod non ante multum tempus merentibus malis Placentina est urbs ignis incendio concremata, et omnes murimina [= *munimina*] Ecclesiae vestrae, quae ab antecessorum nostrorum tempore nunc vsque fuerant factae, ab eodem incendio sunt combustae, per quibus ibi singulis fuere rebus collatis. . . . Confirmamus vobis omnes Ecclesias Diaeceseas vestras. . . . Acto Ticino in Palatio sub die II. Kal. Aprilium anno felicissimi Regni nostri nono per indictione XIJ faeliciter. (Troya, IV, 143).

[5] . . . Ecclesiae beatissimi Martyris, et Confessoris Christi Antonini et Victoris sita prope muros Civitatis nostrae Placentinae, vbi sancta eorum corpora quiescunt humata, et vir beatissimo Patre nostro Thomae Episcopo Custodi ejus. . . . Actum Ticinio in Palatio, quarto die mensis Martij anno faelicissimi Regni nostri Secundo, Indictione decimaquarta faeliciter. (Troya, IV, 219).

[6] Campi, I, 211.

[7] Karolus divina ordinante providentia imperator augustus. . . . Idcirco notum sit . . . quia vir reverentissimus Paulus sancte placentinae urbis ecclesiae episcopus, quae est constituta in honorem ss. Antonini, Victoris et Iustine, nostram adiens serenitatem obtulit nobis praeccepta piae recordationis domni et proavi nostri Karoli quondam serenissimi imperatoris, . . . in quibus continebatur insertum, eo quod olim in eadem urbe, accidente casu, non solum ipsa civitas cum domibus et caeteris aedificiis in ea constitutis igne cremata sit, verum etiam et omnia instrumenta chartarum, quae liberalitate bonorum hominum praefatae ecclesiae collata sunt, in eodem incendio deperiisse. . . . Data V idus aprilis anno incarnationis Domini DCCCLXXXI, indictione XIV anno vero imperii domni Karoli primo. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 509).

[8] This text has been cited above under the cathedral of Piacenza, p. 241.

[9] Ecclesiam S. Antonini Patroni nostri diruptam restauravit. (*Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 630).

[10] I, 381.

[11] Anno Christi MXXII. Ecclesia SS. Antonini & Victoris fuit restaurata per dictum Domnum Sigifredum Episcopum Placentiæ. (Johannis de Mussis, *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 451).

[12] Poggiali, IV, 121; Tomassetti, II, 386.

A chronicle of Piacenza states that in the year 1171 the portal of the church of S. Antonino was begun.[13] The reconstruction of the doorway was doubtless the first step in a general restoration of the church, which continued for some time afterwards. Of this reconstruction we learn from two sources. The first is a passage in the chronicle of Piacenza, which states that in the year 1179 the assembly of the commune was transferred from S. Antonino to the cathedral.[14] There can be no doubt that the removal was occasioned by the two facts that the new cathedral was ready for occupancy and that the church of S. Antonino was to be closed for restoration. The second text is a passage in the *Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum* where we read: "Tedaldo of Milan (1167-1192) was elected bishop of Piacenza in the year of our Lord 1186 (*sic*) and sat ten years (*sic*). . . . In his time the church of S. Antonino was built."[15]

In 1350 a large narthex or portal known as the Paradiso was erected before the northern façade. The date is known from the inscription.[16] In 1402 the existing campanile was erected, and in 1466 the church and Paradiso were covered with rib vaults.[17] In 1521 the northern portal was baroccoized, as we learn from the date inscribed in the pediment. In 1530 the campanile threatened ruin, but was restored at the expense of the commune. In 1562 the edifice was radically altered, the orientation changed and many barocco additions made. In 1718 the cloisters were destroyed,[18] and in the following year the canons obtained a privilege from the pope.[19] In 1775 the Paradiso was adorned with a railing.[20] Even more destructive than the barocco restorations were the alterations executed in the church in the sixth decade of the XIX century, thanks to which the edifice has lost almost entirely its primitive character.

[13] 1172. . . . Eodem anno primo die quadragesime hostium ecclesie beati Antonini inceptum est. (*Annales Placentini Guelfi*, M. G. H., *Script.*, XVIII, 413). In the Codex, it is true, *Antonii* is written by a copyist's error for *Antonini* (see *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. *Mon. Hist. Parm. et Plac.*, III, 8); but I have no hesitation in accepting the emendation of the editors of the M. G. H. The existing portal of S. Antonino, for stylistic reasons, clearly belongs to this epoch.

[14] Anno Christi MCLXXIX. Platea Communis Placentiæ fuit adampliata, & conctio remota fuit à S. Antonino ad Majorem Ecclesiam. (*Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 455).

[15] Thedaldus Mediolanensis electus fuit Episcopus Placentinus Anno Domini MCLXXXVI. Sedit annis X. Hujus tempore Ecclesia S. Antonini adificatur. (*Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 631).

[16] MCCCL| HOC EDIFICIVM| CV̄ HOC OPERE| FACTVM FVIT| TPRE| VEN. RE͞NDI I XPO| PATRIS DN̄I| ROGERII CACIE| EPI PLACENTINI| ET COTTIS

[17] Ambiveri. [18] Poggiali, XII, 311. [19] *Ibid.*, 321.

[20] Inscription: MDCCLXXV| INSTAVRATVM| CLATHRATVM| EXORNATVMQ| ALEXANDRO PISANI| EPO. PLAC.| ET COM.

III. The building has been so thoroughly denatured (Plate 182, Fig. 5), that it is impossible to determine what were its original forms. It is evident, however, that considerable portions of the ancient church still exist under the pseudo-Gothic stucco, and there is reason to suppose that an intelligent restoration might bring to light important remains of the Lombard style. It appears probable that the orientation has been reversed, and that the western bay of the existing nave was originally the choir. The Lombard nave was subsequently replaced by the existing presbytery. Over the crossing there must have been originally a Lombard cupola, which at a later date was transformed into an octagonal campanile (Plate 182, Fig. 5).

IV. The only portions of the original structure now visible are the northern portal and the arched corbel-tables of the western bays of the nave and the transept (Plate 182, Fig. 5). The latter were grouped three and three by pilaster strips, some of which have been destroyed.

The northern portal is elaborately moulded and decorated with spiral and zigzag shafts, leaf ornaments composed of nesting acanthus leaves (with crockets), bead-mouldings, and other rich decorations. On either side are two statues which undoubtedly represent Adam and Eve. Eve (Plate 182, Fig. 1) holds the forbidden fruit in her right hand; Adam, in a constrained, caryatid-like position, shrinks from the temptation to which he nevertheless yields. Both figures cover their shame with pieces of drapery, falling from their left shoulder, and held in their right hand. The legs are set on the bodies in a peculiar way. They do not appear to come together at the crotch, but are attached to the outside of the hips, like the limbs of marionettes. The legs themselves are woodeny, and seem to have neither bone nor muscle. The feet are set straight outwards, and are seen somewhat in plan. The lower line of the draperies is formed by a wavy line. The shoulders are peculiarly angular, and the arms glued to the sides. Adam's head is merely stuck on to his body at an angle, the neck being entirely omitted. Eve's ribs are denoted by a series of parallel lines incised down the middle of her torso. Eve, in her angularity and lack of womanly charm, suggests a youth more than a woman, and no attempt is made to indicate her breasts.

V. Although so little of the ancient structure of S. Antonino survives, it is fortunate that some portions of each of the three epochs of construction are still extant. The arched corbel-tables, grouped three and three, evidently belong to the church erected in 1022. The northern portal, with its statues, is of 1171, and the central tower belongs to the subsequent rebuilding of the church (1179).

PIACENZA, S. SAVINO

(Plate 183; Plate 184; Plate 185; Plate 186, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8)

I. The church of S. Savino of Piacenza has been singularly neglected by archæologists. Venturi studied the mosaics[1] and the sculptures[2] (which he considers intermediate between Nicolò and Antelami), but passed by in silence the purely architectural features of the church. Strzygowski, Aus'm Weerth[3] and Müntz[4] have all similarly been wholly absorbed in the mosaics. Dehio und Von Bezold[5] and Ambiveri have, it is true, noticed the architecture of the church, but have completely failed to appreciate its importance.

A certain number of local scholars have occupied themselves with S. Savino. By all odds the most important publication on the church is the little book published at Piacenza in 1903, under the title *La Regia Basilica di S. Savino.* This contains six separate monographs: *Memorie Critico-Storiche della Basilica di S. Savino,* by D. Gaetano Malchiodi; *Iscrizioni Cristiane* and *Mosaici della Basilica di S. Savino,* by G. Tononi; *L'Arte nel Crocefisso di San Savino,* by G. Ferrari; *Il Tabernacolo del 1510,* by Pietro Piacenza; and *I Restauri della R. Basilica di San Savino,* by Ettore Martini. The book is illustrated with thirty-four half-tones, several of which are of great value, since made from photographs taken before or during the restoration. The history of the restorations by Ingegnere Martini is especially important, since it contains descriptions of parts of the church which now no longer exist, and a detailed analysis of the radical alterations carried out under the author's supervision.

Valuable chiefly for its illustrations in half-tone is the pamphlet on the capitals of S. Savino, by Malchiodi. The same writer has contributed a life of S. Savino that contains some useful historical references and several half-tone illustrations of the basilica. In the brief guide-book of Cerri, the history of the abbey is summarized. The anonymous pamphlet, *Piacenza Monumentale,* contains a number of half-tones taken from *La Regia Basilica.* Other half-tones were published in the hand-book by Fermi, in the Bonomi series. Bozzini's drawing of the mosaic of the crypt (Plate 186, Fig. 8) was reproduced by Faccioli.[6] In 1912 I published a monograph upon the church in the *American Journal of Archæology.*

II. On the second respond of the southern side aisle counting from the west, is an inscription which states that the church of S. Savino was built by the bishop Everardo, in the year 903; that in the year 1000 (*sic*) it was rebuilt by Bishop Sigifredo; that Bishop Aldo consecrated it on October 15, 1107; that a thousand years after its first foundation, the pious prevosto

[1] III, 427. [2] III, 245, 252. [3] 108, Taf. VIII.
[4] 16. [5] Taf. 163 A. [6] 110.

Cassinario, finding that the architectural character of the building had suffered through barocco additions and that the edifice was threatening ruin, restored the church in its original (*sic*) form; and finally that Bishop Giovanni Battista (Scalabrini) celebrated the consecration on November 8, 1903.[7] This inscription, it is true, is no older than the restoration of 1903. It is here cited because it offers a convenient résumé of the history of the monument.

There is a tradition that S. Savino, bishop of Piacenza, founded, a short distance outside of the city, a church dedicated to the Apostles, in which he himself was subsequently buried. In fact, in the *Chronicon Placentinum*[8] of Giovanni da Musso there is a remarkable passage to the following effect: "Constantinus and Opinianus, who were of Rome, built a church at Piacenza in honour of the Twelve Apostles. This church was consecrated by the blessed Bishop Savino. In it rest the bodies of the bishop and of five other saints. . . . Concerning this church others have written: I, Mauro, humble bishop in the reign of Lothair, by order of the angels came to my own city and buried the body of Bishop S. Savino on the seventeenth of January. I consecrated the altar in honour of him and S. Antonino on the fourth of February. I buried S. Gelasio on the sixth of March. I buried S. Vittorino the deacon . . . in May. I reburied the body of S. Domnino the deacon on the twenty-third of December. The blessed virgin Vittoria departed this life; after her death, Mauro, the bishop, lived six years. I, Abbot Ephrem, buried his body next to the body of S. Savino, at the left, and wrote this with my own hand, and embalmed the body here. I come not to break the law, but to fulfil it. No one shall be crowned except him who has fought the good fight. The year of the incarnation of Christ, 447." Then follows what we learn from another text which will be cited below to be an epitaph on the tomb of the saint: "Savino, a man of sanctity and righteousness, founder of this monastery, rests for eternity at the feet of the saints. His body is worthy of being placed beside those of the Apostles." The chronicler resumes: "These very old

[7] HANC DIVI SABINI AEDEM
AB EVERARDO EPISC AEDIFICATAM
ANNO CMIIII
AB ANTISTITE VERO SIGEFRIDO
ANNO M ITERUM EXCITATAM
ALDUS CONSECRABAT ID OCT MCVII
MILLE A PRIMA FUNDATIONE
ELAPSIS ANNIS
EAMDEM IN PLURIBUS CORRUPTAM
ET IAM OCCULTE COLLABENTEM
ANTIQUAE SIMPLICITATI RESTITUIT
PIUS CASSINARIUS PREPOSITUS
CONSECRAVIT
IOANNES BATISTA EPISCOP
VI IDUS NOVEMBRIS MCMIII

[8] Ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 620.

writings, which can with difficulty be read, are found in a certain very old book in the church of S. Savino at Piacenza. The relics of the saints referred to were buried in the old church of S. Savino at Piacenza, that is, the church which the bishop Savino consecrated in honour of the Twelve Apostles."[9]

Giovanni da Musso was an author who lived in the XV century. His notices, although taken, as he asserts, from an ancient manuscript, offer so many difficulties that they are open to the suspicion of being forgeries perpetrated at an early date, possibly with the purpose of authenticating spurious relics. Thus, the document is dated in the year of the incarnation of Christ, 447; but in the first half of the V century the year was always denoted by the names of the consuls. Furthermore, the emperor Lothair is spoken of as living at that time, whereas, in fact, he was not born until over three hundred years later. Finally, to pass by many minor inconsistencies, an abbot of S. Savino is mentioned in a document purporting to be of the V century, when, as we shall presently see, the abbey was not established until the X century.

However, the good faith of Giovanni da Musso himself is not to be doubted, and we are fortunately able to prove that he has quoted his sources exactly, since the manuscript to which he refers is still in existence and has been studied by Poggiali.[10] This manuscript, which was written in 1253 by a certain Ruffino, monk and *camarlingo* of the monastery of S. Savino, contains an index or catalogue of the manuscripts which the archives possessed at that time. After the catalogue, begins a history of the monastery. "The church of S. Savino," he says, "was founded in the year 423, and was, at first, situated

[9] Constantinus & Opinianus, qui de Roma fuerunt, ædificaverunt Ecclesiam unam in Placentia ad honorem duodecim Apostolorum, quam consecravit Beatissimus Antistes Sabinus, cujus corpus hic requiescit, cum quinque corporibus Sanctorum. . . . De ista Ecclesia & alii. *Ego Maurus humilis Episcopus de Lotherio Regno, & propter Angelicam jussionem veni ad propriam Civitatem, & sepelivi corpus Sancti Sabini Episcopi XVI. Kal. Februarii. Istud Altare ego consecravi in suum honorem, & Sancti Antonini Martyris Pridie Nonas Februarii. Sanctum Gelasium sepelivi Pridie Nonas Martii. Sepelivi corpus Sancti Victorini Diaconi . . . . . Idus Madii. Recondivi corpus Sancti Donini Diaconi X. Kalend. Januarii. Migravit de hoc seculo beatissima Virgo Victoria; post obitum eorum vixit Maurus Episcopus annis VI. Ego Abbas Ephrem sepelivi corpus ejus juxta corpus S. Sabini in sinistram partem, & scripsi mea manu, & condivi hic. Non veni legem solvere, sed adimplere. Nemo coronabitur nisi qui legitimè certaverit. Anno Incarnationis Christi CCCCXLVII.*

"Has ædes condens sacra virtute Sabinus
"Sanctorum pedibus junctus requiescit in ævum,
"Dignus Apostolica sociatus corpore sede."

Hæc scriptura multum vetustissima reperitur in quodam Libro maximè vetustissimo in Ecclesia S. Savini Episcopi Placentiæ, quæ vix potest legi. Hæ Reliquiæ Sanctorum reconditæ erant in Ecclesia veteri S. Savini Episcopi Placentiæ, quam dictus Antistes Savinus in honorem duodecim Apostolorum consecravit.

[10] II, 55-75.

in the fields outside of the city of Piacenza. This I found written in a certain privilege almost illegible because of its great age, so that I could with difficulty make out what I was seeking. But I did find who were its founders and whence they came, since it is written in a certain very old martyrology that there were two men, illustrious for their wisdom and goodness, and of eminent holiness, who came from the city of Rome; one was called Constantinus and the other Opinianus. They founded a church situated, as has been said, in the fields outside the city of Piacenza and dedicated to the Twelve Apostles. This church that they built was large and splendid, as may be gathered from what is written in a certain privilege of the blessed Everardo, bishop of Piacenza. This was the church dedicated by S. Savino, and here the blessed Mauro buried solemnly the body of S. Savino, after the death of the latter. In after years, by the grace of divine mercy, innumerable concessions and gifts and many privileges were bestowed upon this church by the popes of the Holy Roman Church and by Catholic emperors. But of these diplomas I can not give an account; for, about the year 902, pagans, enemies of the Cross of Christ, came and devastated whatever they could lay their hands upon that was outside of the city of Piacenza, and in their tyrannous rage put the inhabitants to the sword. These hordes completely burned and destroyed the church of S. Savino, which had originally been consecrated in honour of the Twelve Apostles. The above facts are related by S. Everardo, an illustrious bishop of Piacenza, who laboured with all his might to build anew the monastery in which I am."[11]

The covers of this document are formed of two manuscripts—one, a ritual, the other, a memorandum of the consecration of the new church of S. Savino, and of the relics which were deposited in that edifice. The latter, also published

[11] *Fuit enim primo constructa Ecclesia Beati Savini in Campanea Placentina a prima fundatione sui CCCCXXIII. a Christi Nativitate, secundum quod reperi in quodam Privilegio nimia vestustate consumpto, ita quod vix in eo potui deprehendere quod quærebam. Sed & Fundatores qui fuerunt, & unde originem duxerint reperi, scilicet in quodam vetustissimo Martyrologio, quod fuerunt duo viri sapientia, & bonitate præclari, sanctitate, & religione ornati de Civitate Romana. Unus vocabatur Constan. & alius Opinian. Fundaverunt enim primo, ut dictum est, quamdam Ecclesiam in Campanea Placentina ad honorem Dei, & XII. Apostolorum, & fecerunt eam miræ magnitudinis, secundum quod in quodam Privilegio D. Enurardi Episcopi Placentiæ continetur; quæ consecrata fuit per Beatissimum Savinum Episcopum Placentiæ; in qua Ecclesia Beatissimus Maurus corpus S. Savini post mortem ejusdem canticis sepellivit. Inde factum est, divina suffragante clementia, quod eidem Ecclesiæ innumerabiles concessiones, & offersiones, & multa privilegia a summis Pontificibus S. R. E. & a fidelibus Imperatoribus sint collata, de quibus mentionem facere non potero. Tempore enim quo currebat DCCCCII, venerunt Pagani, & inimici Crucis Christi, & destruxerunt, & combrerunt quicquid repererunt extra Placentinæ mœnia Civitatis, tyrannica rabie, hostili gladio humana corpora trucidantes; & tunc cremaverunt, & destruxerunt penitus Ecclesiam Beati Savini, quæ in honorem XII. Apostolorum fuerat primitus consecrata. Et prædicta narrata inveniuntur per D. Enurardum egregium Præsulem Placentinum, qui totis viribus studuit istud Monasterium, in quo sum, de novo videlicet fabricare.*

by Poggiali,[12] reads as follows: "The church of the bishop and confessor S. Savino was dedicated in October, 1107. These are the relics there placed: first, under the principal altar, the body of S. Savino Confessor."[13] Then follows a long list of relics, after which the manuscript continues: "This church [Mosia has been added above in a later hand] was built by the Romans Constantinus and Opinianus, in honour of the Twelve Apostles. The blessed bishop, Savino, whose body rests there together with the bodies of five other saints, consecrated it."[14] After another list of relics, the manuscript resumes: "Near by is another tomb where lie three virtuous monks, Luca, Ambrogio, and Privato; elsewhere is the tomb of the abbot Vittorino and others."[15] Then follows the same passage quoted by Giovanni da Musso, with indeed a few verbal differences, but not such as throw any light upon the difficulties of chronology. Thus Mauro is spoken of as the last (*ultimus*) bishop of the reign of Lothair, instead of as "humble" (*humilis*) bishop.[16]

But these are not the only copies of the mysterious notice that have come down to us. Another, recording precisely the same things in the same words, is said by Poggiali to exist in one of the two *vetustissimi necrologii* of the archives of the monastery, and still others are extant in various other manuscripts. Certain of these have been stated to be as old as the X century, but Poggiali, who appears to have made a careful study of the subject, believes that none can be assigned to so early an epoch. At any rate it is clear that the notice was fabricated before 1253, when Ruffino, whose good faith there

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *MCVII. de Mens. Octob. dedicata est Ecclesia B. Savini Episcopi, & Confessoris.* Hæ sunt Reliquiæ ibi positæ. Primo in Altare Majori est Corpus B. Savini Confessoris, *etc., etc.*

[14] *Istam vero Ecclesiam* (*Moxiarum* evvi scritto di sopra, ma da penna più moderna) *ædificaverunt Constantius, & Opinianus, qui de Roma fuerunt, ad honorem XII. Apostolorum, quam consecravit Beatiss. Antistes Sabinus, cujus Corpus hic requiescit, cum quinque corporibus Sanctorum.*

[15] *Ad latera eorum alium sepulchrum, ubi requiescunt tres Monachi Religiosi, idest Luca, Ambrosius, & Privatus. In alia cuba, contra nullam horam* [sic], *sepulchrum Abbatis Victorini de ista Ecclesia, & alii.*

[16] I give this text, as cited by Poggiali, entire for purposes of comparison with the text of Giovanni da Musso quoted above: *Ego Maurus ultimus Episcopus de Lotherio Regno, & propter angelicam visionem veni ad propriam Civitatem, & sepellivi Corpus S. Sabini Episcopi XVI. Kalend. Februar. Istud Altarium ego consecravi in suum honorem, & S. Antonini Martyris. Pridie Non. Febr. Sanctum Gelasium sepellivi. Pridie Non. Martii sepellivi Corpus S. Victoris Diaconi. Idus Maji recondivi Corpus Domnini. X. Kal. Jan. migravit de hoc sæculo Beatissima Victoria. Post obitum eorum vixit Maurus Episcopus Annis VI. Id. Septemb. migravit. Ego Abbas Ephrem sepellivi Corpus ejus, juxta Corpus S. Sabini in sinistram partem, & scripsi manu mea, & condivi hic. Non veni legem solvere, sed adimplere. Nemo coronabitur, nisi qui legitimè certaverit. Epitaphium supra tumbam S. Sabini. Has Ædes condens sacra virtute Sabinus, Sanctorum pedibus junctus requievit in ævum, dignus apostolica sociatus corpore sede.*

seems to be no reason to doubt, read it in a manuscript which he asserts was very ancient. At whatever date this false notice was concocted, it is entirely probable that it preserves for us, mixed with fictions, an authentic tradition, viz., that the body of S. Savino was buried in a church in the suburbs of Piacenza in a spot known as Mosia. As for the date 423 when, according to Ruffino, the church was founded, the saint was at that time certainly dead, although the year of his decease is somewhat doubtful. If, therefore, the church of the Apostles was built during his pontificate, as seems probable, it must have been founded somewhat earlier than this.

This same tradition is echoed in another notice, probably also inexact, but which seems to be derived from an independent source. The *Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum* states: "Savino built outside the city a wonderful monastery (*sic*) which afterwards was entirely destroyed and everything belonging to that monastery was transferred to the basilica of the Twelve Apostles by S. Mauro, his successor. The latter buried there S. Savino as well as Eusebio, Donnino, Vittore, Gelasio, and Vittoria."[17]

That the church of the Apostles was destroyed in 903 is known not only from the passage from Ruffino quoted above, but, happily, from the original charter of Everardo, which is still extant, and has been published by Campi.[18] In this charter the bishop states[19] that he and his chapter had unanimously vowed "to erect a monastery in the church of S. Savino, the Confessor of Christ, which is situated not far outside the walls of the city." He goes on to relate: "While we were desiring with fervent love to fulfil this vow, there came down upon us, alas! a vile and horrible tribe of wretched pagans, who put the inhabitants to the sword, and burned with the fire of their fury the churches of God, and in particular the church of S. Savino. Subsequently, we began to consider often and diligently how to avoid breaking our vow, and

[17] Hic [Sabinus] aedificavit extra Civitatem mirabile Monasterium, quod postea penitus destructum est, & omnia illius Monasterii fuerunt translata in Basilicam duodecim Apostolorum à Beato Mauro successore suo, qui corpus ejus sepelivit cum infrascriptis corporibus videlicet; Eusebium, Doninum, Victorem, Gelasium, & Victoriam. (Ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 627).

[18] I, 478.

[19] Quapropter pari voto, parique consensu statuimus Monasterium ædificare monasticum in Ecclesia B. Sauini Confessoris Christi sita haud procul foris Ciuitatis murum. . . . Hæc itaque vota dum feruenti amore cuperemus explere (heu pro dolor) superuenit misera, horrendaque gens infelicium Paganorum, qui hostili gladio corpora trucidantes, igneq; furoris Ecclesias Dei cremantes concremauerunt pariter præfatam B. Sauini Ecclesiam. Postea denique cæpimus frequenter, sedulèq; tractare, quatenus nostrum non casseretur votum; alterum diligenter requisiuimus situm. Quæsiuimus igitur, & miserante Deo inuenimus habilem & congruum locum infrà Ciuitatis mœnia in nostro scilicet prædio iustè, & legaliter acquisito; ibique in Dei nomine Ecclesiam ad honorem Dei, & S. Sauini à fundamentis construximus, atq; officinas monasticas ibidè ordinauimus. . . . Quo circa prædictum prædium nostrum ad eandem nouam S. Sauini Ecclesiam tradimus.

we earnestly sought another site for the monastery. By the mercy of God, our search was rewarded, and we found a suitable and fitting place within the walls of the city in a field which we had acquired justly and legally; and there we built a church from its foundations, in the name of God for the honour of God and S. Savino, and there we erected monastic buildings. . . . Wherefore, we give the said field to the new church of S. Savino." The deed was dated March 30, 903.[20] From this authentic document it is evident that anterior to the destruction by the Hungarians, there was no monastery connected with the church. The charter of Everardo seems to imply that in 903 the new church was already erected. Certain relics, however, were not translated until some years after this, for the *Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum* states: "Conrad was elected bishop of Piacenza in the year of our Lord 912. He translated the bodies of the saints Vittore, Donnino, Gelasio, and Peregrino into the crypt of S. Savino."[21] At any event, the building erected in the early years of the X century seems to have been hastily and poorly constructed (as, indeed, the misfortunes of that unhappy age may well have necessitated), since a century later the church was rebuilt. This fact is recorded by two late chroniclers: Giovanni da Musso, who states that "in the year of Christ 1005 the monastery of S. Savino was rebuilt without the walls of the city of Piacenza by Sigifredo, bishop of Piacenza";[22] and the author of the *Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum:* "Sigifredo was elected bishop of Piacenza in the year 997. He sat twenty-two years. . . . He built a wonderful monastery in the city of Piacenza in honour of S. Savino."[23]

That the church was again rebuilt at the end of the XI century and consecrated in 1107 is known from three sources. First, the manuscript in the archives described by Poggiali and already cited above, gives us the exact year of the consecration, October, 1107. Secondly, the same *Chronica Episcoporum Placentinorum* we have already often quoted, adds the name of the bishop who consecrated the church: "Aldo was elected bishop of Piacenza in the year 1103, and sat eleven years; he consecrated the church of S. Savino."[24] Thirdly, a text of Giovanni da Musso states that "in the year 1107

[20] Regnante D. Berengario gratia Dei Rege anno regni eius in Dei nomine sextodecimo, tertio Kalen. Aprilis, indictione sexta.

[21] Conradus eligitur Episcopus Placentinus Anno Domini DCCCCXII. Hic Corpora SS. Victoris, Donini, Gelasii, & Peregrini recondidit in inferiori Ecclesia S. Sabini. (Ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 629).

[22] Anno Christi MV. Monasterium S. Savini fuit rædificatum extra muros Civitatis Placentiæ per Sigifredum Episcopum Placentiæ. (Johannis de Mussis, *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 451). The charter of Everardo states distinctly that the church was *within* the walls of the city.

[23] Sigifredus electus fuit Episcopus Placentinus Anno Domini DCCCCXCVII. Hic sedit annis XXII. . . . Monasterium mirabile in Civitate Placentiæ in honorem S. Sabini ædificavit. (Ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 630).

[24] Aldo fuit electus Episcopus Placentinus Anno Domini MCIII. sedilque annis XI. . . . Hic consecravit Ecclesiam S. Sabini. (*Ibid.*, 630).

the monastery of S. Savino was consecrated by Lord Aldo, bishop of Piacenza."[25] That the consecration took place on the fifteenth day of October is added by Campi[26] and Poggiali.[27] Whence these authors derive this additional piece of information I do not know, but suspect that they may have had under their eyes a fourth notice of the consecration of 1107, of which I can find no trace. In any case the texts already cited are sufficient to establish the fact that the church was dedicated in that year.

The remaining history of the monastery may be briefly resumed. Endowed with more than the usual number of possessions and worldly goods by various pious benefactors, it became extremely wealthy and powerful. The vast extent of its lands is evident from the bull of Innocent II of c. 1132.[28] A bull of Alexander III, promulgated in 1173, confirms the previous bulls of Innocent, Lucius II (1144-1145), and Eugenius III (1145-1153), and takes the monastery (in which the rule of St. Benedict is to be observed) under the apostolic protection.[29]

The necrology of S. Savino records the death, on January 1, 1241, of Giovanni, abbot of S. Sisto, and monk of S. Savino, who caused the cloister, the dormitory and the infirmary of S. Savino to be reconstructed.[30] Later, like most of the Italian monasteries, S. Savino fell into decline. At the end of the XV century the church was completely restored by Ruffino di Lando, in a style very different from that of the early XII century, which it had doubtless preserved up to that epoch. This is recorded by an inscription, still extant in the church, that has been published by Ambiveri[31] and Malchiodi.[32] This rebuilding was doubtless occasioned by the fact that in 1495 the same Ruffino di Lando, who was the commendatary abbot, had dismissed the Benedictine monks, and installed instead monks of the order of St. Jerome. Gregory XIII, by a bull[33] dated from Frascati on May 19, 1579, suppressed the abbey and commendam and forbade the use of the insignia of abbatial dignity in the church. The monks of St. Jerome, however, still remained there until 1810.[34] In 1631 the ancient apse was replaced by a new choir, and in 1687 the nave was being covered with barocco stuccos. Chapels

[25] Anno MCVII. Consecratum fuit Monasterium S. Savini à Domino Aldo Episcopo Placentiæ. (*Ibid.*, 452). The same author records the consecration of 1107 a second time. (*Ibid.*, 621).

[26] I, 378. [27] IV, 58.

[28] Published in part by Poggiali, IV, 120. [29] Tomassetti, II, 759.

[30] Kal. Jan. 1241. Obiit dompnus Johannes abbas S. Systi, monachus S. Savini, qui fecit fieri eiusdem S. Savini claustrum, dormitorium, infirmariam de novo et multa alia bona. (*Necrologium S. Sabini Placentini*, apud Bresslau, 439).

[31] *Dei principali errori*, 34.

[32] *La Regia Basilica*, 31. [33] Poggiali, X, 197.

[34] Ambiveri, *Monumenti*, 18. Mabillon, however (*Ann. Ben.*, III, 320), who wrote in 1706, speaks of the monastery as united with the English College at Rome and the priory of S. Vittoria: Nunc monasterium istud unitum est Romano collegio Anglorum, cum prioratu sanctæ Victoriæ.

in the same style were added to the side aisles. The Lombard edifice disappeared beneath a coating of intonaco, although some portions of the XII century edifice always remained visible. The mosaics of the crypt were described by Campi in 1651; this author saw in the nave a mosaic representing a labyrinth which no longer exists. In the view of the façade printed by Poggiali in the middle of the XVIII century there is visible, it is true, no trace of XII century architecture, but Ambiveri, writing in 1888, speaks of the church as still preserving its Romanesque pilasters and crypt. However, he states that the pilasters had been stripped of their baroeco intonaco during the XIX century.[35] Not until the recent radical restoration of 1902-1903, was the interior of the church completely freed of its Renaissance embellishments.

III. The church consists at present of a nave of three double bays, two side aisles, a rectangular choir, and an apse (Plate 183). The northern side aisle terminates in an absidiole, while the southern is cut short by the campanile which rises in the easternmost bay. Before the recent restoration there were numerous baroeco chapels, but all except two have been removed. The nave is covered with rib vaults in its two easternmost bays, by a groin vault in its westernmost bay (Plate 185); the choir has a barrel vault, the side aisles and crypts groin vaults throughout.[36] There is no triforium gallery, but a high clearstory (Plate 185). The supports of the nave are alternately heavy and light (Plate 183). On the heavier piers is engaged a system of three shafts, which is carried through the capitals of the piers and receives the ribs of the vaulting (Plate 185). In front of the church is a narthex in the baroeco style, which probably replaces a destroyed narthex of the XII century. The ancient façade is still marred by baroeco intonaco, but it is clear that it was raised above the roof lines so as to mask the true form of the section of the church.

The campanile is older than the rest of the edifice. This is evident not only from its position, since it cuts off the southern side aisle, which is, as it were, built around it (Plate 183; Plate 186, Fig. 7), but from the fact that one of its windows, which must have opened outside formerly, now looks into the interior of the church and is cut across by one of the arches of the main arcade (Plate 186, Fig. 7). This campanile contains in its lower story a very slightly domed groin vault. The upper part of the tower has unfortunately been entirely denatured in the time of the Renaissance.

The groin vaults of the crypt are supplied with transverse and longitudinal arches, but doming is avoided, probably because the builders did not wish to raise higher than necessary the floor of the choir (Plate 185). This crypt

[35] This was done in 1855, according to Malchiodi, *Capitelli*, 3.

[36] Three vaults of the side aisles have been rebuilt. (Martini, in *La Regia Basilica*, 59).

of S. Savino is extraordinary in that it is placed entirely below the level of the church; I mean to say that the choir floor over it is hardly raised above the level of the nave. Raised choirs are characteristic of Lombard edifices of the XI and XII centuries, and it is necessary to go back to Early Christian or Carlovingian monuments, such as S. Salvatore at Brescia (Plate 34, Fig. 1), to find an example of a crypt thus sunk, like a cellar, below the level of the church. In the XVIII century the crypt was enlarged by the addition of a new bay to the westward; in the restoration of 1903 this bay was removed, and the existing stairway was erected.

The groin vaults of the side aisles are domed, and supplied with transverse and longitudinal arches (Plate 184). Of similar type is the groin vault of the westernmost bay of the nave (Plate 185). The rib vaults of the eastern bays of the nave have square diagonals of brick, and are also highly domed. The present choir is largely, and the apse entirely, modern, but the latter has been restored on the traces of the old foundations, which are still visible in the exterior of the east walls. The doorway and tripled window on the south side of the choir are modern, but the barrel vault over the choir is ancient (Plate 185). The foundations of an ancient apse, antedating the one on the foundations of which the existing modern apse has been built, were discovered during the restoration of 1903, beneath the present choir. It was therefore inferred by the restorers that the church originally terminated in an apse, placed where is now the choir; and that the choir and apse, upon the foundations of which the existing ones were erected, were substituted, at a later date, for this original apse. Most unfortunately no photographs or measurements were made of the foundations, nor has the quality of the masonry been described. It is consequently impossible to judge of the date or of the significance of these remains, which have been covered up. However, the apse built upon the plan on which the present one was constructed, was contemporary with the existing church, as is proved by the quality of the little ancient masonry belonging to it that still survives. The earlier apse must therefore have belonged to an earlier building, not improbably to that of 1005.

An act of unpardonable vandalism on the part of the restorers was the destruction of the ancient roof of the church, a monument of the greatest archæological and technical importance, and unique in Lombardy, if not in Europe. From what is told me by persons present in the church during the restoration and by Ingegnere Martini, it is clear that there was erected above the vaults of the nave a series of lesser vaults, superimposed one upon the other, and worked to the form of a gable, on which tiles were laid directly.[37] In the sections (Plate 184; Plate 185) I have attempted to indicate the structural principles on which this remarkable roof was erected and the lines of the principal vaults. This restoration, however, is frankly hypothetical

[37] Martini (in *La Regia Basilica*, 60) has written a brief description of this roof and has published the only photograph made of it before its destruction.

in several details. The smaller, upper vaults I have not even attempted to restore, owing to complete lack of evidence as to their dispositions.

This ingenious roofing, without any doubt, was contemporary with the original construction of the church. The vast quantity of material removed from this roof when the cells were demolished during the recent restoration was for the most part employed to construct the new walls and especially those of the side aisles. I was fortunate in discovering, however, in a yard back of the church, a pile of bricks which the sacristan assured me had formed part of the demolished roofing. These bricks were certainly of c. 1100, and hence contemporary with the bricks employed in the main body of the edifice.

The main vaults of the nave are reinforced at present somewhat irregularly by salient buttresses and at times by transverse walls raised upon the transverse arches of the side aisles (Plate 184). They have been more or less changed, but appear never to have been regular or symmetrical.

The section of the piers shows considerable variation, as may be seen in the plan (Plate 183). In some cases polygonal members are introduced. The responds of the side aisles, like the piers of the nave, are alternately heavier and lighter.

Tie-rods in metal, traces of which were found during the restoration, were used to neutralize the thrust of the arches of the main arcade.

The church is constructed of bricks in which are inserted stone trimmings and occasionally blocks of stone placed irregularly in the wall. The bricks are comparatively small, of varying thickness, and evenly laid in horizontal courses. The great majority were new, but some second-hand ones were employed. Occasionally herring-bone courses are inserted; often the bricks are laid with their small ends exposed. At times the courses are broken by bricks placed vertically or in triangular patterns. All the bricks are incised with cross-hatching.

During the restoration traces of the ancient frescos with which the walls were doubtless once entirely covered came to light, but were not preserved. In the narthex are two frescos in good preservation, but they are not very ancient, being dated 1350 by an inscription.

The masonry of the campanile has been so thoroughly restored that it is impossible to judge of its original character.

IV. The ornament of S. Savino has suffered even more severely than the structure in the recent restoration, since many of the capitals of the main body of the church, mutilated in the barocco period, have been remade or restored. They are ornamented with grotesques, rinceaux, interlaces, volutes, acanthus leaves, and other motifs typical of the Lombard style (Plate 186, Fig. 5, 6, 7). They are, as a rule, extremely refined in character; the patterns are small, the composition compact, the whole effect restrained. In this, they fall midway between S. Michele of Pavia, and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in the

same city, approaching the latter far more closely than the former. The capitals of S. Savino all appear to be about contemporary with each other, although those in the western part of the church seem to me to be somewhat later than those in the eastern. Many of these capitals have been restored in whole or in part. In some cases the date has been carved upon the capitals to indicate that they are new, and at present it is generally possible to distinguish the restored portions by the different colour of the new stone, as well as by the harder quality of the carving. The capitals which have been most made over appear to be: in the northern side aisle the capitals of the three eastern responds; on the north side of the nave, the easternmost capital at the corner of the choir, the one of intermediate support next to it, and the intermediate support of the centre bay; on the south side of the nave, the eastern capital at the eastern corner of the choir; in the south side aisle the two eastern responds. On the abaci of two of the capitals are inscriptions; one tells us that the herdsmen gave to Savino the beautiful capital and its column;[38] the second, unfortunately without date, records the construction of the church.[39] The rail of the crypt entrance is entirely modern.

The capitals of the crypt are of three epochs. The greater number are obviously contemporary with those of the upper church, though, perhaps, some years earlier. Others have been restored in imitation of these. Three, however, are of a style entirely different, and undoubtedly belonged to the church of 903. They are of importance for the history of art in the X century, and I give illustrations of two of them (Plate 186, Fig. 2, 3).

The most notable ornament of S. Savino was the mosaic pavement, considerable fragments of which are still extant. One of these, in the crypt, has been supposed to date from 903. Such, however, can not be the case. The remains of an earlier apse, and the style of the capitals, make it perfectly clear that the existing crypt is contemporary with the main body of the church. Now the mosaic was certainly made for this crypt, and is not the remains of an earlier building fitted in at haphazard. Furthermore, the style of the mosaic is entirely analogous to that of the pavements of Cremona (Plate 85, Fig. 1, 2), S. Benedetto Po, Pavia, Aosta, Reggio (Plate 191, Fig. 1, 2, 3), Acqui, Ivrea (Plate 101, Fig. 6), Casale (Plate 45, Fig. 2, 5, 6) and Vercelli (Plate 215, Fig. 4), all of which are known to be of the late XI or XII century.

The mosaic of the crypt has been somewhat damaged, but, fortunately,

38 CORDE TIBI DVLCI DANT
HOC SAVINE BVBVLCI
SCILICET HOC BELLV CVM
CESPITE DANT CAPITELLV

39 NVNC RENOVATV TIBI
DAMVS SAVINE SEPVLCHRV
HOC TIBI VENVSTVM
ARTE PIETATEQVE TEMPLVM

the general lines of the composition are clear enough. With the aid of Bozzini's drawing (Plate 186, Fig. 8), made when the pavement was in better condition than at present, it is possible to form a good idea of the whole composition. The mosaic represents the works of the twelve months of the year with the signs of the zodiac. The months begin with January in the north-east corner, and proceed from left to right and downward to December. Each is placed in a circular medallion about which is an inscription. The last ten, from March to December inclusive, are placed apart from the other two in a quadrangle formed by a formal border on three sides, and, on the western side, by a series of genre scenes which I shall describe later. Within this border, forming a background to the medallions, is a series of zigzag lines, which doubtless, in the thought of the artist, represented the sea. Placed irregularly on this are fish, mermaids, and sirens.

Within the border, the medallions of the months are placed in three rows, the eastern and western of which contain three medallions, the central, four. It is obvious that the composition would normally have consisted of three rows of four medallions, but owing to the fact that the mosaic had to be fitted around four of the crypt columns, the artist was obliged to leave space for these in the first and the last rows, where, accordingly, he was able to put only three medallions. Consequently, two of the months had to be placed outside the quadrangle. The careful manner in which the mosaic is thus adapted to the architecture of the crypt, proves that it was made for its present position and can not be a remnant of an earlier edifice.

The cycle of the months begins with January, placed outside the quadrangle to the east. The representation of the month, which was probably personified by Janus with a double face, has entirely disappeared, but part of the medallion still exists with a fragment of the inscription:

. . . . . SANCIT TROPICVS . . . . .

This medallion was doubtless depicted as being supported by two figures, one of which, that to the north, is still preserved.

The disk representing February is also outside the square, and was likewise supported by two figures, one of which is preserved entirely, the other only in part. Around the medallion is the inscription:

MENSE NVME IN MEDIO SOLIDI STAT S . . . . . A . . . . . RII

Within the disk, FEBRVARIVS is depicted as pruning the vines, with the sign of the zodiac, the water-pourer, represented in the grotesque manner so dear to the Lombard artists.

The north-east medallion within the quadrangle shows MAR|CI|VS, a man blowing a horn. The sign of the zodiac is two fish. About the disk is inscribed:

PROCEDVNT DVPLICES IN MARCIA TEMPORA PISCES.

April holds in his hands two budding shrubs, doubtless emblems of the spring. He is accompanied by a ram, the appropriate sign of the zodiac, and about his disk is the inscription:

RESPICIS APRILIS ARIES FRIXEE KALENDAS.

MAI|VS is a youth with a bow and arrows, who leads forth his saddled horse. The sign of the zodiac, a bull, crouches below. About the disk is the inscription:

MAIVS AGENOREI MIRATVR CORNVA TAVRI

In the first disk of the second line is depicted IVNI|VS, busily engaged in mowing. Beside him is the corresponding sign of the zodiac, GEMINI, and about the disk the inscription:

IVNIVS AEQ . . . . . OS CAELO VIDET IRE LACONAS

IVLIVS reaps the grain beside the crab, CAN|CER, a very horrible-looking creature, resembling a lobster; the inscription has been in part destroyed:

SOLSTITIO ARDENT . . . . . FERT IVLIVS AVSTRVM

AV|GVS|T . . has also been in part mutilated. It is possible to make out a man swinging a hammer and below him a barrel. The sign of the zodiac is a lion, distinguished also by the inscription LEO. About the medallion we read:

AVGVSTVM MENSEM LEO FERVIDVS IGNE PERVRIT

S|E|P|TE|M|BE|R picks grapes, which he places in a basket. The sign of the zodiac (Virgo) has entirely disappeared, as has part of the inscription:

SID . . . . . M SEPTEMBER OPIMAT

The medallions of the westernmost row are all very much mutilated. Of October, there remains only the lowest part of the name . . TVBER and the scales LIBRA. About the disk is a fragmentary inscription:

AEQVAT ET OCTVBER SEMENTIS TE . . . . .

Of November, there remains only a fragment of the inscription:

. . . . . BERNV . . . . . T IRE NOV . . . . .

The medallion of December is similarly much mutilated, but it is still possible to distinguish a man skinning a hog and part of a shooting centaur, with the legend, SAGITTA|RIVS. Of the inscription there remains only a part:

TERMIN . . . . . IGNA DECEM . . . . .

The inscriptions of these mosaics, thus fragmentary, would offer a number of difficulties of interpretation, were it not for the happy fact that they

are (as Oderici recognized) taken verbatim from a poem of Ausonius, by means of which it is easy to restore them. This poem is as follows:

Principium Iani sancit tropicus Capricornus.
mense Numae in medio solidi stat sidus Aquari.
procedunt duplices in Martia tempora Pisces.
respicis Aprilis, Aries Phryxee, kalendas.
Maius Agenorei miratur cornua Tauri.
Iunius aequatos caelo videt ire Laconas.
solstitio ardentis Caneri fert Iulius astrum.
Augustum mensem Leo fervidus igne perurit.
sidere, Virgo, tuo Baechum September opimat.
aequat et October sementis tempore Libram.
Scorpios hibernum praeceps iubet ire Novembrem.
terminat Arquitenens medio sua signa Decembri.[40]

On the western border of the mosaic are represented a number of single figures. To the north, apparently a shooting centaur, much damaged; then a person on horse-back holding a lance, who was probably opposed by another similar figure; then two persons apparently wrestling together, two men fighting together with shields and spears, and finally a unicorn and the virgin, without, however, any hunters.

It is evident that this mosaic is something more than a simple representation of the twelve months and corresponding signs of the zodiac. The ocean is the symbol of the Church, the fish who swim about in the sea are the symbol of the men who live and work and die in the Christian faith. Thus in the ocean and its finny inhabitants we have a complete image of the Church of God and of human life. We therefore see that it was no chance nor caprice of the artist which led him to inlay on the background representing the sea and its inhabitants the labours of the twelve months, and to depict on the western border, between the unicorn, symbol of Christ, and on the other, the centaur, three scenes of the daily life of men, their struggles and combats.

In the choir of S. Savino, another mosaic (Plate 183) quite as subtle as that of the crypt was discovered during the recent restorations.[41] In the centre is represented a seated figure, draped and with beard, holding in his right hand a male head, the flames emanating from which show that it is the Sun, and in his left hand a female head, distinguished as the Moon by the crescent which is above it. The central figure is surrounded by two circles, between which are placed four pairs of animals facing each other. These animals, unfortunately, have been much damaged. Above there are two dogs, each with one paw raised; on either side a sort of griffin with wings faces another grotesque winged figure; below there appear to have been two horses. The outer disk is represented as being held up by a caryatid, and at the four corners are four figures with Phrygian caps—the two above clinging to the

[40] Ausonii, *Eglogarum*, liber V, 9, ed. Schenkl, M. G. H., *Auc. Antiq.*, V, 2, 13.
[41] Illustrated in *La Regia Basilica*, Fig. 11; *Piacenza Monumentale*, 14.

outer circle, and apparently climbing up upon it, the lower two falling headforemost beneath it. The whole scene is inscribed in a quadrangle. Above is a procession of animals of different kinds, all very much damaged.

To the left of the quadrangle are two scenes. The upper, representing a combat between two warriors with shields and swords, doubtless stands for the virtue of Fortitude. The lower shows a man standing unsteadily, holding in his left hand a staff, in his right an overflowing goblet. Another figure, much damaged, stands beside him, while a third, intoxicated, sprawls on the ground. It must be we have here a representation of the virtue of Temperance, perhaps personified by the standing figure, who refuses to drink, while his companions indulge in excess. To the right of the central quadrangle a king, with the inscription REX, is seated on a throne and carries a sceptre. Before him kneels on one knee a figure reaching his left hand after a piece of parchment which bears the letters LE[X]. The right-hand edge of the mosaic is destroyed, but perhaps contained the figure of a judge, since the letters IVD . . . . . may still be read in the corner. The scene evidently typifies the virtue Justice, but I cannot interpret the exact meaning of the figures. In the space below is a fourth scene, depicting a man playing chess; probably his opponent was represented on the other side, but has been destroyed. The scene is symbolical of the virtue of Prudence. From the chronicle of Fra Salimbene[42] we know that chess was extremely popular in Lombardy in the XIII century, and was proverbial as a favourite pastime of astute men.

The meaning of the central figure within the quadrangle is not open to doubt. It is, as in the precisely similar pavement at Aosta, the Year, that is to say the Lord, who holds in one hand the Sun (Christ), and in the other the Moon (the Church). The four figures at the corners of the disk are undoubtedly the four rivers of Paradise. In the mosaic of Aosta, to which we have already referred, are precisely similar figures which are plainly labelled Pison, Gihon, Tigris (instead of the Hiddekel of our English Bible) and Euphrates. Now, these four rivers of Paradise are the symbols of the four cardinal virtues of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance. That

[42] Ed. Parma, 1857, pp. 26, 51, 186, 217, 359. In the Chanson de Roland (VIII, 112) chess is mentioned as an amusement of the wisest and oldest:

As tables juent pur els esbaneier
E as eschas li plus saive e li vieill.

Following an anecdote in the *Fior di Virtù*, the game of chess in our mosaic might, however, be interpreted as a representation of the virtue of Fortitude: Giovan Federico Duca de Sassonia avendo avuto la nuova, che da Carlo V Imperatore gli era stato data la sentenza della morte, disse, senza mutar viso, con intrepida franchezza di animo, alcune parole piene di fortezza, e di prudenza, mostrando avere pochi pensieri ne di prospera, ne di avversa fortuna, e invitò a giuocare a scacchi il Duca Ernesto, e ne prima ne da poi fu udita parola vile. (XVIII addition to cap. XXIII, *Fior di Virtù*, ed. Frati, 444).

is why, in the mosaic of S. Savino, beside the figures of the four rivers of Paradise surrounding Christ, the central fountain, are placed genre scenes, typical of the four virtues of which the rivers were symbolical.

In the north side aisle at Piacenza there is preserved another altogether remarkable fragment of the mosaic pavement representing two dogs facing each other, whose necks are encircled by a single collar (Plate 183). Their tails, passing between their hind legs, are held in their mouths. Below is the fragmentary inscription:

. . . . MEVM E TOT [MAL] . . . . . PESSIME TV FVR . . .[43]

In the middle of the XVII century there was still to be seen in the church a fourth mosaic which has since disappeared, but which Campi has described as follows: "vn laberinto con dentro il Minotauro, e sotto il laberinto verso la porta del Tempio vi fece porre questi quattro versi, che saggiamente ci auuisano, benchè con rozo stile, e caratteri al costume antico, di sapersi guardare dai vitij, e dall'intricato viuere del Mondo per essere poscia molto malageuole all' huomo lo sbrugarsene."

HVNC MVNDVM TIPICE LABERINTHVS DENOTAT ISTE
INTRANTI LARGVS, REDEVNTI SETNIMIS [= sed nimis] ARTVS
SIC MVNDO CAPTVS, VICIORVM MOLE GRAVATVS
VIX VALET AD VITE DOCTRINAM QVISQVE REDIRE[44]

In addition to the mosaic of the labyrinth, Campi has recorded the existence of another monument at S. Savino, which is no longer extant: "Sopra di esso poi verso l'Altar maggiore venne figurata vna meza statua di huomo (che sembra si nomasse Giouan Filippo, e forse fù il mastro di tal'opera) con vn coltello in mano, e sotto di lui il seguente epitafio:

IOHS PHIPVS SV MEDIETATIS AMICVS[45]
HOC FECIT PRESENS CELESTIA PREMIA QVERENS"

On the strength of this passage it is stated in most of the guide-books that Giovanni Filippo was the artist who executed the mosaics. This, however, cannot be. Campi must have been mistaken when he understood the inscription to refer to the mosaic, although his notice is so meagre that it is impossible to say exactly what was meant by the *hoc* which Giovanni Filippo made. The name Giovanni Filippo savours of a much later epoch than the XII century.

[43] Other letters were visible at the time of the restoration, and it is evident the inscription was a long one and continued at the sides of the mosaic. Tononi (*La Regia Basilica*, 48-49) was, however, unable to read them, and they have now disappeared. Only the letters MAL of his transcription appear to make sense, and these, consequently, I have restored. Dr. Hülsen has kindly called my attention to the fact that the words *pessime tu fur* are undoubtedly the last two feet of a hexameter. The emendation which I proposed in my monograph is, therefore, untenable.

[44] *Loc. cit.* [45] Iohannes Philippus summae pietatis amicus.

PIANEZZA, S. PIETRO

V. The church of S. Savino is in the main a homogeneous and exceedingly well preserved monument of 1107. From 903 date two capitals in the crypt. The remains of the earlier apse and the campanile are certainly older than the present church, and in all probability belong to the edifice of 1005.

PIANEZZA,[1] S. PIETRO

I. To the extent of my knowledge this monument has never been published.

II. I know of no documents which illustrate the history of the church of Pianezza.

III. The edifice consisted originally of a single-aisled nave, but to this side aisles were subsequently added, the northern one in the Gothic period, the southern one in the Renaissance. In the Gothic period the original semicircular apse was replaced by a square choir. The only characteristic portion of the church is the façade, constructed chiefly of rubble, with bands of brickwork of very fine quality.

IV. The façade is decorated with simple arched or flat corbel-tables.

V. The façade, because of the quality of its brickwork, may be ascribed to c. 1160.

PIEVE DI NOVI LIGURE,[1] CHIESA DELLA MADONNA

(Plate 159, Fig. 1)

I. This monument has never been published from an archæological point of view. In the history of Pollini are some notices which refer to the history of the edifice. Other notices are contained in a manuscript in the possession of the parroco, entitled *Registro Messe celebrate alla Pieve, Anno 1869.*

II. On the last page of this manuscript is a *Memoria ricevuta dalla Storia di Novi,* in which we read: "Di queste poche antiche Chiese sarà di noi la prima quella supposta immemorabile, o diciamo meglio della più singolare antichità, quantunque situata fuori di Città; giacchè come dicemmo fondata da Xillo uno de' figli di Tolomeo Ancisa; Chiesa oggidi chiamata la Pieve, ed una volta posseduta da monaci di S. Benedetto; dove lo Spinola parlando del detto figlio di Tolomeo e sua morte, che fu nell'anno 452, dice sepolto presso l'altare. La struttura della detta Pieve, e sono parole del Soggio, fa conoscere l'antichità sua in parte ancora dalle finestre esistenti costrutte alla

[1] (Torino). [1] (Alessandria).

gotica; oltre un geroglifico intagliato in pietra posto nel muro con due intreciate serpi e fra mezzo la stessa un non so se mi dica sole, norma evidentissima di antica stemma gentilizzio, con la giunta di varie lettere che non si adattono alla cognizione de' nostri giorni, e questa Chiesa ancora a' miei giorni, nella visita fatta l'anno 1593, 28 Agosto, da Monsignor Maffeo Gambara, vien chiamata l'antica Pieve, aggigiorno è posseduta dal Capitolo di Novi. . . . Circa questa Chiesa chiamata fin d'allora l'antica Pieve; vocabolo che porta seco delle conseguenze non poche, e specialmente come sembra qella di dovesi tenere questa Chiesa detta Pieve o Plebana quasi primaria e principale di Novi, in tal caso bisognerebbe credere il nostro Novi situato anticamente quà e là nei contorni di detta chiesa."

This account is in all probability inexact in stating that there were monks. Such an assertion is confirmed by no other evidence, and is disproved by the fact that the church was a pieve, hence in all probability officiated by a chapter of canons. The pagan coat of arms to which the author refers, is, of course, nothing more or less than a Lombard grotesque carving which is still extant.

Pollini[2] states that the church was officiated by a prevosto and seven canons. He repeats from the manuscript the statement that it was once possessed by monks of St. Benedict, and says that it is cited in a document of 1135, under the title *Basilicam S. Nicolai nuper exstructam.* He fails, however, to give an explicit reference to this document. It may well be doubted whether the reference applies to our church at all, since there is nothing to show that it was ever dedicated to S. Nicolò. A deed of May 26, 1219,[3] mentions the pieve of Novi, but fails to state to what saint it was dedicated. From documents of the XII and XIII centuries, we learn that there were at Novi the following churches: (1) S. Pietro, mentioned in a deed of May 6, 1203,[4] and which was provided with a cloister as appears in two documents of 1228;[5] (2) S. Maria in Piazza (Sancta Maria de Platea), mentioned in deeds of October 2, 1233,[6] and August 6, 1234,[7] and called simply *ecclesia platee* in 1234;[8] (3) S. Nicolò, which, we have seen, was new in 1135, and is mentioned in 1202.[9] With which of these edifices our monument is to be connected is not altogether clear. The facts, however, that it is now dedicated to the Virgin, and that there appears to be no reason to suppose that the title has been changed, make it seem more probable that it is to be identified with S. Maria in Piazza.[10]

Since 1877 the church has enjoyed the rank of *santuario,* and belongs to the commune of Novi, at the expense of which it is officiated. When I

[2] 70. [3] Trucco, I, 121. Jacent subtus plebem de novi. . . .
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 105. [5] *Ibid.*, I, 130, 436; II, 219, 227. [6] *Ibid.*, I, 122; II, 207.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 411. [8] *Ibid.*, I, 141. [9] *Ibid.*, I, 105.
[10] Carnevale (32) speaks of the church as being dedicated to the Virgin, but says that there were eight canons (not seven as Pollini would have it).

visited the church in 1913, a restoration was being agitated but as yet had not been begun.

III. The edifice consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, a western portico or exterior narthex, a central apse, and a northern absidiole. The southern absidiole has been destroyed. The church was much altered in the time of the Renaissance, when the campanile was added, and it is at present not an altogether easy task to determine what portions of the edifice are mediæval and what modern.

The nave and side aisles are covered by groin vaults in the eastern bay (Plate 159, Fig. 1). I was able to examine the extrados and vaults of the nave and northern side aisle, and satisfy myself that they are both of the Renaissance. The upper surface of the vault of the southern side aisle is not accessible, but this vault is without doubt contemporary with the others.

The piers are rectangular in section, but with re-entrant angles (Plate 159, Fig. 1). They support the arches of the main arcade and a set of transverse arches spanning both nave and side aisles (Plate 159, Fig. 1). These piers have no bases, and for capitals there are only simple impost mouldings (Plate 159, Fig. 1). The roof is of continuous slope (Plate 159, Fig. 1). In the western bay there are no arcades and no transverse arches. In the narthex the system of the church is exactly continued.

The brickwork of the nave is entirely inaccessible, since the edifice is covered internally and externally by a thick coating of intonaco. The masonry of the west narthex is evidently of the Renaissance. The northern wall appears to have been entirely rebuilt at the same period. It is difficult to say whether the piers of the nave are of the same epoch, or whether they are Lombard. The fact that two of them contain very ancient alms-boxes, however, justifies the conclusion that at least these are ancient. A fragment of the original Lombard masonry may be seen in the two apses. It is polychromatic. Bricks without cross-hatching are laid in perfectly horizontal courses, with rather wide mortar-beds. The exposed surfaces are usually short. The width of the bricks shows much variation.

IV. The windows, in three orders, are ornamented with interlaces and bead motives. The apse is characterized by shafts, pilaster strips and the remains of tracery in the windows. A Lombard grotesque relief inlaid on the eastern pilaster strip on the north side has been mistaken for a pagan coat of arms.

The church contains interesting frescos. Those of the northern absidiole are supplied with an important and inedited inscription, giving the date (1474) and the name of the artist.[11]

[11] 1474 die vii none
bris magnifica dna
Ouana de capofico
pingi fecit hanc

V. The masonry of the apse is very similar to that of S. Trinità of Cascina (Plate 50, Fig. 2), a monument which dates from c. 1130. Pieve di Novi Ligure may, consequently, be ascribed to about the same epoch.

PIEVE TERZAGNI DI PESCAROLO,[1] S. GIOVANNI DECOLLATO

I. The mosaic of Pieve Terzagni has been studied and illustrated by Robolotti[2] and Aus'm Weerth.[3]

II. According to Robolotti, the pieve of Terzagni was founded by the countess Matilda, and subsequently known as the *Plebs Trium Litterarum Johannis* because restored by three men who were called Giovanni and were indicated by the initials I. I. I. In fact, in a document of 1136, in which the church was confirmed by the emperor Lothair II to S. Pietro of Wirada,[4] the church is called *plebem de littera Iohannis.*

The existing altar was placed over part of the mosaic in 1897.

III. The present church is entirely without archæological interest, except the mosaic.

IV. This mosaic is still preserved in part of the choir and apse. In the choir the ornamental motives consist of a series of squares containing medallions and designs with various decorative patterns. One medallion has a siren, others various animals evidently purely grotesque. The mosaic appears to extend under the altar, choir-stalls and in many other places where it can not be examined. A sort of closet in the back of the altar,

capellā in testimo
niuz gratiarum
mafredinis de
boxilio pinxit.

Beside this original inscription is the following copy:

1474 die 7: 9bris
Magnifica dna Ioanna de
Campo Fregosio pingi fecit
hanc Capellam in Testimonium
Gratiarum Maufredinus
de Boxilio pinxit
Restaurabat mense Aprili
Anni 1822

[1] (Cremona).
[2] 203-204.
[3] Tafel VII.
[4] *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, II, XXI, 110.

however, gives access to the splendid figure of St. Stephen almost life-size, and placed in a niche. The inscription is half in Greek:

S	Δ
T	I
E	A
P	K
H	ω
A	—C
N	ω
V	C
. . . . .	

In the apse were evidently the symbols of the four Evangelists. S[ANCTVS] LVCAS, the winged bull, is well preserved. The head and wings of [SANCTVS M]AR[CVS] are extant. The feet of the eagle of St. John can be seen grasping a book, but the winged man of St. Matthew is hidden beneath the stalls.

Parts of the mosaic which have now been destroyed—or are at least invisible—are shown in Robolotti's drawing. Among these is the palindrome inscription without special meaning:

SATOR
AREPO
TENET
OPERA
ROTAS

In style these mosaics are characterized by restrained composition and good drawing. They show strong points of contact with the mosaics of Acquanegra (c. 1100), although they differ from these in that no green is used. The niche in which is placed St. Stephen recalls the niches in which are placed the figures of the months in mosaic of S. Michele at Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 2).

V. In view of these considerations the mosaic of Pieve Terzagni may be ascribed to c. 1100.

PIEVE TREBBIO,[1] S. GIOVANNI

(Plate 187, Fig. 3, 4, 5)

I. No less than three monographs upon this monument have been published by the archpriest Manzini, at whose initiative the recent restoration was carried out. The most important, printed in book form, was published in 1907. The article which appeared in 1906 in *Rassegna d'Arte* is a prelimi-

[1] Frazione di Guiglia (Modena).

nary study, while that of 1909, published in *Arte e Storia,* adds little that is new. The work of Manzini is especially valuable for the photographs made before the restoration, which he reproduces. The monograph of Toschi, which appeared in 1895, was written with the purpose of proving that the monument dates from the XIV century. Maestri studied the edifice before the restoration,[2] and gives drawings of a capital and an archivolt which in his time existed in a house in the neighbourhood. The study of Patetta adds little that is new. The publication entitled *Plebs de Trebo,* which appeared upon the occasion of the consecration in 1913, contains some photographs that are of value. In the house of Arciprete Manzini is preserved a valuable series of photographs made at different times during the restoration.

II. There is a tradition that the church was dedicated in 1108, at the instigation of the countess Matilda.[3] This tradition was recorded in an inscription of the façade which has now been destroyed.[4]

Apparently the oldest document which mentions the church dates from 1227.[5] The basilica was a pieve and amply endowed with possessions.[6] An archpriest of the church is mentioned by Salimbene, in speaking of events of the year 1250.[7] A graffito inscription, found during the recent restoration, and now preserved in the new baptistery, records the name of an architect—*architectus*—of Bologna—*Bol*—and the date, 1334. It is probable that restorations were carried out at this epoch.

In 1503 the church was given in commendam,[8] and in 1515 the parish passed into the administration of the canons of Carpi. It was re-established only in 1821.

In the XVIII century the church was baroccoized. In 1718 the *sepolero dei preti* was established in the crypt, which was subsequently closed. The general baroccoization of the edifice took place in 1727-1728.[9] A vault was erected to replace the plaster ceiling that had been built in 1700. The Romanesque windows were closed, and large windows opened. A rectangular choir was erected in place of the ancient apse. The capitals were mutilated, and the interior smeared with intonaco. A barocco campanile was erected. Towards the end of the XVIII century, the façade was covered with intonaco and painted blue, while the side-aisle walls were painted red. The ancient masonry was much denatured at this time. Other restorations followed in 1820 and 1880.[10]

[2] *Frassinoro,* 27; *La pieve di Trebbio.* [3] Strafforello, *Modena,* 154.

[4] Manzini, 6. This inscription recorded the impossible date 1058 (MLVIII) instead of 1108 (MCVIII) according to Maestri, 9-10. If it was not misread by him, an older inscription must have been incorrectly copied by the restorers of 1880.

[5] Manzini, 10. [6] A list of these is given by Manzini, 9-10.

[7] . . . archipresbyter plebis de Treblo, qui in alpibus est, ubi aliquando fui cum eo. . . . (Salimbene, ad. ann. 1250, ed. Parma, 1857, 210).

[8] Manzini, 13. [9] Maestri, *Frassinoro,* 28. [10] Maestri, 9-10.

In 1897 was begun a restoration which was finished only in 1913. The crypt was reopened. The barocco choir was destroyed, and the existing apse was erected on traces of the ancient foundations which came to light. The intonaco was stripped from the interior, and the barocco vaults destroyed. The façade was completely rebuilt, and there appears to be no authority for the arched corbel-tables which have been restored. It is probable that there existed originally arched corbel-tables in the cornice of the southern clear-story, but there is no evidence that there were any in the cornice of the southern side aisle. The bifora, two oculi and the portal of the façade are, however, ancient. The baptistery, the choir-rail, the ambo, and the ciborio, were all made new but in part of ancient fragments. The eastern bay of the nave on the north side, and the eastern part of the north side-aisle wall, as well as the northern absidiole, are new. New, too, are the arched corbel-tables of the side-aisle wall. The crypt was reconstructed on some traces of the ancient one which came to light. The piers have, in some cases, been rebuilt, but the ancient plan has been preserved. Both absidioles are modern. The campanile is modern, but contains old capitals. In 1909 fragments of the ancient baptismal font came to light. These have been pieced together and placed in the new baptistery which has been erected west of the basilica.

III. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 187, Fig. 3) four bays long (the eastern bay is wider than the others), two side aisles, three apses and a crypt. The nave and side aisles are roofed in wood. The groin vaults of the crypt are modern. The church is remarkable in that the axis is sharply deflected towards the north. The apse seems to have been semicircular internally, polygonal externally.

The nave is separated from the side aisles by piers of rectangular section, with two engaged semi-columns (Plate 187, Fig. 3). There is no system, since the colonnettes support the inner order of the archivolt. There are no side-aisle responds and no buttresses.

The masonry (Plate 187, Fig. 3) consists of ashlar of fine quality. Well squared stones are laid in courses of varying width, of which the horizontal direction is frequently interrupted (Plate 187, Fig. 3). There are many scaffolding holes.

IV. The capitals are of unusual and varied types. Some are covered with very fine all-over decoration (Plate 187, Fig. 5)—interlaces, strings, flowers, anthemia, etc., all very minutely and delicately executed. Others have plain, stiff rows of acanthus leaves, almost Carlovingian in feeling, and covered with minute surface carving. One (Plate 187, Fig. 4) has an all-over pattern with great bulb-like loops. Many are so completely spoiled as to be unrecognizable. Two ancient capitals have been utilized in the north side of the modern ciborium (Plate 187, Fig. 3). One is Corinthianesque, the other of a decorated cubic type. A capital of the crypt is covered with

diamond-shaped medallions, in which are inscribed crosses. A peculiarity of the crypt capitals is the fact that the abacus is cut to the form of the load. Some capitals of the nave are uncarved, and were so before the restoration.

Numerous fragments of carving belonging to the church-furniture, etc., came to light during the recent restoration. These have been built into the modern ambo, choir-rail, ciborio and baptistery in such a manner that it is almost impossible to distinguish the new from the old. I was able to study them to particular advantage, thanks to the explanations of Don Manzini, who conducted me through the church personally. These fragments, on the whole, appear to me to be contemporary with the basilica, although they are characterized by a certain tenacity of Carlovingian tradition. It is not impossible, however, that some bits may belong to an earlier epoch. The baptismal font, notwithstanding the archaic formula of the inscription, is of the XII century. This font has been pieced together from numerous fragments, and the inscription on the lip does not seem to have been put together correctly.[11]

The archivolts are in two unmoulded orders (Plate 187, Fig. 3), and the extrados is in some cases made to describe a curve somewhat higher than that of the intrados. The apse arch has a continuous roll-moulding. The windows, in two orders, are widely splayed, and were intended to serve without glass. The arched corbel-tables of the exterior are almost all modern, but those of the clearstory are probably a correct restoration.

Among the ancient fragments used in the ambo is one figure sculpture which is well preserved with the exception of the head, recently added. It represents the titular saint of the basilica. On the scroll is the inscription:

[I]O
HA͡N
NES
APO
STOLUS

V. The style of the architecture agrees well with the tradition that the church was consecrated in 1108.

PIOBESI TORINESE,[1] S. GIOVANNI DEI CAMPI

(Plate 188, Fig. 1, 2, 3)

I. The frescos of this church have been illustrated by Ciaccio. A long description of the church, without drawings or photographs, has been published

[11] ✠ DE DON . . . . . TINIS TENEA͡NT PRB PETRO . . . . . ET SCI . . . . . TVS W SOLVER

[1] Pronounced Pióbesi (Provincia di Torino).

by Chiriotto. A book by Giacomo Rodolfo, entitled *La chiesa romanica di S. Giovanni a Piobesi Torinese e i monumenti e gli oggetti d'arte esistenti nel mandimento di Carignano,* is announced for publication.

II. The church of S. Maria of Piobesi is said to have been rebuilt between 1011 and 1038.[2] Since our monument must date from precisely this time, it is tempting to suppose that it is to it that the document in question refers. There is, however, no evidence that the church has ever changed its title. In 1347 the inhabitants of Piobesi commenced to move away from S. Giovanni, which had originally been situated in the town, and to found a new settlement half a kilometre to the north, in the spot where the existing commune is situated. This migration was completed in 1535.

III. The edifice consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, a short choir, and three apses. The southern absidiole and the eastern portion of the south aisle have been converted into a sacristy, and a great Renaissance chapel has been added on the southern side. The choir is barrel-vaulted (Plate 188, Fig. 3); the apses have half domes; the side aisles and nave are roofed in wood with the exception of one bay of the northern side aisle, which is covered with a modern vault. The piers are rectangular, without capitals or bases. The unmoulded archivolts are in a single order (Plate 188, Fig. 3). The rough masonry consists of rubble, laid in courses approximately horizontal (Plate 188, Fig. 1). Round, uncut stones and bits of brick are mixed with a few horizontal courses of brick. Broken fragments of brick are often laid vertically or in herring-bone fashion. The windows were originally widely splayed and intended to serve without glass.

IV. The clearstory and side-aisle walls are without cornices (Plate 188, Fig. 1, 2). The apses have arched corbel-tables, grouped two and two or three and three by pilaster strips, and enclosing blind niches (Plate 188, Fig. 2).

In the church there is a holy-water basin with a fine XII century carving representing Samson—SANSON—and the lion—LEO.

The church contains interesting and important frescos. Those of the apse are probably contemporary with the original construction.

V. The interior of Piobesi (Plate 188, Fig. 3), with its rectangular piers, wooden roofs, and simple design, is closely analogous to Oleggio (Plate 160, Fig. 2), a monument which dates from c. 1030. Piobesi, however, seems more primitive in that the side-aisle and clearstory walls are externally without cornice, while the apses have blind niches (Plate 188, Fig. 1, 2)—a more primitive type of decoration than arched corbel-tables. The church of Piobesi may consequently be ascribed to c. 1020.

[2] Chiriotto.

PIONA,[1] S. NICOLÒ

(Plate 188, Fig. 4)

I. In the second half of the XVII century Tatti published the famous inscription of S. Agrippino, subsequently lost and known only from his copy, until the original came to light in the recent restoration of the church of Piona. De Dartein described the cloister of our church.[2] Mothes also knew the edifice,[3] and Barelli studied the architecture.[4] It was only, however, after interest had been stimulated by the recent restoration and the discoveries made at that time, that the importance of the little church and its cloister came to be recognized generally by archæologists. Then were published in close succession no less than three monographs upon the edifice—that of Giussani is without doubt the most important, but is a careless piece of work. Some information of value may also be gleaned from the accounts of Cavagna Sangiuliani and Perrone. Sant'Ambrogio has written of the edifice several times. In conclusion the account of Monti[5] should be mentioned.

II. The famous inscription of S. Agrippino has been rediscovered in the lintel of the doorway leading from the second story of the cloister to the little room over the sacristy. This inscription tells us that Agrippino, servant of Christ, bishop of the city of Como, in the tenth year of his pontificate, erected from its foundations this oratory of S. Giustina and ordered a tomb to be prepared for himself, and completed the church in every particular, and dedicated it.[6] It is unknown when S. Agrippino lived, but he is usually assigned by the historians of Como to the VII century. The oratory of S.

[1] Piona is a frazione of Colico (Como), situated on the east bank of the Lake of Como, nearly opposite Gravedona. The church of S. Nicolò lies on a jutting peninsula, close to the waters of the lake, an hour's walk from the railroad station or the high-road, and may be most conveniently reached by boat. The key, however, is kept by the priest of Olgiasco, an hour's walk distant.

[2] 376. [3] I, 94. [4] *Not. Arch.*, 20. [5] 491.

[6]
AGRIPINV[S]
FAMVLVS X[PI]
COM. CIVITAT[IS]
EPS. HVNC ORA[TO]
RIVM SCTAE I[VS]
TINAE MARTYR[IS]
ANNO X. ORDIN[A]
TIONIS SVAE A FO[N]
DAMENTIS FAB[RI]
CAVIT ET SEPOL[TV]
RA SIBI ORDENA
BIT ET IN OMNI
EXPLEBIT ADQ
✠ DICABIT

Giustina at Piona must consequently have been founded at about this time. Since the inscription is still preserved in the church of S. Nicolò, it is natural to conjecture that the existing edifice stands upon the site of the church of S. Giustina, the title of which was perhaps changed when the Cluniac priory was established.

During the recent restoration there came to light a painted inscription, which was destroyed by the restorers. It was apparently seen only by Giussani, who made of it the following transcription:

TVTIONIS. VI. OCCX. XXVI. II. AB ĪCARNATIOĒ DN̄I. MCXXXVIIJ. IDICIOĒ
ICICLVS
VIP. AN̄ IVNIA CONSACRATA E HEC ECCLA
O DE COMENSIS SVLE ANNO EPATVS EIS TĒPRĒ VE
IN HŌRE SCĒ MARIE VIRGINIS
IAREN VINE
ONIS TA VL
LAVRENTII. M̄ A CTI

It is evident at first glance that Giussani's version contains grave errors, and indeed, so careless and inaccurate is his reading, that, in my judgment, the notice that the church was consecrated in 1138 merits no credence, so long as it remains, as at present, unconfirmed by other evidence.

In later times the church was officiated by Cluniac monks. These were certainly established before 1204, since a *priore de Piona* is mentioned in an inedited document of August 14, 1204.[7] There are no documents, however, to establish more precisely the time of the foundation of the priory.

The northern gallery of the cloisters was in construction in 1252, and five years later the south gallery was being built. This is proved by two inscriptions still extant above the arcades on the respective sides. The first is:

✠HOC̃ OP' FECIT FIERI PRIOR IN PI
ONA DONVS BONACVRSVS D CANO
VA D' GRABADONA D' SVIS P[RO]PRIIS
ANNO CVRENTI.
.M. CC. LII.

The second:

∴IN NOMINE.ALTISSIMI.PATRIS.IESV.XRISTI∴
∴FACTŪ EST.IN TEMPORE.PRIORIS.BONACURSI∴
∴HOC.OP'.CLARISSIMUM.ISTIVS.INCLAVSTRI.
∴DE CANOVA.FILII.DOMINI.GREGORII.
∴DE.GRABA.AN. CUR. M. CC. L. V. II.

At the end of the XV century the priory was given in commendam. The first commendatary abbot, Daniele Birargo, was in office in 1488.[8] In 1593 the bishop Ninguarda wrote the following description of the church: "On the

[7] Bonomi, *Dip. Sti. Bti.*, f. 330, MS. Brera. [8] Giussani.

seventh day of November, 1593, the parish church of the priory or abbey S. Nicolò of Piona, pieve of Gravedona, was visited. The commendatary abbot is Giovanni Maria Carcano, of Tirano. The church—which is very old—has a nave of a single aisle. The vault of the choir is painted, but the figures are almost entirely ruined. . . . There is no sacristy. The church is divided at about the middle by a screen, and there is an ambo in the form of a platform or landing, raised some two and a half metres, to which access is given by a stairway. It was there as in certain other ancient churches that the Gospel was read, and there is above it a great wooden cross, and the ambo itself is made of wood, and supported by two beautiful columns of marble with figured capitals, and the columns rest upon two beautiful lions. In the above-mentioned screen which divides the church there is a door opposite the principal portal, and on either side of this door there are two altars. . . . At the end of the choir there is a door on the Epistle side, and this door leads to the campanile. The campanile is in the form of a half tower, and is very broad, and there are two bells, one without cord and the other little better. There is a broken and ruined baptistery. . . . Behind the monastery at the rear of the choir there is the very ancient chapel of S. Maria."[9]

In the catalogue of Marrier of 1614, Piona is enumerated among the Cluniac priories. "The priory of S. Nicolò of Piona, in the diocese of Como, where there ought to be a prior and eight monks and where they ought to sing mass daily. Charity is given there to those who seek it."[10]

In 1798 the priory was suppressed, and the church became a simple parish. In 1872 a project was ventilated to take the beautiful cloister to pieces, and carry it to Como in order to preserve it from destruction. Happily this wild scheme was not carried out, and the agitation ended with a simple restoration performed in 1879. In 1896 was begun another and far more

[9] 1593, a di 7 di Novembre. Visitata la chiesa par.le priorato o abbasia nuncupata di S.to Nicolao di Piona, pieve di Gravedona, il cui titolare è pre. Gio: Maria Carcano di Tirano. La chiesa è edificata in una sola nave antichissima con una capella magiore in volta pinta, ma con le figure quasi del tutto guaste. . . . non vi è sacristia. Detta chiesa è tramezata quasi nel meggio di muro, et in alto circa 4 brazze vi è un luogo in forma di choro, o un andito, al quale si va con una scala et è come a punto in qualche chiesa antica si legeva l'evangeltio, et vi è sopra una croce di legno grande et è fatto di legno sostenuto da doe colonne di marmo belle, con li capitelli fatti a figure, et in cambio della base, o pedestallo, sostenuti da duoi leoni belli. In d.o muro tramezante vi è una porta per contro alla porta magiore, et di qua e di là di d.a porta vi sono duoi altari. . . . In fine della volta vi è un uschio dal canto dell'epistola qual va nel campanile, il quale è in forma di meggia torre, largo, et vi sono doe campane, una senza corda, e l'altra puoco meno. Vi è un battistero rotto et guasto. . . . Dentro da una parte del monastero, doppo li muri della capella magiore, si va in una capella di S.ta Maria antichissima, ecc . . . (Ninguarda, ed. Monti, II, 181).

[10] Prioratus S. Nicolai de Payona, Cumanensis diocesis, vbi debent esse cum Priore octo Monachi, & debent celebrare cotidie Missam cum nota. Eleemosyna ibidem cam petentibus erogatur. (Marrier, 1744).

radical restoration, which has deprived the beautiful monument of both its artistic charm and archæological importance. In 1898 this restoration was still in progress, but it appears to have been completed soon afterwards.

III. The church consists of a single-aisled nave and an apse, preceded by a rectangular bay. This bay is covered with a groin vault, supplied with wall ribs, and so highly domed in the transverse sense as to be practically a barrel vault. The nave is roofed in timber, and is constructed of a crude sort of ashlar masonry (Plate 188, Fig. 4), in which roughly dressed stones of various sizes are clumsily fitted together. The mortar-beds are thick, and the courses seldom horizontal. The masonry of the chapel of S. Maria (which stands back of the church) is somewhat better.

Of this oratory of S. Maria nothing is extant but the apse. The edifice probably served as a mortuary chapel for the monks, like the similar chapels at S. Pietro di Civate, or Sagra S. Michele.

The cloisters, characterized by their graceful round arches and Gothic capitals of fully developed French type, stand to the south of the church. They are in two stories, and show notable curves in plan.

IV. The exterior walls are decorated on the north side (Plate 188, Fig. 4) by arched corbel-tables grouped three and three (or even two and two) by thin pilaster strips. On the south side, however, the arched corbel-tables are grouped three and three or four and four. The pilaster strips are not continued to the ground, but rest on a sort of podium placed at the level of the windows (Plate 188, Fig. 4). The apse and the façade have simple cornices of arched corbel-tables, without pilaster strips. The widely splayed windows (Plate 188, Fig. 4) doubtless served without glass. In the church are still preserved the lions of the ambo described by Ninguarda.

V. It is obvious that the existing edifice can not date from 1138. If Giussani really read this date on the painted inscription of the interior, it must have referred to a consecration of the church carried out either in consequence of the addition of new frescos, or in consequence of the establishment of the Cluniac priory. The existing edifice is not of the XII but of the XI century, and the complete absence of all Cluniac characteristics in the architecture gives good reason to believe that it antedates the foundation of the priory. Compared with the church of S. Vincenzo of Gravedona (Plate 100, Fig. 5), a surely dated monument of 1070, the church of Piona is seen to be much earlier, both by the rougher character of its masonry, and by the fact that the arched corbel-tables are grouped in smaller numbers. In point of view of style, S. Nicolò of Piona shows closest analogies with S. Pietro di Civate, both in the character of the masonry (Plate 56, Fig. 5) and in the grouping of the corbel-tables (Plate 56, Fig. 1, 2). S. Pietro di Civate dates from c. 1040. S. Nicolò of Piona may consequently be ascribed to this same time. The oratory of S. Maria may perhaps be five years later.

POMBIA,[1] S. VINCENZO

(Plate 188, Fig. 5)

I. This monument has, to the extent of my knowledge, never been published.

II. There is a local tradition that there was formerly a monastery connected with this church, but I have found no authentic documents to prove that such was the case.

III. The edifice consists at present of a narthex, a nave three bays long, two side aisles, and three square apses. The church has obviously been much denatured by barocco alterations. Originally the narthex extended probably only in front of the central nave. The interior of this narthex was entirely made over in the barocco period, but it appears to have had externally a southern oriel supported on a buttress. Originally the apses were semicircular.

The nave is at present covered with groin vaults, but was probably anciently supplied with a wooden roof, raised above a high clearstory. The side aisles still preserve the original groin vaults (Plate 188, Fig. 5) except in the easternmost bays. These vaults, the soffits of which have been renewed, are very oblong in the longitudinal sense, and are supplied with wall and transverse ribs loaded at the crowns. The system of the responds is logical and continuous, each member being prolonged to the ground. The responds therefore comprise five rectangular members. Similar members are engaged on the aisle side of the rectangular piers. The nave has now a barocco system, but was, I believe, originally without system.

The masonry consists of rubble carelessly laid. Uncut stones and bits of brick are placed haphazard or in herring-bone or vertical courses. The masonry is somewhat more carefully executed in the pilaster strips.

IV. The arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two or three and three, except in the façade, where there are pilaster strips only at the angles.

V. The masonry of the edifice is very similar to that of Oleggio (Plate 160, Fig. 1), a monument which dates from c. 1030. The section of the piers is similar to that of S. Maria di Naula of Mazzone (Plate 187, Fig. 2), a monument which dates from about the same time. Our church may, consequently, be ascribed to the same epoch. The narthex, which appears to be somewhat later than the rest of the edifice, may be ascribed to 1045.

[1] (Novara).

PONTIDA,[1] S. GIACOMO

(Plate 189, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The abbey of Pontida was the site on which was concluded the famous league of the Lombard cities against Barbarossa, and has consequently attracted considerable attention among historians. All the writers upon the antiquities of Bergamo have touched upon the monastery at greater or less length. Lupi, at the end of his second volume, published a large engraving of the sculptures of the tomb of S. Alberto, which is valuable because it shows the condition of these fragments at the end of the XVIII century. Locatelli[2] and Ronchetti[3] have contributed studies upon the history of the monastery. Several important documents have been published by Giulini[4] and the memory of others lost has been preserved by Mabillon. Sant'Ambrogio has in recent years studied the sculptures, of which, however, he has misinterpreted both the subject and the historical significance. Nearly a century before Allegranza had written a letter only recently published by Magistretti, in which that antiquarian called attention to the analogies between the sculptures of Civate and those of the tomb of S. Alberto, which he recognizes as a surely dated monument of 1095.

II. Locatelli[5] records a tradition that a chapel existed at Pontida before the time of S. Alberto, and this same tradition is repeated by Ronchetti.[6] However this may be, it is certain that the monastery was founded by S. Alberto, and thanks to the documents, we are even able to trace the several steps in this foundation. A deed printed by Lupi preserves the record of a donation made by S. Alberto in 1079 to the basilica of S. Giacomo at Pontida.[7] It is evident, therefore, that at this time the monastery had not been founded, but that the basilica was in existence. Pellegrini tells us that S. Alberto was assisted by S. Vito of S. Lorenzo at Milan, who, with two companions, was sent to Pontida by St. Hugh of Cluny, at the prayer of S. Alberto. He goes on to state that S. Vito lived at Pontida for five years, and died there in the odour of sanctity in 1052. Subsequently the abbot of Cluny came to Pontida and gave the habit to S. Alberto and his brethren, and there made Alberto

[1] (Bergamo). Pronunciation: Pon-ti'-da.

[2] III, 227. [3] II, 225.

[4] Giulini also studied the sculptures (II, 617 f.).

[5] III, 227. [6] II, 225.

[7] In nomine Dom. anno ab Incarnat. Dom. Nostri Iesu Christi millesimo septuagesimo nono mense Februario Indict. secunda Basilica beati Christi Jacopi Apostoli que est edificata in loco Puntida ubi dicitur Figline. Ego in Dei nomine Albertus fil. quond. Ariprandi de loco Presate . . . in eadem Basilica dare & offerre videor etc. (Lupi, II, 715).

abbot of Pontida, and ordained him.[8] Pellegrini cites as his authority for these statements a now lost life of S. Alberto. His account is evidently erroneous in several particulars. The abbot of Cluny never came to Pontida, but Pontida was given into the jurisdiction of Cluny in the church of S. Romano near Cluny, in 1087, as is known from the original documents summarized by Mabillon. There is also reason to suspect that the date of 1052 given for the death of S. Vito may be incorrect. The earliest authentic document which mentions S. Alberto's basilica at Pontida dates, as we have seen, from 1079. If Pellegrini's account be accepted, this basilica must have been in existence and under the influence of Cluny five years before 1052, or in 1047, that is to say, thirty-two years earlier than it appears in the documents. This is not impossible, but it is more probable that Pellegrini's date is erroneous.

An authentic document of 1081 speaks of the *Basilica Beati Jacobi Apostoli quod est Monasterio quod fit edificato in loco Pontedia*,[9] so that it is certain that at this time the monastery was in existence. It must have been founded, therefore, between 1079 and 1081, and it is natural to suppose that the donation of 1079 was made with the intent of supplying sufficient revenues to make possible the establishment of a regular priory. The monastery is mentioned again in a document of 1083.[10] In 1087 St. Hugh, the venerable abbot of Cluny, with the advice of his monks, granted in the atrium of the church of S. Romano, near Cluny, to Alberto, prior of S. Giacomo at Pontida, the privilege of disposing of the possessions of the priory as should seem to him most wise, and especially of the goods given by Oddo, cleric and *ordinario* of S. Faustina of Brescia.[11] From this document Mabillon drew the unjusti-

[8] Laborauit etiam in hac Vinea S. Vitus Monachus. S. Laurentii Mediolani, qui missus fuerat cum duobus sotiis a San. vgone cluniacensium patre ad puntidensem Abbatiam ob Instantiam. S. Alberti, in qua cum ipso. S. Alberto verbo, & exemplo Sanctissime vixit quasi per quinquennium, & anno Domini 1052. obiit in domino miraculis clarens, & ibi honorifice tumulatus est, post obitum vero ipsius S. viti ad preces San. Alberti memoratus. S. Pater cluniacensium ad puntidense monasteriũ venit, & habitum suum San. Alberto, & fratribus suis dedit, & ipsum in abbatẽ illius monasterii elegit, & ordinauit, & post aliquot dies monasterium suum cluniacense repitiuit. Hæc ex prædicta historia S. Alberti cap. II. (Pellegrini, 20).

[9] Lupi, II, 723. [10] *Ibid.*, 742.

[11] This document, which was paraphrased by Mabillon (*Ann. Ben.*, V, 240), has been published in two versions differing slightly from each other by Bernard (IV, 779-781). The most significant phrases are as follows: . . . . . Presentia illorum omnium eorum nomina subterleguntur, in atrio ecclesiae Sancti Romani que est constructa infra regnum Borgungie, non multum longe ab monasterio Sancti Petri quod dicitur de Cunica [Cluniaco] dedit potestatem et tribuit auctoritatem Ugo abas et custos ipsius monasterii Sancti Petri de Cunica cum consilio fratrum monachorum et famulorum Alberto monacho et priori monasterii ecclesie Sancti Jacobi de Pontia quod est fundatum infra regnum Langobardie in comitatu Bergamo, et est membrum ipsius monasterii, et manet sub constitutione domni abbatis, de illis rebus quas obvenerunt vel obvenire abent per cartas ad proprium ad partem ipsius monasterii Sancti Petri

fiable conclusion that the priory of S. Giacomo was founded in 1087, whereas it is clear that at this date the monastery, founded eight years before, was merely granted a certain degree of autonomy by St. Hugh and the congregation at Cluny. It is strange that the monastery of Pontida is not contained in the list of possessions confirmed to the abbey of Cluny by Urban II in 1088,[12] although it does appear among the possessions confirmed by the same pope in 1095.[13] In a document of 1093, published by Giulini, S. Alberto is called prior and ex-prior of the newly built church and monastery of S. Giacomo at Pontida.[14]

The historians of Bergamo know two traditions in regard to the consecration of the church at Pontida—one that it was dedicated in 1090, by the bishop of Bergamo,[15] the other that it was dedicated in 1095, by the bishop of Imola.[16]

However this may be, it is certain from the inscription on the tomb[17] of S. Alberto that the saint died on September 2, 1095.

In 1119 representatives of the abbey who appeared at Milan, thanked the people of that city because, at the expense of the Milanesi, and with their consent, the monastery had been erected—perhaps thereby alluding to some enlargement of the monastic buildings which took place in the early years

de Cuniea et Sancti Jacobi de Pontia, ad utilitatem victualem de servitialibus jam dicte ecclesie et monasterii Sancti Jacobi de predicto loco Pontia commutationem faciendi et legalem ordinationem vel secundum morem ipsius loci, sine damno et sine obprobrio jam dicte ecclesie Sancti Petri et predicte ecclesie Sancti Jacobi. Et insuper ipse domnus Ugo abas dedit potestatem ipsi Alberto ex sua auctoritate nominative de illis rebus quas Odo clericus et ordinario ecclesie Sancti Faustini de civitate Bresie et filius . . . . . de loco Sale, fecit ad partem ipsius monasterii Sancti Petri de Cluniea . . .

[12] Tomassetti, II, 121. [13] *Ibid.*, 158.

[14] In nomine Domini. Amen. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi mileximo, nonageximo tertio, mensis Julii, Indictione prima. In Christi nomine præsentia bonorum Hominum, quorum nomina subtus leguntur, Albertus de Sogra Prior, et Exprior Monasterio, et Ecclesia, quod noviter est ædificato, et ordinato in onore Sancti Jacopi Vallis, quæ vocatur Pontia, pro ista pergamena dedit, et concedit ex parte Monasterio, et Ecclesia, quod modo similiter noviter fuit ædificato in onorem Sanctæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ in loco qui vocatur Canturio, ubi Domina Anexa Major, et Præposita est ordinata, molendinas duas, cum rugiis, et aqueductis. . . . . (Giulini, VII, 71).

[15] See text cited above under Fontanella, Vol. II, p. 423. [16] Ronchetti, II, 225.

[17] IACET ALBERTI CoRPvS P[ER] SECLA BEATI
. . . . . T IPSE LOCI FVNDATOR DENIQ; NRI
. . . . . AC MITIS IOCVNDVS SIVE SVAVIS
. . . . . ET CASTVS MISERATOR DIGNVS ET APTVS
SEPTEMBRIS NONAS QVARTO MIGRAVIT AD ASTRA
MESTIAM SECLO SED FECIT GAVDIA CELO
QVO PARITER IVNCTI MEREAMVR SCANDERE CVNCTI
OBIIT ANNO DNICE INCARN. M. XCV. IND. IIII.

of the XII century.[18] In a donation of 1124 the abbey appears as a possession of Cluny,[19] and the prior Tidaldo is mentioned in a document of 1181.[20] About 1318, or in 1310 according to Merzario,[21] the abbey was entirely rebuilt.[22] In 1373 the church was destroyed by fire, and the body of S. Alberto was transferred to S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo.[23] The church was subsequently rebuilt in Gothic style.[24]

III, IV. The existing edifice is entirely Gothic, and consequently does not concern us here. In the sacristy, however, are preserved two fragments of sculpture which came from the tomb of S. Alberto, and are important monuments of Romanesque plastic art. In the first of these (Plate 189, Fig. 2) is shown the weighing of the soul of S. Alberto. A male figure is shown riding on a horse at full gallop. With his right hand he grasps the reins, with his left he holds aloft a pair of scales. In the balance are two souls. The one in the upper side of the balance holds its hands to its eyes with an expression of grief. The one on the lower side extends his right hand with joy. It is this figure on the lower side which represents the soul of S. Alberto, who has been found not wanting in the balance. To the right are three other souls awaiting trial, all represented alike as naked little manikins. The gestures show confidence in the figure to the right, uncertainty in the middle figure and fear in the left-hand one. That this relief represents the weighing of the soul of S. Alberto is made clear by two inscriptions, one placed above and the other below.[25] Sant'Ambrogio is wrong in identifying the figure on horse-back, holding the scales, as S. Michele. It is undoubtedly the horseman of the Apocalypse.[26]

[18] Giulini, III, 82 f.

[19] Monasterio sancti Iacobi Pontye, quod est de regimine, et potestate Sancti Petri Clivatensis [*sic*, lege Cluniacensis]. (*Codice della Croce*, MS. Amb., D. S. IV, Vol. V, f. 175).

[20] *Codice della Croce*, MS. Amb., D. S. IV, 9/I, 9, f. 45. [21] I, 78.

[22] [d. Guielmus Bergo. Cardinale di S. Nicolò in Carcere] suis īpensis fabricauit æde nouā Abbatiæ s. Iacobi de puntida, ordinis monacorum Cluniacesiū.—c. 1318. (Pellegrini, 26).

[23] Calvi, III, 138. Mutio (214) states, however, that the body of the saint is preserved in S. Mattia at Bergamo.

[24] Locatelli, III, 227. [25] The one above, unfortunately broken, is:

MENSVRA RECTA PENSAN . . . . .
CERNITE SERVANTES VESTRAS A CRIMINE ME[NTES]

The one below:

FVLGIDVS ALBERTVS DIVINO MVNERE FRETVS
ACCVBAT HAC VRNA PRECISO M̂ARMORE PULCHRA
SPIRITV̂S IN CELO GA̅VDET DE MVNERE VERO

[26] vi, 5. I have a distinct recollection of having seen this same subject in an ivory-carving of the museum at Brescia, but I know of no other representation. See Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, 359.

In the second fragment (Plate 189, Fig. 1), we see Christ with inscribed halo, seated, His right hand raised in benediction. The figure of the Deity is surrounded by an aureole in which are broken inscriptions which seem to signify that the soul of Alberto is brought to Christ,[27] and that his brethren left below pray for the repose of his soul.[28] To the left of Christ stands S. Michele—S̄ MI—presenting the naked soul of the prior on a napkin to the Deity. To the left of Christ, S. Alberto, dressed as a simple monk, without halo, presents a model of the church to the Deity, who extends His left hand in token of acceptance. The sculptor doubtless wished to indicate that the construction of the monastery was the chief good work of Alberto's life. Alberto is presented by St. James, whose identity is made clear by his Christ-like face, his beard, his halo and his bare feet. Behind St. James is another saint, haloed, bare-headed and tonsured, dressed in monastic garb, with a cowl, and carrying a crosier. This is undoubtedly St. Benedict, who appears as a second patron for S. Alberto. The relief represents the second trial of the soul of S. Alberto. Having been weighed by the horseman, it is brought to Christ for final judgment.

From the point of view of style, these sculptures are characterized by the fine folds of the garments, which are represented by numerous parallel lines slightly incised, and by a few bold, deeply incut lines. The eyes are staring, but the lids are carefully executed. There is but little attempt made at facial expression. The composition is, on the whole, satisfactory, and the proportions are not bad. Particularly happy is the adaptation of the figure of S. Michele to the space at the disposition of the artist. Admirable is the slight turn of the head in the figure of this angel, a device which makes one almost forget that the head itself is too large for the body. The face of Christ is full of dignity, although somewhat conventional. There is a certain admirable expression of gentleness imparted to the features of St. James.

V. The inscription leaves no doubt that S. Alberto died in 1095. The question naturally arises whether such admirable sculptures could have been executed at the time of the death of the saint, and whether they do not rather date from a subsequent rebuilding of the tomb. The answer, however, is clear. The very subject of the sculptures shows that they must have been executed not long after the prior's death. In the first place, S. Alberto is represented without a halo, which would not have been done in the case of the founder of the abbey whose body was there preserved, if the reliefs had been executed after S. Alberto had been canonized. In the second place, the very subject of the reliefs—which show the judgment of the soul of Alberto—would not have been pertinent except in a monument erected soon after his death. But the third and most cogent argument for believing these reliefs

[27] ✣FERTVR CRISTO Q[VI] SEMET CONTVLI[T] . . . . .
[28] ✣ORANTES PETIMVS REQ[UI]E[M] PRO SPIRITV S . . . . .

executed soon after 1095 is to be derived from a study of the style. The same sculptor who executed these reliefs worked on the portal of Calvenzano in 1099. Furthermore, the decorative carving of the rinceau is of a style which is entirely consonant with the manner of the last years of the XI century. We must therefore conclude that the sculptures of Pontida do in reality date from 1095, or soon after, and they consequently acquire immense importance as the earliest examples of really serious sculpture in stone in Lombardy. It would be of the greatest interest were it possible to establish whence this sculptor derived his admirable style, but in the absence of documents it is impossible to be certain. Certain details, such as the horse, the capital on which the naked souls stand, the treatment of the feet and also the edge of the draperies show strong points of contact with the work of Guglielmo da Modena; but, on the other hand, between the work of the sculptor at Pontida and Guglielmo there are numerous points of radical difference. Sant'Ambrogio is in error in believing that these reliefs show French influence. To the extent of my knowledge, there are extant in France no mediæval stone sculptures of serious artistic value which antedate these sculptures of Pontida. Such faint points of contact as the Pontida fragments show with works of later date in France are not more notable than those which commonly exist between contemporary works of art in different parts of Europe, and are to be explained rather on the hypothesis that both are derived from a common original than upon the supposition that the influence of French models was felt in Italy at this early period.

PORCILE,[1] MADONNA DELLA STRÀ[2]

(Plate 189, Fig. 4)

I. The Madonna della Strà has been the subject of two monographs. That of Sgulmero is important for the study it contains of the historical documents relating to the pieve. Sgulmero was the first to show that the epitaph in the Verona museum refers to this church. The work of Crosatti is more diffuse, and adds some documents of slight importance which had escaped Sgulmero. The official account of Berchet[3] should be consulted for an account of the restoration. In the guide-book of Simeoni[4] is contained an excellent résumé of the history of the monument.

II. In the Museo Maffei at Verona is an inscription which records the construction of a certain work in the year 1143, undertaken at the initiative of a certain priest, Ambrogio, and executed by the master-builders Boigo and

[1] Frazione di Belfiore d'Adige (Verona). [2] Formerly S. Michele.
[3] 1894, 83. [4] 380.

Malfato.[5] It was long unknown whence this inscription came, but Sgulmero perceived that the same facts are recorded in a modern inscription of 1651 still extant in the Madonna della Strà.[6] It is evident, therefore, that the original inscription must have been removed from the church in the XVII century, and placed in the museum, and that a modern paraphrase was ereeted in its place.

In the Middle Ages the church depended upon the bishop of Verona,[7] and was officiated by a chapter of canons which possessed six members in 1208 and 1212, eleven in 1215, and fifteen in 1221.[8] Crosatti states that at this period there was a central wall in the middle of the church to divide the two sexes in the congregation.[9] From the acts of the pastoral visit of 1529, published entire by Sgulmero,[10] it is evident that the church was a pieve and that the name Madonna della Strà is not older than the XVI century. Sgulmero conjectures that the church was restored and whitewashed in 1651.[11] In 1783 another restoration was carried out.[12] In 1893 was begun an archæological restoration which was completed only in 1906.[13] The ancient

5
ANI DOMINI MILESIMO
CENTESIMO QUADR'A
IESIMO TERCIO . INDICIO
NE SEA A . TPI TEBALDI $\overline{EPI}$
P[RO]PE FEAIUITAT$\overline{E}$ [*sic;* festivitate] $\overline{SCI}$ MAR
TINI . SACERDOS $\overline{A}$BROSIUS
FUIT AUTOR UIUS OPERIS . BOIGO
ET MALFATO Q[UI] $\overline{TC}$ ABITABANT
IN UERONENSI CANPO EXI$\overline{AE}$ZIBUS MAGIARIS

6
QVESTA CHIESA FV FI
NITA L'$\overline{ANO}$ DELLA NOS
TRA REDENZIONE. 1143
FV AVTORE DI QVESTA
FABRICA D. AMBROSIO
ESSENDO VESCOVO
DI VERONA TEBALDO
QVESTA MEMORIA FV
POSTA QVI ALLI 20
MAGGIO, 1651. ESSEN
DO ARCIPRETE D. AN
TONIO CAVLE .

7 Crosatti, 71. 8 *Ibid.*, 72. 9 80. 10 8 f. 11 14. 12 Sgulmero, 12.

13 In the north wall is the following inscription:

QUESTO ANTICHISSIMO TEMPIO
CH'EBBE PER ARCHITETTI BORGO E MALFATO
COSTRUITO NEL 1143 DA ALBERICO FABBRO DA ZEVIO
PER LA MUNIFICENZA DI PRETE AMBROGIO
RIAPRIVASI AL CULTO
IL 2 SETTEMBRE 1906
DOPO CHE AGLI INTERNI GUASTI
E ALLA FACCIATA PENDENTE DI 80 CENTIM.

roof was demolished and replaced by a new one. Parts of the clearstory walls were torn down and rebuilt. In the course of this operation there were discovered, used as second-hand materials, bits of fresco which the restorers believed dated from the late XIII century. The façade, which had leaned outward, was straightened. The pavement was lowered. One of the piers, with its capital, was remade.[14] The ancient windows were reopened, the frescos were restored, the walls, which had been built in the western arches of the main arcade to strengthen the edifice, were removed, and the masonry of the exterior walls—especially of those of the apse—was restored.[15]

III. The church consists of a nave (Plate 189, Fig. 4) six bays long, two side aisles, three apses, and a campanile which rises to the north-east of the edifice. The building is at present roofed in wood, with the exception of the apses, which have half domes, and the eastern bay of the nave, which is covered with a barrel vault of the Renaissance (Plate 189, Fig. 4). The supports of the nave were alternately columns and piers, but the second column from the east of the southern arcade, and the easternmost columns on both sides have been converted into piers by an encasing wall of masonry. There are no responds, and there is no system (Plate 189, Fig. 4). A small clearstory exists on the southern side only. The northern side-aisle wall is evidently of the Renaissance, as is also its portal; the northern clearstory wall is modern.

The façade is constructed of polychromatic masonry formed of bands of stone and well laid bricks. The south clearstory wall is constructed with bands of pebbles and stone; the apses, partly of bands of stone and pebbles, partly of ashlar. The masonry of the campanile is much rougher, unhewn stones being disposed in approximately horizontal courses. The upper part was evidently restored in the time of the Renaissance.

IV. The piers have impost mouldings consisting of numerous members (Plate 189, Fig. 4). The bases are of Attic profile. The two western columns have capitals of an uncarved, bundle Byzantine type, like those of the crypt at Villanova. The capital of the second column from the west in the north arcade (Plate 189, Fig. 4) is evidently pilfered, and must have been taken

PORTÒ RIPARO CON FELICE ARDIMENTO
L'INGEGNERE ALESSANDRO DA LISCA
COADIUVATO DALL'OPERA SAGACE
DEL CAPOMAESTRO GENNARO PERINI
ALLA FESTA DELLA STORIA, DELLA FEDE, DELL'ARTE
INTERVENNERO CON PERSONAGGI COSPICUI
L' EM. CARD. BART. BACILIERI VESC. DI VERONA
E IL BAR. GAETANO SCIACCA R. PREFETTO
TEODOSIO FACCIOLI ARC. DI BELFIORE
A PERENNE MEMORIA QUESTA LAPIDE

[14] This is the western pier on the south side. [15] Crosatti, 91-93.

from a Carlovingian edifice. It is Corinthian in type, but small, flat leaves are substituted for the angle volutes. The two rows of acanthus leaves are executed in a curiously dry manner, without undercutting, and the petals are carved. The two eastern columns, half embedded in masonry, are evidently contemporary. The one to the south resembles very closely the capitals of Villanova (Plate 241, Fig. 4), or of the ancient cathedral of Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 2), but is somewhat more crude. The other is similar, but the overturns of the leaves form blocks like those of the capitals of the ciborio of S. Giorgio (Plate 198, Fig. 4). The scotia in the base of this column is much exaggerated, as is also the case in the corresponding column on the other side. In the other bases the scotia is somewhat less exaggerated.

The archivolts are of a single unmoulded order. The original windows, widely splayed and intended to serve without glass, have been for the most part replaced by square windows of the Renaissance. The façade is characterized by a Veronese hanging porch over the main portal, a biforum and inlaid plaques. The arched corbel-tables are small and of a single order. The corbels, however, are long and heavily moulded. Above the corbel-tables is a saw tooth, and the spandrels of the corbel-tables are filled with carved leaf-forms. In the eastern gable, however, the spandrels are filled with inlaid bricks. The two absidioles are without ornamented cornices. The central apse has corbel-tables, a saw tooth and a rinceau, the flanks a simple saw tooth.

On the second pier from the east on either side are graffiti inscriptions, exceedingly difficult to decipher. Those on the north pier refer to historical events of the XIII century. That on the southern pier probably records a votive offering made by the blacksmith Alberico of Zevio.[16]

V. The main body of the church is evidently an authentically dated monument of 1143. The Carlovingian capitals, because of their points of contact with the capital of Villanova, may be ascribed to c. 775. The lower part of the campanile, to judge from the character of the masonry, must date from c. 1020.

PORTOCOMARO,[1] S. PIETRO

(Plate 189, Fig. 3)

I. To the extent of my knowledge this monument has never been published.

[16] [AL]BERICUS FABER. IE
[BET]ANUS. UULT HONORA
RET S MICAELEM D
E SUA . . . . .

[1] (Alessandria). Pronounced Portocomáro.

II. This edifice, which is now descerated, until about twelve years ago served as a chapel for the cemetery, and is even yet known locally as the *Chiesa Vecchia del Cimitero.* It is said to be the old parish church of Portocomaro.

III. The edifice consists of a nave of a single aisle, the eastern bay of which is covered with a rib vault, while the western is roofed in wood. The eastern parts have obviously been rebuilt, in part with old materials, perhaps in the XV century.

The masonry of the façade (Plate 189, Fig. 3) is polychromatic. The ashlar is of good but not superlative quality, and the brickwork is rather rough, the bricks being of irregular size and the mortar-beds wide.

IV. The façade is adorned with simple arched corbel-tables (Plate 189, Fig. 3) and by two oculi, which are surrounded by a scratched ornament. A bit of the ancient wall, still extant on the southern side, shows that the flank was adorned with arched corbel-tables ornamented with a perforated motive and grouped three and three by thin pilaster strips. In the interior are frescos of the XVI century.

V. The masonry of Portocomaro, compared with that of Cascina S. Trinità (Plate 50, Fig. 2) is seen to be far more rough and primitive, although no herring-bone courses are included. Cascina S. Trinità dates from c. 1130. Portocomaro may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1120.

PRIOCCA,[1] S. VITTORE

I. This monument has been illustrated by Venturi.[2]

II. I know of no documents which throw light upon the history of the edifice.

III. The church consists of a nave of a single bay, a northern side aisle, an apse and an absidiole. The vaults of the façade, the southern wall and part of the northern wall, are modern. Clearly the church was originally much larger than it is at present and possessed a nave several bays in length and two side aisles.

The masonry consists of large, cross-hatched bricks varying in colour from deep crimson to light cream, and of regular size. They are well laid in horizontal courses, but separated by deep beds of mortar.

IV. In the interior is preserved one Lombard capital, which is covered

[1] (Cuneo).
[2] III, 12.

with shallow carved ornament, of conventional pattern. The apse windows are in two unmoulded orders, those of the absidiole have a segmental bottom. The apses are adorned with simple arched corbel-tables, supported on thin pilaster strips, which, in the apse, are supplied with capitals.

In the interior are preserved mediocre frescos of the XV century.

V. The masonry seems more primitive than that of Portocomaro, an edifice of c. 1120, in that no ashlar is introduced among the bricks. Priocca may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1115.

QUARANTOLI,[1] PIEVE S. MARIA

(Plate 190, Fig. 1)

I. The pieve of S. Maria at Quarantoli has been published by Maestri, in his monograph on Rubbiano.[2]

II. Since the edifice itself contains nothing of importance for our study, its history may be passed over briefly. The tradition that it was founded in the VII century is comforted by the fact that the pieve is mentioned in documents of the IX century, 902, the X century, 1038, etc.[3] In 1049 the pieve was ceded to the marchese Bonifacio by the abbot of Nonantola. In 1115 Matilda gave it to Ugo di Manfredo. That the church was rebuilt, or at least embellished, at about this epoch, seems to be shown by a fragment of an inscription which now serves for an altar in the church:

. . . . . M. C. XIIII IND . VIII . XVII . $\overline{\text{KL}}$ DECB.

The church was subsequently restored in 1437, and baroccoized in 1670. What earlier ages had spared was relentlessly destroyed in the recent restoration, which was nearing completion when I visited the church in the summer of 1913.

III. The church itself has lost all archæological value, and it is impossible now to judge of its original style, although some of the large bricks, laid in horizontal courses, still show the character of the ancient masonry. In the northern portal the archivolt is formed of bricks which nest into each other with a zigzag jointing, as in certain archivolts of the cathedral of Modena.

The fragments of the ancient ambo, when I visited the church, had been carried to the house of the priest. These fragments consist of the figures of the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, each with the usual

[1] Frazione of Mirandola (Modena).
[2] 36. [3] Maestri, 36.

inscription.[4] The head of the John is new, but the other figures (Plate 190, Fig. 1) are well preserved.

From the point of view of style, these figures are evidently under the strong influence of Guglielmo da Modena. The draperies of the Matthew (Plate 190, Fig. 1) reproduce, with almost slavish exactness, those of Guglielmo's Enoch at Modena. The feet, on the other hand, are covered with curious, heavy shoes, precisely like those of the priest at Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 4). The eyes, however, recall more vividly the style of Guglielmo da Modena, since the balls were simply painted black, and were not inlaid in another material as at Sasso. The hard line of the lower jaw recalls strongly the figure at Sasso (compare Plate 190, Fig. 1, with Plate 205, Fig. 4), and also shows strong analogy with the faces on the pulpit at Isola S. Giulio.

V. Since the style of the ambo sculptures seems to be intermediate between that of the work of Guglielmo da Modena at Modena (1099-1106) and that of the sculptor of Sasso (c. 1125) it is entirely probable that the inscription of 1114 in the church may have referred to this ambo, or to the church for which it was erected, since the two seem to be contemporary.

RANVERSO DI AVIGLIANO,[1] S. ANTONIO

(Plate 190, Fig. 2, 3, 4)

I. The history of S. Antonio of Ranverso seems to have been curiously complicated by a number of inaccurate inscriptions of late date formerly placed in the vestibule. The chronicler Meyranesio, whose work has been

[4] Matthew:
LIBER GE
N̂ERACI
ONIS IE
SV X̄
FILII (Matth., i, 1).
Mark:
ECCE EGO
MITTO (Marc., i, 2).
Luke (LVCA):
FV
IT IN DI
. . . . . ERODES (Luc., i, 5).
John:
IN PRINCI
PIO ERAT V̄
BVM ET V̄BV
ERAT APVT D (Joan., i, 1).

[1] The church of S. Antonio of Ranverso lies about five kilometres to the east of Avigliano (Torino), to the south of the high road leading from Susa to Turin.

published in the *Historiae Patriae Monumenta,*[2] based his account of the history of S. Antonio on these inscriptions. The work of Vallier appears more worthy of faith, and contradicts the local tradition in several important particulars. The edifice was described in 1816, by Millin, who speaks of frescos and inscriptions which now no longer exist.[3] In 1845 an engraving of the edifice was published by Zuccagni-Orlandini.[4] It is clear that at this period the narthex had already been enclosed, but the drawing shows amortizements which prove that it either did extend, or was planned to extend, further to the westward. A monograph upon the church was published by Mella, and observations of value have been contributed by Gamba. Finally, mention should be made of the description of the church in the geography of Strafforello.[5]

II. According to the local tradition, the church of S. Antonio was founded near a pre-existing chapel of S. Biagio. Meyranesio, on the authority of inscriptions which he saw in the church, states that the hospital order of S. Antonio was founded in 1095, at Vienne, in Dauphiné, and that the church of the order at Ranverso was founded by the munificence of Umberto II (†1103), and other dukes of Savoy. The church, according to an inscription which he cites, was dedicated by Pope Callistus II, on April 10, 1108. This, however, is manifestly erroneous, since that pope reigned only from 1119 to 1123. Meyranesio therefore conjectures that the consecration in question was celebrated in 1121, when Callistus passed through Ranverso on his return from the council of Toulouse. This can not be, however, for reasons which will presently appear. Meyranesio goes on to state that in his day the names of the abbots and masters, together with their arms, were inscribed in a corridor of the abbey.[6]

The scientific study of Vallier has proved that the local traditions are strangely in error. The mother-house of the order, in point of fact, situated

[2] XI, 1627.

[3] Le plafond est peint à fresque avec des couleurs très-vives. On voit, dans le vestibule, une assez mauvaise figure de S. Antoine avec une inscription relative à la fondation du monastère. (I, 158).

[4] I, *Bassi Tempi,* Plate II, No. 2. [5] *Torino,* 680.

[6] Stabilito l'ordine spedaliere di S. Antonio nel 1095 in Vienna del Delfinato da Gastone cavaliere, come si legge dalla seguente iscrizione scritta sul muro del gran corridoio di Ranverso:

Casto ex nobilissima apud Delphinates familia ortus
Congregationem in honorem sancti Antonii instituit
Anno 1095.

non tardò molto a propagarsi qui da noi come si legge dall'epigrafe scritta sul muro collo stemma di casa Savoia nell'atrio avanti la chiesa:

Munificentia Umberti II nec non caeterorum
Sabaudiae Ducum fundata est et locupletata haec
Domus S. Antonii.

at Motte-St.-Didier, was founded about 1070-1090. The hospital order of the Antoniens, however, came into being only about 1095, and was established by Gaston. The obedience of Ranverso was, in point of age, the second in the order, having been founded in 1156, and consequently by Umberto III (1148-1159), and not by Umberto II (1080-1103). The consecration, therefore, could not have been celebrated either in 1108 or in 1121, nor by Callistus II. It is further recorded that the church was begun only in the year 1188.[7] S. Antonio of Ranverso was classed among the *commanderies générales,* and was the head of twenty-five priories.

In 1775 the order of the Antoniens was fused with that of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In the time of the Revolution the church of Ranverso became a simple parish, and in the days of Meyranesio was officiated by a chaplain. When I visited the church in September, 1913, the edifice was undergoing a radical and unhappy restoration.

III. The church consists of a narthex (Plate 190, Fig. 2) covered by three rib vaults, a rib-vaulted nave (Plate 190, Fig. 4) four bays long, a southern rib-vaulted side aisle, a complete set of northern chapels, a rib-vaulted choir of a single bay, and a five-sided apse covered by a chevet vault, the ribs of which converge on the transverse arch. To the north rises an imposing campanile (Plate 190, Fig. 3). The axis of the church is notably deflected to the north.

The clearstory consists of oculi. The arches of the main arcade are all of unequal height and length. The domed vaults are supplied with pointed arches, and are apparently constructed of rubble, since the soffit is covered with plaster. The diagonal ribs have a torus section, but the transverse and wall arches are rectangular. In the western bays the system consists of one semicircular and two rectangular members (Plate 190, Fig. 4), while in the eastern bays diagonal shafts are also included. Of entirely different character are the vaults of the narthex (Plate 190, Fig. 2), which are evidently not earlier than the XV century.

IV. The capitals are quite Lombard in character, being usually cubic or grotesque in type (Plate 190, Fig. 4). The absence of French influence is notable. The capitals of the narthex are Romanesque (Plate 190, Fig. 2),

Il conte Umberto morì nel 1103. I nomi dei maestri, e poi degli abati si leggono nel corridoio colle armi loro. . . . La chiesa fu consecrata nel 1121 da Callisto II che ritornava dal concilio di Tolosa, come si scorge dalla seguente leggenda scritta sopra carta:

Die decima aprilis
Dedicatio Ecclesiae Sancti Antonii de Rivo Inverso
Consecratae a Calixto II Summo Pontifice
Duodecimo saeculo cum octava.

(Meyranesio, *Pedemontium Sacrum,* ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XI, 1627).

[7] Mella.

although the façade and vault date from a much later epoch. It is probable that these capitals are the remnant of an earlier narthex, which was rebuilt in the XV century. The clearstory wall is adorned externally with double arched corbel-tables (Plate 190, Fig. 3).

The church contains beautiful frescos.

V. The western bays of the nave show the style of the last quarter of the XII century, and are obviously the oldest portions of the church. The construction begun in 1188 doubtless commenced at this point. The eastern bays of the nave, the choir and the campanile, obviously later in style, can not be earlier than the XIII century. The narthex, on the other hand, was rebuilt in the XV century, but the XII century capitals were preserved.

REGGIO EMILIA, DUOMO

(Plate 191, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The mosaics of the Duomo of Reggio now preserved in the Museo Chierici, have been illustrated by Venturi.[1] A drawing made at the time of the discovery in 1878, and showing the relative position of the fragments, is preserved in the museum. For the history of the church Affarosi's monograph on S. Prospero and Ughelli's series of the bishops of Reggio should be consulted.

II. According to the Bollandists[2] the first cathedral was the church of S. Prospero de Castello. Other authorities state that it was the church of S. Apollinare, where was buried S. Prospero. It is entirely probable that it had been moved to the church of S. Maria before the year 787, when it is known that the episcopal church was destroyed by fire. This fire is referred to very explicitly in a diploma of Charlemagne,[3] from which references to it are quoted in diplomas of Lothair I,[4] Charles the Fat,[5] and Lodovico III.[6]

[1] III, 430-433. [2] *Acta Sanctorum,* die 25, Junii, VII, p. 54.

[3] Carolus, gratia Dei, Rex Francorum, etc. . . . Industriam igitur omnium s. Dei Ecclesiæ fidelium . . . nosse volumus, patrem nostrum Apollinarem Reverendissimum s. Regien. Ecclesiæ Præsulem nostram adiisse clementiam, nobisque retulisse, quod accidente negligentia, & incuria, crepitantibus flammis Ecclesiarum ædificia in Regen. urbe cremata fuerint; cum quibus etiam aliqua instrumenta chartarum, & monumenta in favillam redacta sint. . . . Data in mense Junii, die octavo. In anno 13. & 7. Regni nostri, indictione decima, Actum Papiæ civit. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 246).

[4] *Ibid.,* 247.

[5] In this diploma reference is made to the præcepta proavi nostri Caroli, & avi nostri Hludovici, & patrui nostri Hlotarii, seu & Hludovici Imperatoris consubrini nostri, in quibus continebatur, quod quondam casu accidente S. Regien. Ecclesiæ tecta ignium flammis sint consumpta, & quædam monumenta chartarum exusta. . . . Data idib. Feb. An. Incarnat. Domini 882. Indict. 15. anno 2. Imp. piissimi Imperatoris Caroli II. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 251). [6] *Ibid.*

A document of the year 883 mentions *beati Prosperi Confessoris Christi Episcopatus Regiensis,*[7] but Charles the Fat perhaps conceded this diploma not so much to the cathedral church as to the diocese of Reggio, of which the patron saint has always been S. Prospero.[8] A privilege of Berenger of 898, on the other hand, mentions the gift which Sigefredo had made *in Canonicorum ibidem Domino, Beatæque Dei Genitricis, semperque Virginis Mariæ, Sanctoque Michaeli Archangelo Dei militantium usibus.* The donation of Sigefredo had, as will shortly be seen, been made not long before 857. It is therefore evident that in the second half of the IX century the cathedral was known under the title of S. Maria. In the X and XI centuries it is always given in the documents the double title of S. Maria and S. Prospero.[9]

About the middle of the IX century a chapter of canons regular was founded in the church by the bishop Sigefredo. This fact is referred to in the document of 883 cited above, and also in a diploma of Lodovico II, of 857.[10] The canonica is also referred to in a document of 881.[11]

There is no evidence that the cathedral church itself suffered damage in the devastation wrought by the Hungarians in the early years of the X century.[12]

One of the fragments of the mosaic pavement which is still extant bears the inscription:

. . . . . ETRVS FECIT . . . . .
. . . . . STAM D(?) AN . . . . .

This inscription has been interpreted PETRVS FECIT BASILICAM ISTAM DE ANNO . . . . . and taken to mean that the cathedral church was rebuilt by a bishop Pietro. Since only two of this name are known—one of whom held office about the year 900, the other from 1187 to 1210—it has been assumed that the mosaic must date from either one or the other of these periods. As a matter of fact, however, the mosaic can not be of either epoch, nor do the scant fragments of the inscription justify the interpretation that has been placed upon them. Even supposing the notable

[7] Ughelli, V, ed. C., 253.

[8] The same observation applies to a diploma purporting to be of 872. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 249).

[9] Thus in two diplomas of 942 (Ughelli, V, 261, 264) and in others of 946 (*Ibid.,* 266), 964 (*Ibid.,* 269), and 1015 (*Ibid.,* 274).

[10] . . . Hludovicus gratia Dei Imperatori Augustus. . . . Igitur omnium fidelium . . . comperiat industria, quia Sigefredus venerabilis sacræ sedis Regiensis Episcopus nostra suggessit mansuetudini, ut quasdam res ejusdem suæ Ecclesiæ, quas ipse in Canonicorum ibidem Deo militantium usibus quotidianis . . . constituit; Nos . . . corroboraremus; . . . & . . . decernimus, ut ab hinc in futurum præfatæ res, ubi ipsa Canonica Sigefredus Episcopus à fundamentis ædificavit, Ecclesia videlicet S. Peregrini, necnon Ecclesias etc. . . . permaneant. . . . Data III. Idus Januarii anno Imperii Hludovici Sereniss. Augusti Septimo Indictione Quinta. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 248).

[11] Ughelli, V, ed. C., 249. [12] See below, p. 310.

lacunæ to have been correctly restored, there is nothing to indicate that the donor, Pietro, was a bishop.

According to the label in the Reggio museum, the pavement was covered with a simple flooring of cement in 1332. The subsequent history of the cathedral and the barocco reconstruction do not concern us here.

III. The existing cathedral of Reggio contains in the façade notable remains of fresco decoration, but is otherwise entirely without archæological interest.

IV. With the help of the drawing in the museum, it is possible to determine the relative positions of the extant fragments of the pavement. In the south-east angle of the mosaic two small fragments (perhaps of grotesque scenes) are shown in the drawing. The next layer, beginning at the north, shows first a siren, which has disappeared. According to the label in the museum this figure was the result of a late restoration, but the fact is open to doubt. Then followed a scene of which only a fragment remains, and which shows the lower part of some animal—probably a dog—following a man, only one of whose feet is extant. This is probably a portrait of the donor of the pavement, since it was followed by the inscription we have cited above. The next fragment (upside down) is a small bit of a scene which has almost completely disappeared. It is possible to make out, however, a cat-like creature with pointed ears and a spotted body. This animal turns her head towards an excessively thin man who stands back of her and holds his hands in the air. On the other side of the animal are two persons, one of whom faces away from the beast, and holds his hands in the air, the other one of whom wears a Corinthian bonnet. This panel, perhaps, represents the bestiary scene of the panther, which is said to be a very beautiful beast, spotted black and white. From her mouth issue such sweet sounds that when she cries all the animals which are in the neighbourhood come to her, except the serpents, who flee; and when the animals have come, she takes them, and eats those which she likes. The panther is the symbol of the preacher who, by his eloquence, draws to himself all the animals—that is to say, the good men. The sinners who, instead of coming, run away, are symbolized by the serpents. The artist of the Reggio mosaic has therefore represented the panther, the symbol of the preacher, with two good men who come to him, charmed by the sweetness of his voice, and with one bad man who runs away.

After this follows a group of three purely grotesque animals, and then to the extreme south a scene in which a man is represented as riding astride a lion, holding a shield in his left hand and in his right brandishing a broad-sword. Above is another lion. This panel has been called Daniel in the lions' den, but much more probably represents Samson, if it be not entirely grotesque. In the next row are animals and grotesques, a dog with wings and serpent's tail, a dog on a stag's back,[13] a bird on a lion's back, and two

[13] Illustrated by Venturi, III, 432.

birds with entwined necks.[14] In the drawing is seen a now lost fragment of another scene, in which can still be made out the four paws of an animal and the fragment of an inscription [LEOP]ADVS.

To the west were two great squares of conventional design in which an interlace of circles recalling Cosmati patterns plays a prominent part. In the angles were peacocks and animals. In the next row at the north was a panel representing a man cleaving with a hatchet the head of a monster with horse's head and fore-paws, a serpent's tail, and a snake's tongue protruded venomously. This seems to be a variation of the hydra or chimera theme. Then follows one of the strangest of the panels still preserved (Plate 191, Fig. 1). A tonsured monk is shown handing a jar to a person who stands below him. Above is the inscription:

. . . . . RVS QVI BACHI . . . . . LA
. . . . . IT BIBVLV̄ P͡AT . . . . .

Between the two figures is a vertical inscription: J͡OIP . . . . . OC. The extremely bad condition of the mosaic, which has been much and very crudely restored, makes it impossible to interpret the inscriptions. The interpretation on the label in the museum, however, which would make this the scene of a bacchanalian orgy, is undoubtedly wide of the mark. It is much more probable that we have here represented a genre scene of monastic life such as is sculptured on one of the capitals of the cloister of S. Orso at Aosta. The distribution of alms to the poor was part of the regular monastic discipline, and one of the familiar duties of the mediæval monk. The alms distributed consisted not infrequently of bread and wine. Our mosaic probably shows the monk whose duty it was to distribute these rations, and whose name may have been Pietro (*Petrus*), offering a drink (*bibulum*) of wine to one of the poor. This wine is held in a jar (*bacchiam*).

This scene is probably connected with the next (Plate 191, Fig. 2). At the left is seen a mass of masonry, indicated by reticulated black lines and probably intended to represent the buildings of the monastery. The centre of the composition is occupied by a campanile surmounted by two golden balls. In the campanile hangs a bell which is being rung by a man whom the inscriptions tells us is Milio, the bell-ringer: MI LIO.| C̄A|PA|NA|RIVS. At the bottom of the campanile is a bucket which may be supposed to be full of bread for the poor. I suppose that the scene represents the bell-ringer of the monastery, ringing the bells to summon the poor to the distribution of alms.

Further to the south was a circle with figure mosaics, almost entirely destroyed, but traces of the head of Eve—EVA—and of the tree and the serpent leave no doubt as to the subject represented. In the western row,

[14] Illustrated by Venturi, III, 431.

in diamond-shaped compartments, were depicted various grotesques. The different panels were surrounded by conventional border patterns.

V. A considerable part of the excessive crudities which at first glance strike the eye in the mosaic of the Reggio Duomo are due to late and unskilful restoration. Those parts which preserve their original forms display a certain power of caricature which is quite remarkable, and notwithstanding extremely crude and simple technique, attain a remarkable effect (Plate 191, Fig. 2). Compared with the mosaics of Vercelli (Plate 215, Fig. 4), which date from 1148, or with those of S. Prospero—which date from the same year—or even with those of Casale, of c. 1140 (Plate 45, Fig. 2), these mosaics are seen to be extremely crude. In the treatment of the faces, the technique is even simpler than that of the pavement of S. Savino at Piacenza (1107). It is notable, furthermore, that in the pavement of the Duomo at Reggio there have come down to us no fragments of scenes of deep iconographic purport, and that the grotesque element is predominant. In these points the mosaics of the Reggio Duomo appear more primitive than does even the pavement of S. Michele at Pavia (c. 1100). It is, on the other hand, far more advanced than the pavement of the cathedral of Acqui (1067). It may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1090.

REGGIO EMILIA, S. PROSPERO

I. The mosaics of S. Prospero have been referred to by Müntz.[1] The history of the abbey has been the subject of a well known monograph by Affarosi. Important historical notices are contained in Ughelli's series of the bishops of Reggio Emilia, and in the study upon S. Prospero in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Saccani has contributed a critical study of the historical sources.

II. S. Prospero died about the middle of the V century, and probably in the year 466. He was buried in the church of S. Apollinare, as is explicitly stated in his life.[2] The history of the translation of S. Prospero, composed at a late date, but on the basis of authentic documents preserved in the monastery, tells us that about four hundred and forty-four years before 1144, that is to say, about the year 700, the body of the saint was placed in the high altar of the church of S. Prospero.[3] Ughelli, the Bollandists, and other

[1] 30.

[2] Sepultus [S. Prosper] itaque est . . . septimo calendas decembres in basilica non longe [*sic*] ab ipsa ciuitate constructa: quam ipse olim in honore sancti Apollinaris Christi confessoris et martyris deo sacrauerat. (*Vita Sancti Prosperi*, ed. Mombritius, II, f. CCXXIII, new ed., p. 408). Such also is the constant tradition at Reggio. (Compare Ughelli, V, ed. C., 242, and *Acta Sanctorum*, die 25, Junii, VII, 47).

[3] Anno 1144. elapsis tunc annis circiter 444 à tempore, quo præfatus beatæ memoriæ Thomas Episcopus sanctum Beati Prosperi corpus in prænominato majori altari Ecclesiæ monasterii S. Prosperi reposuit. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 292).

late authors connect this translation with the name of Luitprando (712-743) or with that of the pope Giovanni VI (701-705), and a manuscript of Prague, cited by the Bollandists, places it in 703. It appears probable, however, that all these chronological statements are merely attempts to give greater precision to the text of the history of the translation, and are not based upon other authentic documents. It is notable, however, that the tradition that S. Tommaso not only translated the relics of S. Prospero, but founded the church itself, is widely spread. Not only do we find it in the Bollandists and Ughelli, but in an inscription probably of the XVI century, which was formerly extant in the church of S. Pietro.[4] The inscription, it is true, implies that S. Tommaso founded not only the church but the monastery. This, however, is in all probability an error, since authentic documents referring to the monastery earlier than the XI century are lacking.

A diploma of Berenger of 905 mentions the *necessitates vel deprædationes atque incendia* which the church of Reggio had suffered at the hands of the Hungarians.[5] The church of S. Prospero situated without the walls of the city may well have been particularly open to devastation by the barbarians, and it is, perhaps, not too much to conjecture that at this time the body of the patron saint of Reggio was removed for greater safety to the cathedral situated within the walls of the city.

Certain it is that in 997 the bishop Teuzo translated this body into a new collegiate church which he founded within the walls of the city, and which bore the name of S. Prospero de Castello. The proof of this is an inscription which formerly existed in that church.[6] The authenticity of this

[4] *Beati Thomæ Regiensis Antistitis,*
qui tempore Luitprandi Longobardorum Regis
ex divino indicto
Basilicam Abbatialem S. Prosperi
extra civitatem ædificatam
Regiensium tutelari dicavit,
mortales exuviæ
hocce intra civitatem a Benedictinis
Casinensibus
dictæ Abbatiæ ab illius fundatione incolis,
bellorum ergo magnifici vetustiori suffecta
ejus membra cælo asservante spiritum
æternitati quiescunt
(Ughelli, V, ed. C., 243).

[5] Ughelli, V, ed. C., 259.

[6] Teuzo præsentem fundavit Episcopus ædem,
Ad decus et Sancti instituit Prosperi:
Cujus ad hanc semper veneranda transtulit ossa,
Cum Papa Quinto nomine Gregorio,
Forte Ticinensem qui tunc pergebat ad urbem,
Concilii sacri causam habiturus ibi.

inscription has been doubted, but without sufficient foundation. Saccani[7] states that it is confirmed by the book of the miracles of S. Prospero, which was written at the order of the bishop Sigefredo II (1031-1049).[8] Teuzo is cited as first benefactor of the collegiate church of S. Prospero in documents of 1149 and 1184.[9] Moreover the chronological and historical references of the inscription are more exact than would be possible in a false document. The council of Pavia was in fact held in 997. Gregory V was pope in the same year, and in 997, the twenty-fourth of January fell on a Sunday—which, as the Bollandists observe, is the day usually chosen for the consecration of churches. Moreover, the ninth and tenth lines, although they have doubtless come down to us in an incorrect and corrupt form, still clearly refer to S. Giovanni, who abdicated the archbishopric of Ravenna and, as the recent researches of Savio have shown, went in this very year to live as a hermit at Sagra S. Michele.[10] S. Giovanni therefore came to the consecration together with his successor. In this detail the inscription coincides so perfectly with the results of the latest research that it is impossible to doubt that it is entirely authentic.

The canons of S. Prospero de Castello were closely connected with the clergy of the cathedral, and enjoyed jointly with them exceptional privileges.

The zeal of Teuzo in behalf of S. Prospero did not stop with the erection of the church of S. Pietro de Castello. He proceeded to found the monastery in the church of S. Prospero without the walls of the city, which had not improbably fallen into ruin. This foundation is referred to in two documents generally assigned to 1006 and 1010, of which the first is a forgery, the second so obscure and illegible as to be incomprehensible.[11] The whole subject has been much obscured by the controversy which arose in the XII century between the monks of the monastery of S. Prospero, and the canons of the collegiate church of S. Prospero de Castello, both of whom claimed to possess the body of the saint. Hence arose the usual crop of falsifications and forgeries among

Pontificem [Clerus est] multaque turba secuta,
  Suscepit Teuzo quos pater hospitio.
Venerant Antistes junior et ipse Joannes,
  Sede Ravennati dexter abiturus [an? dextram habiturus] ibi:
Cum quibus a dicto primo Teuzone rogatus,
  Hoc per se templum reddidit ipse sacrum.
Tot simul ac tantis domus sacrata Patronis,
  Corpus est positum Prosper hic alme tumn:
Cum quo Venerii simul ossa levata Beati,
  Hujus in ecclesiæ condita sunt latere.
Sunt hæc dante Deo, dum Tertius imperat Otto,
  Atque Kalendarum facta nona Februarii.

(*Acta Sanctorum*, die 25, Julii, VII, 47). Cf. Affarosi, 37; Ughelli, V, ed. C., 270.

[7] 46. [8] Ughelli, V, ed. C., 277. [9] Saccani, 46. [10] See below, p. 342.

[11] For a study of this complex question see Saccani, 46.

which it is exceedingly difficult to trace the genuine history of the church.[12] Amid all the uncertainties, however, the fact emerges that the monastery of S. Prospero was founded in the time of Teuzo, and this constant tradition has never been seriously disputed. It is, moreover, confirmed by the fact that the monastery begins to be mentioned about this time in authentic and extant monuments. Of these the two earliest date from 1050 and 1057,[13] but the most important is a diploma of 1073, in which the bishop Gandolfo confirms the donation of Teuzo.[14] This strengthens the inference we have already drawn that the monastery was founded by Teuzo. In 1071 Alexander VII issued a bull in favour of the monastery.[15]

There is a tradition that the countess Matilda or her mother, Beatrice, benefited the monastery. Affarosi[16] shows himself familiar with the tradition since he takes pains to prove that there is not sufficient evidence to show that Beatrice reconstructed the abbey. Ughelli states that the countess Matilda enlarged and endowed the church and founded the monastery.[17] The last statement is evidently inexact.

In 1144 the controversy in regard to the relics broke out. This dispute in no way concerns us, but it is necessary to study the events which took place in the church about the middle of the XII century, as recorded in the history of the translation, in order to understand the nature of the consecration celebrated in 1148. The monk who wrote this chronicle tells us that in the year 1144, the bishop Albero, at the instigation of the Devil, began to hunt for the body of S. Prospero in the high altar of the church of S. Prospero de Castello, and that he found there certain bones which he began to assert were the body of the saint. In vain the abbot asked the bishop to examine

[12] The document of 1006 is printed by Affarosi (I, 44, 369). The document of 1010, although condemned as apocryphal by Saccani, seems to me to bear the stamp of sincerity in its very ambiguity, since the meaning is anything but clear, which would hardly have been the case had it been forged with a view to proving some definite point. As I interpret the document, it implies that Teuzo had planned to found a monastery in two castles which he names, but, finding that he was unable to accomplish this task, he determined, instead, to donate these possessions to S. Prospero. The most important phrases are: Teuzo divino respectu S. Regiensis Ecclesiæ Antistes. . . . Sed quia hactenus turbine secularium procellarum quassati, & ultra modum lacessiti, & fatigati, monasterium quod cœpimus ad unguem & perfectionem perducere nequivimus . . . . . consilio nostrorum clericorum, ac laicorum fidelium animati hac supradicta charta ecclesiæ S. Prosperi, & præfatorum sanctorum pro nostræ, nostrorumque successorum animabusque remedio per decretalem paginam concessimus, & largiti sumus. Hæc igitur prætitulata loca in integrum præscripto monast. S. Prosperi . . . confirmavimus. (Ughelli, *loc. cit.*).

[13] Ughelli, V, ed. C., 280. [14] *Ibid.*, 282.

[15] Tomassetti, II, 43. [16] I, 61.

[17] Quam postea Ecclesiam à comitissa Mathilda auctam, munificeque dotatam, in nobilem ex s. Benedicti Ordine Abbatiam fuisse erectam. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 242). Ibi nobilissima Abbatia S. Prosperi civitatis divi Tutelaris spectatur, quam Comitissa Mathilda ædificiis, opibusque mirum in modum auxit. (*Ibid.*, 240).

the altar of the monastery. The bishop steadfastly refused, but offered to compromise the controversy by allotting to the monastery and the church each half of the body found in the church. Should the monks accept, he proposed to consecrate both churches in the name and in honour of that saint, and to celebrate two festivals throughout the entire diocese.[18] This offer the monks flatly refused. The abbot, instead, in the presence of the Cardinal legate, proceeded to open the altar of the monastery, and there was found another body. Then the abbot, fearing lest it should fall to the lot of others to rebury so great a treasure, which might easily happen, should he die, decreed that those very precious pearls should be reburied in their respective altars, and the most reverend Moses, who was at that time archbishop of Ravenna, at the request and urgent prayers of the abbot, and of the bishop Albero, and of Achilles, archdeacon of Reggio . . . consecrated the church of S. Prospero without and near the walls of Reggio, burying with the greatest veneration and diligence, the body of the holy confessor Prospero in the same tomb . . . These things were done . . . in the year of the incarnation of Our Lord, 1148.[19] From this account it is clear that no reconstruction of the church was carried out at this time. The consecration was performed with the purpose of sanctifying the new tombs in which were placed the bodies of the saints.

The label of the mosaic in the museum at Reggio states that the church of S. Prospero was erected between the years 1160 and 1171. Whence this notice is derived, I have been unable to ascertain, but I suspect that it is taken from some source in which 1160 and 1171 were written for 1060 and 1071. It would then be entirely possible to reconcile this notice with the tradition that the edifice was rebuilt by Beatrice and Mathilda.

A bull of Alexander III, dating from about 1167, accuses the abbot Guido of having wasted the goods of the monastery. It states that the monks had not the wherewithal to live, and were reduced to want. The abbot is even accused of having ripped the lead off the roof and sold it for his own

[18] . . . ambas ecclesias ad nomen, & honorem ipsius dedicaret, duasque festivitates per totum Episcopatum celebrandas. (Ed. Ughelli, V, ed. C., 292).

[19] Veritus autem Abbas prædictus ne tantum thesaurum aliis recondendum se obeunte, quod facile accidere poterat, reservaret, preciosissimas ipsas margaritas in propriis altaribus recondere decrevit. Reverendissimus itaque Moyses tunc Ravennas Archiepiscopus rogatu, ac precibus instantissimis præfati Abbatis, atque suasu prædicti Alberi Episcopi, & Achillis Regiensis Archidiaconi una eum dicto Albero Episcopo Regiensi, & Lanfranco Parmensi, ac Gregorio Adriensi Episcopis consecravit ecclesiam prædictam monasterii S. Prosperi extra, & prope Regii mœnia; recondensque maxima cum veneratione, & diligentia corpus prædictum sanctissimi confessoris Prosperi in eodem locello. . . . Acta sunt hæc omnia per Dei gratiam præsentibus supradictis Episcopis, Abbatibus, & quamplurimis Archipresbyteris, & præpositis, . . . anno Incarn. Dom. 1148. die Calendarum Juniarum, tempore sanctiss. D. Eugenii Papæ III & Conradi Imperatoris Romani. Ut patet ex antiquissima chronica registrata in legendario vetustissimo magno dicti monasterii de pergamenis fol. 52. (*Ibid.*).

rapacious ends.[20] The charge brought against the abbot was a stock accusation frequently made at the period, and, for example, brought forward a few years later by the canons of the cathedral of Reggio against their dean. The bull of the pope is therefore not to be taken too seriously. It is probable that both the abbot of S. Prospero and the dean of the cathedral instead of the grave moral lapses charged, had been rather guilty of a mistake in politics in supporting the antipopes Ottaviano and Guido of Crema (whom Alexander, with perhaps pardonable levity, calls *Cremandus* instead of *Cremensis*) and were hence deposed. It is, however, hardly conceivable that if the abbot of S. Prospero had been actively engaged at this time in reconstructing his church, he could have been accused of gross negligence and of dissipating the revenues.

In 1210 the body of S. Tommaso was translated from the cloister into the church.[21] In 1356 the monastery was destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1380.[22]

In 1438 Filippo de Zoboli became commendatary abbot. When he resigned in 1474, the monastery was united to S. Giustina.[23] In 1518 the church of the last part of the XIV century was in great part destroyed by the ruin of the tower.[24] In 1551 the church was entirely demolished, and the institution was removed to a new site within the city wall.[25] In 1844, according to the label in the Reggio museum, the mosaic pavement of the old church was discovered and destroyed, with the exception of some bits which came to light only in 1873, and which are at present preserved in the museum.

[20] Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus . . . . . Regini Episcopapus, dilectis filiis Gand. Grat. Jo. Ilard. & ceteris Monachis Catholicis Sancti Prosperi . . . . . tiam nostram pervenit, & ex literis vestris, Filii Monachi, id ipsum accepimus, quod Guido Abbas . . . . . bona Monasterii dilapidavit: quod ibi necessaria nullatenus habeatis, sed ad jacturam fere omnem & indigentiam, per ejus injuriam & insolentiam, idem Monasterium dicitur devenisse. Cujus perv . . . . . in tantum modum excessit, ut tectum Monasterii, quod plumbeum erat, eruisse dicatur, & in gulae voracitate illius precium dissipasse. Accedit ad hec, quod prius dampnate memorie Octaviano Heresiarche, & demum Guidoni Cremando illud nefandissimum prestitit juramentum. . . . Unde . . . memoratum Abbatem a prescripto Monasterio . . . removeatis. . . . Datum Beneventi II. Idus Junii. (Muratori, A. I. M. A., *Dis.* 73, ed. A., XV, 443).

[21] *Acta Sanctorum,* die 25, Junii, VII, p. 62.

[22] Tertio anno autem Domini 1369. die 15. Junii cum jam anno 356. die 16. Februarii per D. Feltrinum de Gonzaga destructum fuisset præfatum monasterium, D. Petrus de la Garata, tunc ejus monasterii Abbas, . . . timens ne ob totalem ipsius monasterii desolationem, ob quam nec monachi habitare, nec divina in eo celebrari mysteria, poterant, præfata Sanctorum corpora inde furtive subtrahentur etc. On this occasion was found a leaden inscription recording the consecration of the altar in 1148 (294). . . . . Quinto, anno 1380 reædificata fuit ecclesia & monasterium prædictum S. Prosperi per dictum Abbatem Petrum. In 1388 the body of the saint was carried back. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 292 f.).

[23] Ughelli, V, ed. C., 261.

[24] *Acta Sanctorum,* die 25, Junii, VII, p. 60. [25] *Ibid.,* 54.

III. The existing church of S. Prospero—or of S. Pietro, as it is now more frequently called—is entirely without archæological interest. Fragments of the ancient mosaic pavement—as has been mentioned—are preserved in the Museo Chierici.

IV. These mosaics bear many signs of having been frequently restored and even subsequently to 1873. Amid the conventional and grotesque ornaments are fragments of several scenes. The first shows a person carrying a spear and wearing a Greek helmet. With him probably belongs the inscription: TALVLORVM NOTVS ACHILLES. The representation of Achilles on the pavement of a mediæval church is almost as extraordinary as the inscription stating that he was famous for his little heels. The Homeric hero, however, appears to have been well known at Reggio in the XII century, since, at the consecration of 1148, the account of which is cited above, there was present an Achilles, archdeacon of the cathedral of Reggio, evidently named in his honour. Another fragment of the pavement showing a man with a club perhaps represents Hercules, who also figures in the cathedral of Borgo S. Donnino. A third fragment shows the feet of a man who must have been engaged in a combat, since he holds a lance with a banner in a horizontal position. Below is a battle-ax and part of an inscription which perhaps originally gave the name of the hero . . . . . DE| SES|SO. A fourth fragment shows a bare-headed man carrying a spear over his shoulder. The letters VIN . . . . . lead us to infer that he was a victor, perhaps in the combat of the preceding fragment. The fifth fragment shows St. George fighting the dragon. The saint is on foot and wields a broadsword. Only the lower half of this piece is preserved. Another fragment of an inscription almost gives us important information in regard to the date of the pavement, but is unfortunately broken off at precisely the critical point. . . . . VB| ET HOC FIERI PAVIMENTVM.

V. The mosaics of S. Prospero, although executed in black and white, show skilful drawing and a technique which is far from being crude. The presence of battle scenes and of classical legends in the iconography, as well as the style of the drawing and of the ornament, points to a date about the middle of the XII century. The S. Prospero pavement is extremely similar to that of S. Maria Maggiore at Vercelli, a surely dated monument of 1148. Now it is known that a consecration of S. Prospero was celebrated in that same year (1148), but the documentary evidence does not authorize us to assume that the church was rebuilt at this time. It may, however, have been redecorated in honour of the discovery of the alleged body of the saint, and such a redecoration may well have included, not only new frescos for the walls, but a new pavement in mosaic. It therefore is entirely probable that the S. Prospero mosaics date from 1148.

REGGIO EMILIA, S. TOMMASO

(Plate 191, Fig. 3)

I. The mosaics of S. Tommaso now preserved in the Museo Chierici have been illustrated by Venturi.[1] For the history of the church, Ughelli's series of the bishops of Reggio Emilia, and the critical work of Saccani should be consulted.

II. The church of S. Tommaso existed before 943, since in this year it was conceded by the bishop Eribaldo to the canons of S. Michele, a church which it is known belonged to the cathedral chapter.[2]

The church was destroyed by the Hungarians who ravaged the diocese of Reggio in the early years of the X century,[3] but was rebuilt by the bishop Teuzo (978-1030). We learn this from a document of 1038.[4]

After Teuzo had begun to rebuild the church, he gave it, in the year 1027, to the convent of SS. Vito e Modesto in Scanzano[5] which he had erected in 1015.[6] In the document of 1038 we have cited, the abbess Liuza, of SS. Vito e Modesto, is named as abbess of S. Tommaso. It is therefore probable

[1] III, 428, 429, 430.

[2] . . . Ecclesiam B. Thomae Apostoli, quæ sita est in Regio Civis vetere cum sua Domo, cultila, intus, & foris in circuitu. (Ughelli, V, ed. C., 265).

[3] See document cited under S. Prospero, p. 310.

[4] In nomine sanctae & individuae Trinitatis. Sigifredus divinae respectu clementiae Regiensis Ecclesiae Episcopus, ac provisor indignus. . . . Pertractavimus id melius omnibus negociis fore, si Monacharum Coenobium, noviter a praedecessore nostro bonae memoriae Teuzone Episcopo, ad omnipotentis Dei, & Sancti Thomae Apostoli servitium reaedificatum, olim ab Infidelibus funditus destructum, datis temporalibus rebus augeremus. . . . Unde . . . eidem Ecclesiae in honorem praedicti Sancti Apostoli constructae, & aedificatae, ubi Liuza venerabilis Abbatissa una cum Monacabus . . . praeesse videtur, per decretalem paginam confirmamus, etc. . . . Among the goods given is enumerated: petias duas in Rivalta prope ipsam Plebem. . . . Si quis igitur hanc Decretalem constitutionem infringere temptaverit etc. . . . Actum est hoc Anno Dominicae Incarnacionis MXXXVIII. Pontificatus verò Domini Sigifredi junioris Episcopi VII . . . . . Tertiodecimo Kalendas Septembris, Indictione Sexta. (Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., XIII, 501).

[5] In nomine Sanctae & individuae Trinitatis. Teuzo divino respectu sanctae Regiensis Ecclesiae humilis Episcopus. . . . Quo circa omnibus . . . notum fore volumus, nostrae Ecclesiae Primates nostram adiisse Paternitatem, quo Basilicam in honore Sancti Thomae Apostoli ceptam, Liuzae Abbatissae concedimus. Quorum peticionibus annuentes, tam praefatae Abbatissae, quàm ceteris omnibus in Sancti Viti Martiris Cenobio . . . . . ordinandis temporibus Abbatissis, nostrae institutionis pagina praelibatam Basilicam cum aliquantula Terra circa ipsam sita Basilicam . . . concessimus. . . . Data Anno Dominicae Incarnationis MXXVII. Pontificante verò Domno Teuzone Praesule Anno XLVIIII. Indictione XI. (Ed. Muratori, A. I. M. A., *Dis.* 66, ed. A., XIII, 499).

[6] The charter of foundation is published *ibid.*, 495.

that when the church of S. Tommaso, which was still unfinished in 1027, was completed, it became the chief seat of the joint monastery. In 1050 the bishop Conone made a further donation to S. Tommaso and the abbess Liuza.[7] From the tone of this document, as from that of the donation of 1038, we gather that the convent was desperately poor. A donation of 1063 lays this poverty, probably unjustly, at the door of *antecessorem nostrum . . . Adeberium [1047-1061] tempore D. Heinrici junioris Imperatoris pro devastatione Ecclesiae injuste facta ex tantillis bonis Ecclesiæ . . .*[8] The convent is mentioned in other documents of 1075[9] and 1147.[10] Of its subsequent history I have been able to find out nothing.

IV. Interesting fragments of the mosaic pavement are preserved in the Museo Chierici. Among these are extant several fragments of inscriptions, as follows:

. . . . . TRIE NOS FACIANT MEMORES . . . . .
SICQVE PAVIMENTO STRATI STVDEAMVS IN . . . . .

. . . . . VERVM (?) . . . . .
. . . . . [R]OGARE DEVM . . . . .

C . . . . . VIS VERVEX MARTII SVI FLAMINA P[RAE]FERT
. . . . . [C]VNCTA LEO IVLIO FERVENTE SERE[N]O
. . . . . IR . . . . . ENE FLORES ESSOLIS FVSA RVE . . . . . E

The first and fourth of these inscriptions appear to be parts of invocations, and were possibly connected with the second, the lost parts of which may have recorded the donor of the pavement, or the moral lessons the artist wished to indicate. The fifth and sixth must have belonged to the cycle of the months, and were doubtless taken, like the similar verses at S. Savino of Piacenza, from some poem. The meaning of the last entirely escapes me.

It is evident that on this pavement was depicted a cycle of the months, placed in circular medallions as at S. Savino of Piacenza. April, carrying a flower in his hand, is still extant, and as at S. Savino, the month is represented against a background representing the waves of the sea.[11] The signs of the zodiac, on the other hand, are placed in medallions inlaid on a vine-pattern. Cancer, or the crab, is the best preserved. Aquarius, the water-pourer (Plate 191, Fig. 3), has been much restored. Another circle, of which only one third is preserved, shows a single figure, perhaps one of the twins (Gemini). In addition to these fragments, there are extant other panels, of which one represents an eagle—AQVILA—another a peacock, foliage, a conventional pattern, and a fish, with the inscription: . . . . . CELI . PER CIRCLV . . . . .

[7] Muratori, A. I. M. A., *Dis.* 66, ed. A., XIII, 506.
[8] Ughelli, V, ed. C., 282. [9] Muratori, *loc. cit.*, 507. [10] Saccani, 59.
[11] This medallion has been illustrated by Venturi, III, 428; for the symbolism of the sea, see below, p. 274.

V. The similarity of the subject naturally suggests a comparison between the pavements of S. Tommaso and of S. Savino at Piacenza. In fact, the details of the technique show that the two pavements must be about contemporary. The waves of the sea are finer at Piacenza, the composition is somewhat better, and the design more refined. On the other hand, the drawing of the eyes, the mouth, and the convention used for the depicting of the draperies is identical in the two compositions. A greater elaboration in the S. Tommaso mosaic may indicate a slightly later date, in which case we must assume that the Reggio pavement was executed by an inferior artist. On this hypothesis, the pavement of S. Tommaso may be ascribed to c. 1110.

RENNO DI PAVULLO,[1] S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA

(Plate 191, Fig. 4)

I. The pieve of Renno has been published by Maestri.

II. Of the history of the church but little is known. Maestri has tried to identify the monument with the *basilica sanctae Mariae in Tortilianum,* mentioned in a document of 826.[2] The site of Tortilianum, or Totilianum, is, however, entirely problematical; the titles of the two churches are different, and there is absolutely no reason for connecting the one with the other. In a manuscript of 1463, an extract of which has been published by Maestri,[3] Renno is mentioned as a pieve and as the head of more than thirty churches.

An inscription of 1705 in the campanile records that it was erected by the archpriest and people of the pieve of Renno.[4]

An inscription of 1782, over the western portal, probably indicates that at this epoch the outside walls were reconstructed.[5]

The church is an *arciprctura,* and enjoys jurisdiction over some twenty parishes. The archpriest on certain occasions still dresses as a prevosto, a fact which doubtless indicates that there were originally canons.

III. The edifice consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, a modern choir and a campanile. The supports are alternately octangular and

[1] (Modena). [2] 41. [3] 42.

[4]
D. O. M.
MAXIMO VATVM
TITVLARI ET PROTECTORI
DOM. BRIODNVS ARCHIPRESB.
ET POPVLVS PLEBIS RENNI
ANNO DNI MDCCV

[5]
D. O. M.
I. MANFREDINI ARC. V. F.
PROPRIO EREXIT ÆRE
MDCCLXXXII

rectangular, and the interior bays are very long. The nave is covered with a timber ceiling, nicely painted in the XVIII century. The lower part of the apse, in fine ashlar, belongs to the Romanesque church, and shows that originally there was a single apse and no absidiole. The lower part of the northern wall is also ancient, and contemporary with the piers of the nave, but the upper part is modern. The ancient side-aisle wall appears to have had no windows, and was constructed of ashlar of rough quality. Stones imperfectly squared are laid in courses only approximately horizontal and frequently broken. The mortar-beds are very wide. There is an elaborate base-moulding, with a cymatium. The lower part of the wall of the apse is evidently later. The masonry is of superior quality, and the base-moulding was not there continued.

IV. The capitals of the octagonal columns (Plate 191, Fig. 4) are of a curious cubic type with angular cushions. One is ornamented with rosettes. The alternate piers have a simple impost moulding. The archivolts are in a single unmoulded order. Under the bases of the two easternmost piers are high plinths (Plate 191, Fig. 4). The eastern responds with high angular cubic capitals with griffes, were believed by Maestri to be later than the piers of the nave, but there seems to be no proof that such is the case.

V. The lightness of the arcades, and the alternation of supports, combined with the wooden roof, show that the pieve of Renno belongs to the XII century, since these features are only found in Lombard churches of comparatively late date, such as, for example, S. Vittore of Arsago (Plate 15, Fig. 2), S. Giovanni in Valle of Verona (Plate 218, Fig. 4), Porcile (Plate 189, Fig. 4), etc. The capitals, however, are of a simple and primitive type, and the masonry of the most ancient portions of the church is similar to that of S. Giulia of Monchio, an edifice erected c. 1100. The pieve of Renno may, consequently, be ascribed to about this date. The apse was probably rebuilt about a century later. In 1705 the campanile was erected, and in 1782 the façade, choir and a great part of the outside walls were rebuilt.

RIVALTA SCRIVIA,[1] S. MARIA ASSUNTA

(Plate 192, Fig. 1, 2, 3)

I. The badia of Rivalta has never been published.

II. We are singularly well informed in regard to the history of this Cistercian monastery by a collection of 588 deeds and 728 summaries of deeds, copies of which are extant in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, and which have been published by Trucco. Of these documents of the destroyed archivio

[1] Frazione di Tortona, provincia di Alessandria.

of the monastery, the earliest dates from August 22, 1150, and is the deed by which a certain Guglielmo da Sala and his wife gave to the priest Bartolomeo a certain piece of land with, it is intimated, the understanding that he should erect thereupon a church or an oratory.[2]

In a document of June 9, 1151, Bartolomeo, now called bishop-elect, is named as the founder and builder of the church of S. Giovanni of Rivalta. This phrase, and the fact that the document was dated "before the church" imply that the construction of the edifice had been already at least begun. The purpose of the deed is to record that Guglielmo, bishop of Tortona, invested Guido prior of the church of Rivalta with jurisdiction over the locality in which that church was built.[3]

On December 12, 1151, a certain Ruffino gave to the church of S. Giovanni of Rivalta a certain piece of land next to the plot upon which that church had been built.[4] On December 15 of the same year, a donation was made to the prior, Guido.[5] In several deeds of sale of 1153[6] land is bought in the name of the church of S. Giovanni of Rivalta by a certain Ascherio who, in

[2] Die sabati qui est decimus exeunte mense Augusti in burgo terdone presentia testium quorum nomina subter leguntur. Guilielmus de sala et zuxiana eius uxor dederunt et tradiderunt pro mercede animarum suarum et suorum genitorum in manibus domini Bartholomei Sacerdotis peciam unam de terra aratoria que iacet in territorio de guade et est ipsa petia de terra modios duos (*sic*) et si amplius. Cohere[n]t ei graues illorum de perei. et sanete marie. hec donatio et tradicio tali tenore facta est ut iamdictus donnus Bartholomeus pro mercede ut dictum est animarum predictorum habeat et teneat et ex ea quicquid uoluerit faciat. Jta tamen ut si in partibus illis edif[f]icauerit ecclesiam uel oratoriam (quod) consilium (*sic*) iamdicti guilielmi edif[f]icet eam in predicta terra ne[e] liceat eis ullo tempore nolle quod uoluerunt. Set quod factum et scriptum est omni tempore ratum et firmum persistat sine ulla molestatione iamdicti guilielmi et Zuxiane et eorum heredum. factum est hoc anno dominice. incarnacionis. millesimo. Centesimo. quinquagesimo suprascripto die. Jndicione tercia decima. . . . (Trucco, I, 261).

[3] ANno dominice Jncarnationis. Millesimo. Centesimo quinquagesimo prino. Jndicione. quartadecima. die sabbati. nono intrante Junio. Ante ecclesiam sancti Johannis de ripalta. presente domino Bertholomeo qui iam erat electus et consecratus episcopus fundator et hedificator illius loci qui est in loco de Goyde et conseneiente et uolente. necnon et ceteris aliis fratribus presentibus uolentibus et consentientibus uidelicet petro. lanfranco. et Guillelmo. ut sacri canones et sanctorum patrum instituta preeipiunt et dicunt. dominus Guillelmus ecclesie Terdonensis. Episcopus in cuius episcopatu est. dedit et tradidit et per unum librum canonicam fecit donationem. in manibus domini Guidonis sacerdotis prioris illius ecclesie de ripalta dictum locum de Goyde tali tenore ut de cetero sit in regimine et dispositione et omni dominatione suprascripti prioris qui est uel qui pro tempore fuerit in illa ecclesia de ripaalta et cetera (*sic*). (Trucco, II, 80).

[4] Anno dominice incarnacionis. Millesimo. Centesimo quinquagesimo. primo. X. die octubris. indictione XIIIJ. Ego Rufinus . . . trado cedo et offero Ecclesie Sancti iohannis de Ripalta porcionem meam de laeu[m] iuxta[m] quem prefata ecclesia est edificata etc. (*Ibid.*, I, 107).

[5] *Ibid.*, 107. [6] Trucco, I, 80-81; II, 2.

1157, appears as abbot of the monastery.[7] A deed of May 28, 1158, mentions certain pieces of land *in territorio riualte prima pccia est iuxta ccclesiam. . . . secunda pecia iacet ibi prope.* It is entirely probable, however, that in this passage, by the word *ecclesia* is meant merely land belonging to the church. Similarly the phrase *ad opus et utilitatem suprascripte ecclesie* in a deed of sale of January 27, 1164, probably means simply 'for the needs and benefit of the church,' and contains no reference to works of construction.

In the year 1180 the abbot Ascherio placed himself and his monastery under the dependence of the Cistercian monastery of Lucedio. Of this fact we learn from two sources: the first, an agreement made between Ascherio, the abbot of Lucedio, and the chapter of Tortona in regard to certain tithes which the church of Rivalta was bound to pay to the chapter;[8] the second, the chronicle of the Cistercians.[9] The first informs us that the monastery was founded by the abbot Ascherio.

The year 1180 therefore marks an important epoch in the history of the monastery, which thus became affiliated with the Cistercian order.[10] In

[7] *Ibid.*, II, 2.

[8] . . . ante dominum vilielmum Cardinalem apostolice Sedis legatum terdone constitutum Jnter prepositum Darthone et archidiaconum et Canonicos ex vna parte, et dominum Ascherium de ripaalta ex alia. . . . quod ecclesia de ripalta teneatur prestare nomine decimationis ccclesie darthonensi Singulis annis de cetero pro terris quas Jnpresentiarum colit de meliore blado etc. Si autem plures terras aquisiuerit eadem abbatia uel excolucrit alienas pro earumdem quantitate terrarum et pensionis prescripte Censualis augeatur solutio. . . . Verum cum post Jstam transactionem predictus dominus Ascherius fundator ecclesie de ripaalta Constituisset ecclesiam de ripaalta sub abbatiam de lucedio. Jdeo dominus fulco abbas de lucedio presentibus Jnfrascriptis suis fratribus et presente domino Ascherio Et his omnibus assensum prebente Jn Jngressu eiusdem ecclesie de ripaalta Jn presentia domini Episcopi oberti Darthonensis. duxit operis precium ne Jn posterum occaxione aliqua possit Jnter se et ecclesiam terdone vel suum successorem esse seditio et cum ex quibusdam Capitulis Jnpresentiarum oriretur Contentio huiusmodi Scditiones mancipare decreuimus quod firmum et Jnuiolabiliter Jnconcussum est stabilitum Jntercedente stipulatione. Jn primis Jdem dominus fulco abbas de lucedio promissit eidem domino terdonensi et Choro Darthonensi facere ccclesiam de ripaalta abbatiam que abbatia obbediet ccclesiam Darthonensem Jn Jnterdictis et Jn non recipiendis excomunicatis et Jn non Sepeliendis ipsis Jllud etiam est firmatum predicta pactione, quod abbas de ripaalta nullo modo aut vllo tempore recipiat ad ripaaltam Jn vltima voluntate aliquam personam Ciuitatis uel Suburbij Darthone aut ibidem sepelire possit sine Consensu domini Darthonensis. Episcopi et Cori eiusdem ecclesie etc. (Gabotto e Legé, 104).

[9] Chronologia sex notat Monasteria, quæ accreuerint Cistercio circa hunc annum, sequenti ordine.

Anno MCLXXX. septimo Idus Decembris fundata est Abbatia Vallis Dei in Andena.

Eodem anno XII. Kalend. Februarij Abbatia de Ripa alta, in Lombardia. . . . (Manrique, III, 97).

[10] The abbey of Lucedio was the second Cistercian abbey in Lombardy, and founded in 1123. (Manrique, I, 151; Moriondo, II, 320; Casale, 157. See also *Codice della Croce,* MS. Amb., D. S. IV, 6/I, 6, f. 201). A Benedictine abbey existed on the

consequence of the new rule the church began to assume the name of S. Maria in addition to that of S. Giovanni. The earliest document in which the new name occurs is the will of the abbot Ascherio, dated December 23, 1185.[11] From this time onward the church is called in the documents, now S. Giovanni,[12] now S. Maria,[13] now S. Maria e S. Giovanni.[14] The church building was also reconstructed on the Cistercian model of architecture. This is proved not only by the style of the existing edifice, but by a phrase in the will of the abbot Ascherio, which mentions the laborerio as existing in 1185.[15]

Ascherio was succeeded by Pietro in 1185.[16]

An analysis of the many documents published by Trucco makes it possible to follow to a certain extent the construction of the new monastery. These documents, after the year 1200, are generally dated in some portion of the abbey, and from the various apartments named, we are able to conclude that certain parts must have been in use at certain dates. The most interesting of these formulæ are those in which the *laborerio* of the church is mentioned. The earliest is the will of Ascherio of 1185, mentioned above. Other legacies of 1201,[17] 1251,[18] 1260[19] and 1261[20] were left to the same institution. A deed of May 17, 1300, is dated *In monasterio de ripalta sub porticu laboris.*[21]

We have seen that as early as 1151 the deed of foundation was dated *ante ecclesiam.* This must, however, have referred to an earlier church which was removed when the existing basilica was begun in 1180. A document of February 2, 1193, is dated *in riualta ante ecclesiam,*[22] and another of the same date bears the same subscription.[23] It is probable that the church referred to in these documents is the new edifice which is still extant. Two other deeds of 1207[24] bear the same date. One of April 30, 1195, is dated simply *apud ripaltam.*[25]

A deed of 1258[26] was drawn *in domo et hospitali pauperum* and one of February 3, 1261,[27] *in infirmitorio pauperum.*

A deed of May 6, 1203, was drawn up in the sacristy of the monastery.[28]

spot as early as 707 (Arnoldi et als., 1; Petracchi, 152; Orsenigo, 290). The existing church of Lucedio (which is situated in the province of Novara between Trino and Tronzano) was rebuilt between 1769 and 1787. Nothing mediæval remains except the octagonal campanile of the XIII century, which stands on a square Romanesque base with simple arched corbel-tables of c. 1160. For the dependence of Rivalta Scrivia upon Lucedio see Trucco, I, 105. On July 3, 1269, a controversy between the abbey of Rivalta Scrivia and the nuns of Rapallo was submitted for arbitration to the abbots of Lucedio and Tiglieto.

[11] Trucco, I, 55.

[12] Trucco, I, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 108, 109, 110, etc.

[13] *Ibid.*, 59, 70, 105, 106, etc. [14] *Ibid.*, 66, 108, etc.

[15] . . . quod ipse in laborerio de gode habet. (Trucco, I, 55).

[16] Gabotto e Legé, 124. There is here a chronological error.

[17] Trucco, I, 119. [18] *Ibid.*, II, 73. [19] *Ibid.*, II, 73. [20] *Ibid.*, II, 75.

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 78. [22] *Ibid.*, I, 108. [23] *Ibid.*, I, 232. [24] *Ibid.*, I, 132; II, 37.

[25] *Ibid.*, II, 185. [26] *Ibid.*, II, 244. [27] *Ibid.*, II, 75. [28] *Ibid.*, I, 405; II, 210.

One of June 6, 1218, is dated *in foro abbatie.*[29] Others of February 2, 1221,[30] and October 9, 1244,[31] are dated *in auditorio monasterii.* This is possibly the same apartment which is called *locutorio* in a deed of April 13, 1234;[32] *parlatore* in documents of June 24, 1237,[33] 1289,[34] and August 17, 1235;[35] and *colloquio* in two deeds of February 2, 1237,[36] and May 9, 1247.[37] Documents of 1223,[38] 1227,[39] 1245,[40] 1254,[41] 1256[42] and 1301[43] are dated simply *in claustro monasterii.* There must, however, have been more than one cloister, since deeds of 1244,[44] 1245,[45] 1260[46] and 1301[47] were drawn up in *claustro veteri monasterii,* and one of May 21, 1254, is dated *in claustro retro truinam monasterii.*[48] Deeds of 1235,[49] 1245,[50] and 1243[51] were dated *apud, iuxta* or *ante portam monasterii.* A document of May 5, 1261,[52] is dated *in curia monasterii de ripalta sub porticu qui est iuxta portam magnam.* Finally one of 1264 was inscribed *in Orto monasterii ripalte.*[53]

It is, perhaps, significant that the early deeds of the monastery are rarely dated at Rivalta, whereas those of the XIII century were generally drawn up in the monastery. In 1215 Guido Curciano contracted to be buried in the tomb which he had erected in the church.[54] Notwithstanding the elaborate agreement of 1180, a lawsuit did arise on the question of the tithes.[55] On February 22, 1221, the chapter consisted of an abbot, a prior, a subprior, a *cellerarius,* six monks and a *cantor.*[56] According to Pollini[57] the monastery of Precallo or Porale, founded in 1234, was dependent upon Rivalta Scrivia.

On the third pier from the crossing on the south side is a cursive inscription recording that the frescos were executed in the year 1490, by the artist Franceschini. When the parish church of Rivalta was ruined by the flood of the Scrivia in 1535, the parish was established in the church of the monastery.[58] In 1538 the Cistercians were succeeded by Benedictines.[59] About 1776 the monks were suppressed. Since this time the church has ranked as a simple parish.

III. The edifice consists of a nave three double bays long (Plate 192, Fig. 2), two side aisles, projecting transepts (Plate 192, Fig. 1, 3) and five rectangular eastern apses. The central tower (Plate 192, Fig. 1) is of the Renaissance, and it is obvious that the western part of the church is unfinished (Plate 192, Fig. 1). It was evidently the intention of the builders to extend it further to the westward.

29 *Ibid.*, I, 96. 30 *Ibid.*, II, 63. 31 *Ibid.*, II, 125. 32 *Ibid.*, II, 39.
33 *Ibid.*, II, 39. 34 *Ibid.*, II, 42, 69. 35 *Ibid.*, II, 61. 36 *Ibid.*, II, 31.
37 *Ibid.*, II, 41. 38 *Ibid.*, I, 135; II, 37. 39 *Ibid.*, I, 136; I, 139; II, 38; II, 122.
40 *Ibid.*, II, 40. 41 *Ibid.*, II, 68. 42 *Ibid.*, II, 221. 43 *Ibid.*, II, 48.
44 *Ibid.*, II, 192. 45 *Ibid.*, II, 40. 46 *Ibid.*, II, 193. 47 *Ibid.*, II, 50.
48 *Ibid.*, II, 126. 49 *Ibid.*, II, 12. 50 *Ibid.*, II, 27. 51 *Ibid.*, I, 129.
52 *Ibid.*, II, 63. 53 *Ibid.*, II, 194. 54 *Ibid.*, I, 117.
55 Gabotto e Legé, *passim.* 56 Trucco, I, 134. 57 48, 49. 58 Pollini, 96-97.
59 *Ibid.* Carnevale (43) gives, however, a very different account of the history of the monastery in the last half of the XVI century.

The nave is covered with rib vaults, erected on an alternate system (Plate 192, Fig. 2). The diagonals have a torus section, the transverse arches and the wall ribs are rectangular (Plate 192, Fig. 2, 3), but the transverse arches are in two orders (Plate 192, Fig. 2, 3). The side aisles are covered with groin vaults (Plate 192, Fig. 2). The transverse arches of the side aisles are alternately of one or two orders. The transepts are covered with rib vaults, of which the diagonals are rectangular in section. The apses are all covered with barrel vaults. Pointed arches are used throughout the edifice.

The nave system (Plate 192, Fig. 2, 3) consists of three circular members separated by spurs, and is continuous. The side-aisle responds (Plate 192, Fig. 3) consist of five members, of which the central one is cylindrical.

The intermediate piers are cylindrical (Plate 192, Fig. 2, 3), except the westernmost on the northern side, which is octagonal. The two westernmost intermediate piers have capitals formed of a row of flat corbel-tables. This disposition strongly recalls the piers of Morimondo (Plate 154, Fig. 2). The alternate piers, at present walled in the west façade (Plate 192, Fig. 1), are octagonal, and have capitals formed of pointed arched corbel-tables. The alternate piers of the eastern portions of the church are compound (Plate 192, Fig. 2, 3).

The vaults of the nave are reinforced by simple transverse walls (Plate 192, Fig. 1). The windows were round-headed, but those of the apse were finely moulded.

The masonry is of superior quality, and is formed of cross-hatched bricks, carefully laid.

South of the church are remains of the monastic buildings. Traces of the old cloisters, rebuilt in the time of the Renaissance, are visible in a wine cellar. The fine chapter-house is now inhabited by contadini.

IV. The capitals of the church are cubic (Plate 192, Fig. 2) Corinthianesque (Plate 192, Fig. 3) or frankly French Gothic (Plate 192, Fig. 3). The arches of the main arcade are in two unmoulded orders. The north transept and the absidioles are ornamented with simple arched corbel-tables.

The church contains many fine frescos of 1490, the work of Franceschini, as has been stated. On the third pier from the crossing on the north side of the nave is the following sententious inscription in Gothic letters:

Non de ponte ca
dit qui cum sapi
encia vadit.

V. It is evident that the construction of the church began at the east end in the year 1180, and proceeded towards the west. The octagonal piers with pointed arched corbel-tables embedded in the present temporary western façade (Plate 192, Fig. 1), must have been executed in the XIII century, but the rest of the church, as we have it, appears to have been completed before

the close of the XII century. The westernmost intermediate piers are analogous to the western piers of Morimondo (Plate 154, Fig. 2), which were executed immediately after the year 1200.

RIVOLTA D'ADDA,[1] S. MARIA E S. SIGISMONDO

(Plate 193; Plate 194; Plate 195; Plate 196, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5)

I. The church of Rivolta d'Adda has been made the subject of a monograph by Nava. The work is illustrated with two drawings and ten half-tones, some of which were made from photographs taken either before or during the restoration. It is to be exceedingly regretted that a more complete account of the restoration was not included, since the author was the architect in charge of the rebuilding, and hence in a position to give detailed and exact information of the alterations then wrought. Another monograph has been published by Sant'Ambrogio in *Arte e Storia,* and the church has been described and illustrated by Rivoira.[2] The most valuable account of the documentary sources for the history of the edifice is to be found in an article by Biscaro. Some notes of interest are contained in a periodical printed at Rivolta d'Adda, and entitled *Eco dei Restauri Artistici nella Chiesa di Rivolta d'Adda, Organo Ufficiale della Commissione Ordinatrice dei Lavori.*

II. As early as 1038 the church of Rivolta is mentioned as a pieve.[3] As a pieve the church appears also in the *Chronicon Mediolanense.*[4]

About 1114 the castle of Rivolta was burned by the Mantovani.[5]

There is extant a bull of Lucius II, preserved in a late, but doubtless reasonably exact, copy. This bull is addressed to S. Alberto, who was at that time prevosto of the church of Rivolta d'Adda, and to the canons regular who officiated in that church. The pope, following in the footsteps of his predecessors of happy memory, Urban II (1088-1099), Pascal II (1099-1118), Innocent II (1130-1143) and Celestine II (1143-1144), receives the church under the protection of the Holy See, recalling that the church had been built by the citizens of Rivolta and offered, with all its possessions, to

[1] (Cremona). [2] 276.

[3] See document cited above under S. Tommaso of Reggio, p. 316.

[4] Ed. Cinquini, 17. The church of S. Maria e S. Sigismondo should be carefully distinguished from the church of SS. Ambrogio e Benedetto (sometimes called SS. Ambrogio, Felice e Naborre), which existed at Rivolta d'Adda, and belonged to nuns. This establishment appears in documents of 1090 (Vignati, I, 75), 1106 (*ibid.,* 84), 1136 (*ibid.,* 125), 1150 (*ibid.,* 170), 1151 (*ibid.,* 172), 1153 (*ibid.,* 185), 1160 (*ibid.,* II, 11) and 1184 (*ibid.,* 138).

[5] I mantovani, fatti arditi dalla voce corsa della morte di Matilde, furono sopra Rivalta, castello della contessa. Costretti alla resa i militi che il defendevano, lo distrussero col fuoco. (Viganò, 49).

Pope Urban.[6] From this document it seems clear that our edifice was erected between 1088 and 1099, and it is probable that the chapter may have been founded at the same time. There is, however, only the evidence afforded by the style of the existing structure to prove that the new edifice may not have been destroyed by the Mantovani in 1114, and subsequently rebuilt.[7]

The church of S. Maria e S. Sigismondo is mentioned in a document of 1150, cited by Biscaro. In 1168 Pope Alexander III transferred the pieve to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Cremona, with the proviso that this transfer should not take effect until the death of the then provosto. In this document the pope refers to the *monastery* of S. Sigismondo—meaning thereby, doubtless, the chapter of canons regular.[8]

In a tax-list of 1398 published by Magistretti, it is stated that the canonica of S. Sigismondo at Rivolta d'Adda was officiated by nine canons.

In the XVII century the church was altered in the barocco style, and in the XVIII century was completely transformed by the architect Segrè.

[6] Lucius episcopus servus servorum Dei. Dilectis filiis Alberto Praeposito et eius fratribus in Ecclesia Dei Sanctae Genitricis Mariae et Sancti Sigismundi apud Oppidum Ripaltae regularem vitam professis tam praesentibus quam futuris in perpetuum. . . . Proinde, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris rationabilibus postulationibus clementer annuimus et praedecessorum nostrorum felicis memoriae Urbani, Paschalis, Calisti, Innocentii, Coelestini romanorum pontificum vestigiis inhaerentes ecclesiam Beatae Genitricis Dei Mariae et Sancti Sigismundi, in quo divino vacatis servitio, ad Beati Petri tutelam, et dominium pertinere Apostolicae sedis privilegio communivimus, quae nimirum prout eorundem praedecessorum nostrorum privilegiis continetur propriis sumptibus a vestris est civibus aedificata et sanctae recordationis Urbano papae cum universis possessionibus suis oblata, et ab eodem in perpetuum in Beati Petri allodium, proprietatemque susceptam. . . . Datum Laterani per manum Baronis Capellani et Scriptoris. Idibus Aprilis Indictione VIII. Incarnationis Dominicae 1144. Pontificatus vero Domini Lucii II. Papae anno primo. (Ed. Biscaro).

[7] What little is known of the life of S. Alberto throws no light upon this point. (*Acta Sanctorum*, Julii, II, 165). He was born at Rivolta d'Adda, where he became prevosto, as is recorded by the contemporary chronicler, Morena. He was elected bishop of Lodi in 1168, and died in 1179.

[8] Alexander Episcopus Servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Offredo Cremonensi electo . . . vobis et per vos ecclesie cremonensi duas plebas papiensis episcopatus de postino scilicet et de pagazano cum capellis et aliis pertinentibus suis. Ecclesiam quoque de ripaalta sicca, cum omnibus capellis et aliis ad eamdem spectantibus et monasterium S. sigismundi . . . concedimus et donamus, ita quidem quod eedem plebes venerabili fratri nostro, petro, nunc papiensi episcopo toto vite sue tempore sicut consueverunt jure parrocchiali subiecte existant, et eo defuncto ad vestram spectent jurisdictionem. Preterea prepositus etiam ripealte quamdiu vixerit nobis et Ecclesie Romane solummodo debeat respondere et deinde ad jus et dispositionem vestram ecclesia prescripta pertineat. In monasterio vero prescripto, eandem que nunc ibi est volumus religionem servari. Ita quidem, quod non liceat episcopo cremonensi illos qui ibidem morantur exinde ammovere, nisi eque religiosi aut religiosores ibidem instituantur. . . . Dat. Beneventi . . . III. kal. Junii Indictione prima, Incarnationis Dominice anno mill. C. L. XVIII. Pontificatus vero Domini Alexandri P. P. III. anno nono. (Ed. Sanclemente, 257).

The interior was covered with stucco and intonaco. About the middle of the XIX century the campanile which had remained unfinished was completed.[9] In 1903 the edifice was restored under the direction of Nava. The intonaco was stripped from the interior; the capitals, mouldings and ornaments, all barbarously mutilated when the church was baroccoized, were restored, and in many cases completely remade, and a narthex which the Lombard builders had projected but never executed was erected in front of the church.

III. S. Maria e S. Sigismondo (Plate 193) consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, a choir of three bays with side aisles, and three apses. The choir is covered by a barrel vault reinforced by a heavy transverse arch (Plate 194; Plate 195), the side aisles by very highly domed groin vaults with transverse and wall ribs (Plate 194), and the nave by highly domed rib vaults also with wall ribs (Plate 194; Plate 195). The system of the church is alternate, two bays of the side aisles corresponding to a single bay of the nave.

The clearstory wall is reinforced by heavy transverse buttresses projecting above the aisle roofs and applied opposite the intermediate as well as the alternate supports. The alternation of the system however is expressed in the rectangular buttresses of the side-aisle vaults which are alternately heavy and light (Plate 193). Alternate too are the side-aisle responds, which include five members (Plate 193). The alternate piers are cruciform in section with a colonnette engaged in each angle (Plate 193). The intermediate piers are square with a colonnette engaged on each face (Plate 193). The system of the alternate piers includes three members, that of the intermediate piers is not continued above the abaci of the capitals (Plate 195).

The church is constructed of brick with stone capitals and trimmings. The brickwork is remarkably crude. Herring-bone courses are not only used, but predominate. The bricks are of all sizes and shapes, and often seem to be thrown in almost at haphazard. This careless construction is extended even to the great vaults of the nave, which are so badly put together that it is difficult to see how they could have been constructed. Nava found what he believed to be traces of a solid wooden centering above the ribs; it may therefore be that the massive of these vaults may have been erected by the aid of a platform hung upon these ribs instead of by a cerce. It should be observed that the construction of the church of Rivolta d'Adda is economical rather than unskilled. The structural portions of the edifice—the piers, the archivolts, the buttresses—in short, the entire skeleton, consist either of ashlar masonry of the very finest quality or of skilful brickwork. Only the screen walls are formed of the irregular rubble described above. It is evident that the builders fully realized in what portions of the edifice strength was needed, and in this their work shows a notable advance over the masonry of S.

[9] Strafforello, *Cremona*, 166.

Ambrogio, in the atrium of which the same system was employed but not carried so far as at Rivolta d'Adda, where the skeleton portions of the wall were better constructed and the screen walls not so well.

IV. Although the capitals of Rivolta d'Adda have been much made over and restored, sufficient portions of the original ones remain to leave no doubt as to their character. They are decorated with interlaces, rinceaux, anthemia, acanthus leaves, grotesques and other motives characteristic of the Lombard style. The interlaces show a certain refinement of character (Plate 196, Fig. 1, 2, 4. 5) which recalls the capitals of S. Savino of Piacenza (cf. Plate 196, Fig. 1, with Plate 186, Fig. 6), and are distinctly in advance over those of S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 120, Fig. 3). Grotesques abound—eagles, bulls. birds, stags, monsters and sirens are favourite motives. On one of the pilaster strips is a relief of a grotesque animal and a cross (Plate 196, Fig. 2), ornaments which recall the carved decoration on several pilasters of S. Ambrogio. The archivolts are in two unmoulded orders (Plate 194; Plate 195). The apse is ornamented externally by arched corbel-tables supported on shafts and by a gallery. The side apses, on the other hand, have simple corbel-tables grouped three and three by pilaster strips, and the other cornices are formed of simple arched corbel-tables, except that the façade has a double arched corbel-table.

V. The style of S. Maria e S. Sigismondo appears to be intermediate between that of the atrium of S. Ambrogio of Milan which was finished before 1098 and that of S. Savino of Piacenza, a monument consecrated in 1107. In design it resembles more closely the latter edifice, since there is a high clearstory but no galleries. The predominance of the grotesque elements in the capitals, however, recalls S. Ambrogio. An extraordinary feature of Rivolta d'Adda is the presence of the gallery in the apse. Rivoira and Nava, both of whom assign the main body of the edifice to a very early date, were forced to explain this motive by supposing that the apse was rebuilt in the XII century. Such a theory is, however, evidently erroneous since the masonry of the apse is identical with the rest of the edifice, and the capitals of the apse are quite similar to those of the nave. Galleries probably came into use in the very early years of the XII century. They are found c. 1100 at S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 173, Fig. 5) and at S. Giacomo of Como c. 1105. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that a gallery might have been constructed at Rivolta d'Adda in the last years of the XI century. The documentary evidence obliges us to believe that the church was constructed during the pontificate of Urban II, that is to say, before the year 1099. The advanced style, on the other hand, would indicate that the edifice belonged to the very last part of the reign of that pontiff. We may, therefore, ascribe the building to c. 1099. The double arched corbel-tables of the façade are a later addition.

ROCCA S. MARIA,[1] S. MARIA

I. The pieve of Rocca S. Maria has been published by Maestri and by Toschi.[2]

II. In 1038 Rocca S. Maria was acquired by the marchese Bonifazio III. The church is explicitly mentioned as in existence at this epoch.[3] In 1108 the Rocca was given by Countess Matilda to Bishop Dudone, of Modena.[4]

There is the usual tradition that the church was rebuilt by Matilda, but of this there is no documentary evidence. In a manuscript of 1463, of which Maestri[5] has published an extract, the church of Rocca S. Maria is listed as a pieve, and the head of fifteen churches and seven chapels. The building was baroccoized about the middle of the XVIII century.[6]

When I visited the church in May, 1913, a restoration was about to be begun.

III. The edifice consisted originally of a nave four bays long, two side aisles and three apses, of which the central one was preceded by a short barrel-vaulted bay. The eastern bay of the nave was longer than the others and possibly included in the choir. In the times of the Renaissance the eastern bay of the nave was radically altered, and its side aisles were destroyed and replaced by wardrobes and sacristies. At the same period, the church was vaulted and covered with intonaco, and the façade, the southern side aisle, the clearstory walls, and the upper part of the apse were rebuilt, though in part with the old materials. In the façade are still visible some traces of the ancient portal, and clear indications of the arch of the southern absidiole may still be seen. The modern campanile rises at the east end of the northern side aisle.

The supports of the nave consist of short, stubby columns, with the exception of the easternmost, where half columns were engaged on the west side of rectangular piers. It is clear that the edifice was originally roofed in timber.

The ashlar masonry of the ancient portions of the church is of the finest quality. Perfectly squared stones are accurately laid in horizontal courses, with joints so fine as to be almost imperceptible. The windows, to judge from the only one preserved (which is in the northern side aisle), were narrow, but were not much splayed, and were intended to serve without glass.

IV. The beautifully carved capitals are adorned with volute and leaf patterns, and are all of Corinthian type. They are treated with a certain breadth of composition, and a feeling for proportion and design that recalls in spirit, though not in detail, Notre-Dame of Paris and the finest examples of XII century carving in northern Europe. These are among the most

[1] (Modena). [2] 491. [3] Maestri, 5. [4] *Ibid.*, 4. [5] 8. [6] *Ibid.*, 9.

beautiful capitals in all northern Italy, less finely executed, and less perfectly finished than those of Frassinoro, or those by the hand of Benedetto, but on the other hand, more architectural and dignified. The acanthus leaves recall now S. Ambrogio, now the coarser, more florid work of Pieve Trebbio, now the stiffness of Carlovingian types. Certain anthemia are admirably classic, like those of S. Michele of Pavia. The necking is regularly carved with a rope-moulding. One abacus is moulded with a series of six small fillets. Others are adorned with anthemia, interlaces or billets. One abacus has two rope-mouldings and a chipped diamond motive. The abaci are far from showing the sense of composition and the restraint noticeable in the capitals themselves. The original bases—which are Attic, with griffes—are preserved only on the southern side.

V. The superb quality of the ashlar masonry of Rocca S. Maria is paralleled only in edifices of about the middle of the XII century, for example, S. Zeno of Verona, an authentically dated structure of 1138 (Plate 224, Fig. 1). Our monument may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1140.

ROFFENO–MUSIOLO,[1] S. LUCIA

I. S. Lucia of Roffeno has been published by Maestri.[2]

II. The abbey of S. Lucia depended upon Nonantola.[3] The church is said to have been consecrated between 1036 and 1048. The crypt is said to have been consecrated either in 1085 or in 1104.[4] The style of the capitals gives reason to suppose that the latter date is correct.

In 1068 the count of Panico donated to S. Lucia the church of La Trinità in Prato di Baralto.[5] One of the bells in the church bears the date 1383. As late as 1633 the abbey was still in existence.[6]

III. The single-aisled nave and the choir are without interest. The ancient crypt, however, is still preserved in part.

IV. In this crypt there are still extant six Lombard capitals. The other capitals are of the Renaissance, and were added when the existing vaults were erected. The capitals are all of similar type. A typical one has a high abacus with anthemia, and a bell of Corinthianesque type, but the upper row of acanthus leaves has been replaced by anthemia. Although

[1] Frazione di Castel d'Ajano (Bologna). The church is twenty minutes' walk above the carriage road.

[2] *Rubbiano,* 18 f. [3] *Ibid.,* 19. [4] *Ibid.,* 20.

[5] Savioli, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 115.

[6] The work of Alidosi, entitled *Origine e fondatione di tutti le chiese di Bologna,* was dedicated by the editor, Mainardi, to Sampieri, abbot of S. Lucia.

there is but little undercutting, the execution is rather good. The bases of the free-standing colonnettes are apparently ancient, and consist of two superimposed tori.

The church contains interesting frescos, which are perhaps of the school of Luini.

V. The style of the capitals confirms the weak documentary evidence that the crypt was consecrated in 1104.

RONCOSCAGLIA,[1] S. BIAGIO

I. S. Biagio of Roncoscaglia has been published by Maestri,[2] and Toschi.[3] The west portal has been illustrated in Govi's *Guida*.[4]

II. In the exterior of the east wall is inserted, upside down, an inscription of 1675:

1675
F. R. aLG

The meaning of the letters of the second line is exceedingly difficult to interpret, but I presume the F stands for *fecit*, and the R for *restaurari*, while the aLG is presumably an abbreviation for the name of the priest who caused the work to be executed. The inscription was probably placed in its present position in 1733. In this year the church was again restored, as seems to be indicated by another inscription:

M D CCXXXIII
D. A. M. R.

Here, I presume, the D stands for *Dominus*, the R for *restauravit*, while A. M. must be the initials of the priest.

The roof fell in 1884, and the church has since been in ruin.

III. The edifice consists at present of a nave of a single aisle, ending in a square east end, but it is evident that the existing eastern wall was erected in 1733, and that the church was once longer. Indeed, traces of the foundations of the original apse are still visible. Although there is no roof, the walls are well preserved. There are two doorways, one in the western and one in the southern wall, and according to Maestri, there were originally five doors. There are two windows of oval form. The masonry, where it has not been spoiled by restoration, is ashlar of the very finest quality. The

[1] Frazione di Sestola (Modena). The church, which has fallen into ruin, is locally known as the Chiesa del Diavolo, and lies a half hour's walk down the mountain from Roncoscaglia, in an exceedingly romantic and picturesque situation.

[2] *Denzano*, 12. [3] 470. [4] 143.

accurately squared blocks are laid in horizontal courses, and the mortar-beds are very thin. There are numerous scaffolding holes.

IV. The western portal is in five orders, with free-standing shafts, and mouldings of advanced character, among which are included a hood-moulding. The capitals have grotesque heads in the corners, or are of Corinthianesque type. The roll-mouldings in the architraves have rinceaux of Lombard character. The side portal is simpler, but has also a hood-moulding ornamented with a rinceau and a bead motive. The windows, widely splayed, were intended to serve without glass. In the walls are inlaid several much weathered grotesque reliefs.

V. The hood-moulding of the portal[5] is a feature which savours of the XIII century. Since the rest of the architecture, however, is entirely Romanesque in character, the church of Roncoscaglia may be assigned to c. 1200.

ROSIGNANO MONFERRATO,[1] S. ANTONIO

I. So far as I know, this monument has never been published.

II. In the interior of the church are inscriptions recording the benefactions of a certain Giacomo Volpo.

III. The edifice is of a single aisle which bends sharply to the south. It is covered with groin vaults, except in the eastern bay, where there is a rib vault. The transverse arches are pointed. These vaults appear to be a later addition to the original construction. The façade is of the Renaissance. In the side walls, however, are still preserved some fragments of XII century architecture. The masonry is polychromatic. Ashlar of fine quality predominates, but there is also excellent brickwork.

IV. The windows have arcuated lintels, one of which is moulded. In the south wall are fine frescos of the XII century, small in size, but choice in quality. The subjects represented are Saints Peter and James.

V. The masonry is analogous to that of Montechiaro d'Asti, a monument of c. 1140. Rosignano Monferrato may consequently be ascribed to the same epoch.

[5] With this portal should be compared the portal of S. Apollinare at Coscogno (Modena), which dates from c. 1170.

[1] (Alessandria).

RUBBIANO,[1] S. MARIA ASSUNTA

I. The pieve of Rubbiano has been published by Maestri and by Toschi.[2] A plan and elevation and a drawing of the apse before restoration have been published by Faccioli.[3]

II. In a document of 880, Rubbiano is mentioned as a pieve, officiated by an archpriest and a chapter. The document, which is an investiture of the archpriest, contains a recapitulation of his duties, which included keeping the church in repair, organizing the priests and maintaining a school for the education of children.[4] From this it has been wrongly inferred that the church at this time required restoration. The same phrases are repeated in another deed of investiture of 908, also referring to the pieve of Rubbiano.[5]

On the apse cornice is the following inscription:

FVIT
RET.
1837
ANNO DOMINI D. C. M. A.

The first letters, RET., are probably an abbreviation for *restaurata*. The D. must stand for *Dominus*, the A. for *archipresbyter*, and C. M. are undoubtedly the initials of the priest under whose direction the work was performed. The internal evidence of the monument itself makes it evident that it was not only

[1] Frazione di Montefiorino (Modena). The church is situated half an hour's walk down the mountain, to the north of Montefiorino.

[2] 485. [3] 65, 74.

[4] Leudojnus per misericordiam Dei Episcopus omnibus filiis nostrae ecclesiae. Notum vobis esse volumus quia resedentibus nobis in motina in domo Sancti geminiani per indictionem quinta decimam, Donavimus ordinantes Plebem nostram in Rubiano que dicitur sancta maria consenciente sacerdotio & clero nostro georgio archipresbitero. Ea si quidem ratione ut ipse locum regiminis teneat, & secundum canonicam actoritatem archipresbiteratus fungi in omnibus officium non obmittat. Id est sarta tectis templi reficiendis, in clericis congregandis, in scola habenda, & in pueris edocendis. . . . [circa an. 880]. (Tiraboschi, *Cod.*, I, 52).

[5] Gottefredus sancte Motinensis Ecclesie Episcopus omnibus filiis nostre Ecclesie. Notum vobis esse cupimus, quoniam residentibus nobis in principali nostrę Dioceseos Sinodo, & ea que Katolice & regulari auctoritati congruunt secundum Domini dispositionem pro posse tractantibus, adierunt nostrę parvitatis clementiam Sacerdotes ex Plebe Sanctę Marię in Rubiano, quorum ista sunt nomina; Johannes, itemque Johannes, Sigebertus cum ceteris aliis ejusdem Plebis Sacerdotibus, sed & cum plurimis ipsius Matris Ecclesie fidelibus Laicis, luctuosa querimonia reclamantibus, quod predicta Plebs diruta esset, & sine Archipresbitero pene desolata remaneret. . . . Quorum peticionibus nos benivole assentientes . . . Sacerdotem Silebertum . . . illis ordinavimus Archipresbiterum. Ea tamen ratione ut . . . religiosa conversatione Christo ibi deservire studeat, idest in Scola habenda, in Pueris edocendis, in Sartatectis Ecclesie reficiendis, in luminaribus adhibendis & ceteris, quę Religioni Ecclesiastice congruunt . . . patrandis. . . . Actum Motina VI. Kalendas Junii Indictione XI. (Tiraboschi, *Cod.*, I, 91).

the apse that was reconstructed at this period. The façade has evidently been rebuilt farther to the eastward than it originally stood, and the length of the nave has thus been reduced at least one bay. The whole edifice shows innumerable signs of having been rebuilt and patched up with old material. It is likely that the building was almost completely wrecked, in all probability by an earthquake, and that in 1837 it was rebuilt as economically as possible with the old materials, and in great part on the old lines.

From 1898 to 1901 the edifice was closed for worship as unsafe. It was subsequently restored, but even yet is in bad repair and held together by many tie-rods.

III. The edifice at present consists of a nave two bays long, two side aisles, projecting transepts with eastern absidioles, a choir of a single bay, an apse and a modern campanile. The nave, side aisles and transepts are roofed in wood. The apse had a half dome, but this has been in great part destroyed. The choir is still covered by a barrel vault. The groin vault with which the crossing was once covered has been destroyed, and only the semicircular wall ribs are still in position.

The supports of the nave are cylindrical columns divided into many drums, but without vertical joints. The piers of the crossing have a cruciform section, but one member is semicircular instead of rectangular. The spurs support transverse arches spanning the nave and side aisles. That the church once extended further to the west than at present is proved by the facts that the existing façade is modern, that the side-aisle walls end to the westward in unfinished amortizements, and that the western columns are half drowned in the existing façade.

Originally the edifice appears to have been constructed of ashlar of excellent quality. Very large and well squared blocks of stone were laid in courses for the most part accurately horizontal, and separated by thin mortar-beds. The masonry of the barrel vault of the choir is of this character. In the absidioles, and in some parts of the eastern walls, the joints are so fine that the blocks appear to have been laid almost without mortar. On the other hand, the mortar-beds are wide in the walls of the choir and the nave, and it is evident that we have here to do with the restoration of 1837. The upper part of the crossing, of very inferior masonry—almost rubble—was undoubtedly rebuilt at the same period.

IV. The capitals are of varied type. Those of the two eastern responds were shaved down to formlessness, and covered with intonaco, at the time of the Renaissance, but traces of the anthemia, with which the abaci were adorned, are still visible. Another capital is of developed cubic type. Another has grotesque animals. Four others are carved with leaf patterns, two of Corinthianesque type, with a single row of dry, enormously thick acanthus leaves, two with acanthus leaves that look almost like anthemia, and

are pierced by a string. The abaci are elaborately moulded. The bases, for the most part, are not visible.

The windows, widely splayed, and with arcuated lintels, were intended to serve without glass. That of the central apse is in two orders and moulded. The arched corbel-tables are moulded and supported on grotesque heads, or corbels carved with acanthus leaves. Those of the central apse are grouped three and three by shafts. The apse cornices are finely moulded, and that of the central apse has a saw tooth.

The springing of the vaults of the choir and the apses is marked by string-courses ornamented with carved anthemia, rams' heads and other similar motives. In the campanile many fragments of ancient architecture are used as second-hand material. In the arched corbel-tables of the apse are represented a siren, a lion, an eagle and Christ blessing.

The southern absidiole still bears traces of the intonaco with which it was covered. This intonaco was painted with imitation stone joints in black and yellow, although the masonry was of fine ashlar. Internally, two piers of the crossing have superb frescos of the XIV century.

The holy-water basin appears to be contemporary with the church.

V. In its masonry, the character of its carving, and the abaci of the capitals, the pieve of Rubbiano shows close analogy with Rocca S. Maria, an edifice which dates from c. 1140. Rubbiano, however, appears to be earlier, because the carving is less fine, the mouldings of the abaci less elaborated, the masonry less perfect. Rubbiano may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1130.

SAGRA DI S. MICHELE[1]

(Plate 196, Fig. 3, 6, 7; Plate 196A, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The romantic charm of the abbey of S. Michele, perched on a jagged summit of the Alps overlooking the valley of Susa, has brought the monument conspicuously to the attention of tourists, archæologists and historians. In the early XIX century Millin[2] wrote a description of the Sagra as it was in his day. The sumptuous publication of Massimo d'Azeglio, which appeared in 1829, contains numerous engravings of the abbey, and in the Museo Civico of Turin seven paintings by the same artist are of value because they demonstrate the changes wrought in the recent restorations. Another engraving was published by Zuccagni-Orlandini[3] in 1845.

[1] Frazione di S. Ambrogio (Torino). The abbey is situated an hour's climb up the mountain, and can be reached best by following the bridle-path which ascends from S. Ambrogio.

[2] I, 147.

[3] I, *Bassi Tempi*, Plate II.

Practically all the historians of Piemonte have touched more or less at length upon the history of the Sagra. Among the special historians of the abbey, Claretta should undoubtedly be mentioned first. This scholar published in 1870 a finely critical history of the monastery, made doubly valuable by the publication of various new documents. The work begins with a bibliography which contains an account of the extensive literature of the abbey. Claretta's work has been admirably supplemented by two monographs of Savio, one on the origins of the abbey, published in 1888, the other on the life of S. Giovanni, in 1900. Savio is undoubtedly one of the keenest and sanest historical students of the present time in Italy, and his studies upon the Sagra di S. Michele are among his most inspired productions.

In 1903 Taramelli published a résumé of the history of the abbey, and a plea for its restoration. His publication contains a plan which shows the foundations of the old apses belonging to the Coro Vecchio, discovered under the present nave. It also contains a model for the proposed reconstruction of the church by Andrade, which happily has not been carried out. In the following year Levi published a fantastic paper restoration of the chapel of the cemetery. In 1907 appeared the guide-book of Malladra and Ranieri, which, although written in a popular style, is exact and scholarly. This work also contains a critical bibliography of the literature of the Chiusa.

II. The chief source for the history of the foundation of S. Michele is to be found in three compositions of the second half of the XI century, all written by the same Guglielmo, who was a monk in the monastery. The first, a chronicle of the abbey, may be considered the primary source, since the lives of the abbot Benedict and of S. Giovanni merely repeat the notices of the chronicle. Guglielmo, it must be frankly recognized, is not an altogether reliable historian. Not only does he confuse chronology and season his narrative with fables and legends, but at times he purposely prevaricates. Nevertheless his prolix account must necessarily form the basis for any study of the history of the abbey, and I therefore translate the most significant passages: "The mountain difficult of access rears its head aloft in the air, and its summit touches the very clouds, and it is separated from the other mountains by a low pass. It can be reached by only one path, so that the mountain is clearly a gift of the Divine Providence. Surrounded by sweet and pure waters running with gentle murmur, and by the gurgle of the neighbouring fountains and by shade and fruit trees and by a wood where different kinds of birds sing and chirp, on the naked peak below the first summit lies the church of S. Michele, remarkable, not so much for the splendour of metals nor for human art, as for the many miracles which have there taken place. . . . The church was there first constructed in the following circumstances, as I have learned from a most trustworthy and ancient source. There was a certain man of Ravenna, Giovanni, called Vincenzo . . . who is said

to have been honoured with the episcopal dignity in his native city; but inflamed by the desire of a solitary life, he wandered through many provinces, and finally came to the mountain which is called Caprasio, opposite the above-mentioned mountain on the north side of the valley. . . . There for a long time the servant of God lived retired, delighting in the contemplation of divine things and shunning the sight of man, so that not without reason he was believed to enjoy daily intercourse with angels. . . . To him St. Michael, the archangel of the Lord, appeared in vision and spoke thus familiarly: '. . . I am the archangel Michael. . . . Therefore gird thyself for this work, and construct a basilica in my honour even though it be only of wood.' And when the holy hermit in his simplicity confessed that he was completely ignorant of the art of building, nor had practiced this trade since he was a boy, the angel answered: 'Fear not, since when thou shalt be tired with labour thou shalt ever arise stronger.' Therefore in the morning the holy man commenced after matins to think over how he should obey the command of the angel, and, relying on God's aid, fell to work with all his strength in the neighbouring wood, and passed the day in zealous labour. On the following day, refreshed by the night's rest, he returned to the place where he had worked the day before, but found none of the wood which he had cut, and stood in amazement wondering greatly what necessity could have compelled a nocturnal theft in so dense a forest. Nevertheless he resumed work, and while, deprived of the solace of human companionship, he gave himself up to prayer, behold he saw a large flock of doves fly up, and eagerly seize with their beaks the hewn logs and carry them one by one to Monte Pircheriano. But, since he did not know what was meant by this miracle, he did not cease from the labour which he had begun. He had also seen long before during his nocturnal vigils a ball of fire reach far upwards from that mountain towards Heaven. . . . Night uncovered the stars, and scarcely had sleep closed the eyes of the man of God, when the archangel came to him as he was slumbering and said: '. . . Arise at dawn and ascend the summit of that mountain from which you have frequently seen the ball of fire reach upward towards Heaven. . . . Ascend it with good courage, since there shalt thou find gathered together all the things which thou didst fear had been stolen. . . . For that place I have chosen to be my future seat, and there shall I dwell since I have appointed it. . . .' So S. Giovanni, filled with joy, hewed timbers, and in a short time completed the church. He also cut in the native rock of the mountain an altar in honour of the prince of the angels, Michele, constructed very well, but not sufficiently finished by the industry of human art. When at length he had finished the building on the summit as well as possible with the resources at his disposal, he went to the bishop of Turin who was called Amizone, related to him how he had built the church in the above-mentioned place because of the angelic vision, and humbly prayed him to consecrate it . . . About the same time during the reign of the emperor,

Otto the Younger, a certain noble count of Auvergne named Ugo, together with his wife, sought the threshold of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, and, although he knew that he was guilty of innumerable and grave sins, nevertheless, by the compassion of the Apostle to whom our Lord enjoined three times that, as he loved Him, he should feed His sheep, Ugo acquired faith that by reformation he might obtain enduring hope of salvation. . . . When he came to the steps in front of the church of St. Peter, he was unable to proceed further, and remained fixed and immovable. . . . Seeing that this had happened to him because of the enormity of his sins, he was tortured with terrible remorse. . . . He blushed to confess what he had not blushed to do. At length, pressed by his wife and by his people standing about him, he confessed the fire by which his conscience was tortured, and desired that the pope (who was at that time Silvester) and his ministers should be summoned. . . . His complaint touched the tender heart of the pious pope, and the man who was guilty of so many crimes promised to construct a monastery . . . at the command of the pope and of his apostolic ministers. . . . Therefore when he had journeyed far . . . and . . . had come to Susa, . . . and was entertained by an old friend of his, the latter in a friendly way commenced to inquire about the details of his pilgrimage; and Ugo told him everything in order and related all the wonderful things which have been written above. His host was astonished at such a miracle, . . . and said to him: 'Lord Ugo, if you desire to fulfil your wise vow, you ought to erect a monastery to none other (save the grace of the prince of the Apostles) rather than to the prince of the celestial host, the archangel Michael.' And at the same time he showed him this place, since it was near, being only twelve miles distant, . . . and by the spark of his good exhortation, kindled the mind of the man, long disposed for this thing. . . . And so taking a conveyance at dawn they quickly came to the court of the marchese Arduin, which was only thirteen miles distant at Avigliano, . . . and they told him why they had come, and sought permission to construct a monastery in the above-mentioned place, and begged that the glorious marchese . . . should by legal documents free the place from all secular jurisdiction. . . . The generous prince gladly consented. . . . Ugo then joyfully set out to return to the house of his host, to seek the latter's advice in regard to finding a man to whom he might commit the care of his new monastery. Meanwhile, since his journey afforded the opportunity, he turned aside to climb to the summit of the mountain with a few of his retainers, to explore its height; and in this strength of mind served him rather than strength of body, for the ascent is steep and rugged. At length, overcome by the heat and by his exertions and fainting for water (as it pleased God), he prostrated himself at the feet of the hermit whose little cell adjoined the church, and he prayed that he might speedily be saved from danger of death by the aid of the archangel if not by that of man. . . . And now I am about to relate a wonderful

thing. . . . For he saw a jug filled by a fountain gushing forth at the end of the cave, and the great archangel showed visibly his power. . . . There was present by divine inspiration a monk named Arveo, who had formerly been abbot of the monastery of Lézat, but had been expelled by the enemies of holy religion, and had at that time just returned from a pilgrimage to Rome. . . . Therefore Ugo overcame the scruples of this monk Arveo, and having given over to him for present needs as much money as he could (for he was a pilgrim and did not have more with him), he entrusted to him the care of that place, saying that he would return quickly; and Ugo joyfully went his way to his own country. Then Arveo, the man of God, busying himself with great devotion, commenced to construct little buildings for the monks as the location of the place, which was rocky and wild, allowed. . . . In due time Ugo came back as he had promised, and furnished all the funds necessary for finishing the construction of the church, and again went to the above-mentioned marchese, . . . and bought . . . a manor. Moreover . . . that none might interfere with the liberty of the place, he obtained from the bishop of Turin who was called Amizone . . . the privilege that it should be freed from every restriction under pain of anathema. And after that he carried to Pope Silvester at Rome all the privileges of the bishop and marchese. . . . Moreover, lest any doubt might arise in the hearts of the faithful concerning the things which are here related, Maurizio, son of the above-mentioned Ugo, is witness and his family is witness. . . . Therefore in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 966 (*sic*) the monastery was erected . . . After the death of S. Giovanni the hermit and of the abbot Arveo of good memory, by the consent and election of the brothers, a man of admirable simplicity, Benedetto, succeeded in the abbacy."[4]

[4] Is [mons] undique, tractu satis arduo, sublime in aëra caput exerit, ipsasque nubes suo vertice tangit, parvique collis discrimine a ceteris seiunctus: una admodum arta via potest adiri, ut facile intelligas illum quodam divino privilegio donari. Amenis quippe puris et suo murmure dilabentibus, et vicinorum fontium rivulis redimitus quoque frondosis ac pomiferis arboribus et silvis, ubi garrula voce aves murmurant diversi generis. Solo nudato sub primo cacumine beati Michaëlis gestat ecclesiam non tam metallorum fulgore, aut humano edificio perpolitam, quam crebra signorum experienti evidencia conspicuam. . . . Ecclesiam ergo illam hoc ordine inibi constructam primitus verissima antiquitatis relacione accepimus. IV. Erat quidem Ravennas nomine Iohannes cognomento Vincentius, qui in genitali quidem solo episcopali fertur functus dignitate, sed solitarie vite ardore flammatus, multis provinciis perlustratis, in montem qui caprasius dicitur, predicto monti a parte septentrionali oppositum, sese conduxerat. . . . Ubi multo tempore ille famulus Dei delitescens tanta intemplacione divine theorie hominum devitabat aspectus, ut Angelorum cotidiano consorcio delectari ac perfrui non immerito crederetur. . . . V. Huic per visionem Sanctus Domini Archangelns Michaël apparens sic eum familiariter alloquitur: . . . *Ego sum . . . Michaël Archangelus. . . . Propterea et ad opus accingere et vel lignario sumptu basilicam michi construe.* Cumque sanctus anachoreta se huius artis ignarum nec ab ineunte etate hoc opificio exercitatum simpliciter fateretur, adiecit. *Noli trepidare quoniam viribus exausto invalidus, robustior semper adsurges.* Mane ergo

Guglielmo's statement that the monastery was founded in the year 966 has been much discussed. It is clearly implied in his account that no considerable interval of time intervened between the building of the first chapel by S. Giovanni and the foundation of the monastery by Ugo. The latter event is stated to have taken place in the time of Otto III (983-1002), Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) and Amizone, bishop of Turin, who was in office in

facto coepit vir sanctus post matutinos hymnos angelice admonicionis ortamenta animo revolvere et de Dei certus adminiculo proximam silvam totis viribus occupat, diemque illum alacriter consumat in opera. VI. Sequenti vero die, membris nocturna quiete ad laborem innovatis, veniens ad locum ubi pridie operatus fuerat, sed nil eorum reperiens que paraverat, hesit, et que necessitas in tam denso nemore nocturnum furem compulisset vehementer admiratus laborem· tamen resumit: dumque omnino humano destitus solacio piis dat operam studiis, ecce videt columbas innumeras facto grege advolare, ipsasque ligni dolaturas certatim rostris insumere et ad montem Pirchiranum sepe deferre. Sed nesciens quid hoc miraculum portenderet, minime cessat a cepto opere. Viderat quoque iamdudum noctis vigiliis inserviens a prefato monte globum igneum frequenter usque ad celum longo tractu porrigi . . . VII. . . . Nox astra detexerat, vixque sompnus viri Dei oculis irrepserat, et iam adest Archangelus quiescenti et ait: . . . Surge diluculo et montis illius caeumen ascende unde globum igneum ad celum tendere crebro notasti; . . . conscende intrepidus et cum omnia que tibi furto ablata verebaris ibi collata inveneris; . . . locum namque illum michi in sedem elegi multum equidem profuturum, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam. . . . VIII. . . . Sicque novus ille incola animatus cum gaudio ligna concinat, ecclesiam in brevi consumat. IX. Altare quoque de eadem rupe nativa in honorem Angelorum principis Michaëlis miro opere, sed humane artis industria non satis polito incidit. Tandem in eminenti scopulo quibus potuit impensis perfecto edificio, Taurinensem Episcopum Amizonem nomine adiit, et qualiter per visionem angelicam in sepe dicto loco ecclesiam edificaverit ordine pandit, illiusque conseeracionem humili prece deposcit. . . . XIII. Per idem tempus, imperante Octone iuniore augusto quidam nobilium Hugo nomine de Arvernesi comitatu cum propria uxore sancti Apostolorum Principis Petri limina peciit, et licet innumerabilium graviumque peccatorum sibi esset conscius; beati tamen Apostoli misericordia, cui pius Dominus, ad sui amoris periculum, ter suas oves pascendas commisit, reformari ad spem vite non cassam fiduciam sumpsit. . . . Cum ad gradus exteriores ecclesie sancti Petri [Romae] veniens nec ultra valens progredi fixus et immobilis hesit. . . . Quod intelligens sibi contingere facinorum suorum immensitate torquetur dolore misere nimis. . . . Erubescat fateri quod non erubuit perpetrare. Tandem coactus uxori suisque circumstantibus quo cruciaretur igne conscienciе proclamat, et tam Papam tunc temporis Sylvestrum quam ministros altaris sancti evocari exoptat. . . . Hec querimonia dulcia romane pietatis viscera conculsit et tantorum criminum reus de constructione unius cenobii . . . sponcionem fecit, exigentibus tam memorato papa quam ministris apostolicis. . . . XIV. Emensis igitur longioris vie spatiis, cum . . . Segusiam venisset et . . . cum vetere amico hospitatus esset, ab eodem hospite causa familiaritatis diligenter cepit inquiri qualiter cursum explesset itineris sui: seriatim cuncta retulit, et universe rei, quam prefati summus mirabilem noticiam dedit. Attonitus hospes tanti stupore miraculi . . . dixit ad eum: *o domine Hugo si desideras boni voti compos existere, nulli alii melius post graciam principis Apostolorum, quam principi celestis exercitus Archangelo Michaëli te decet cenobium construere.* . . . Simul eciam locum prefatum, quoniam proximus, videlicet duodecim millibus esset, ostendens . . . animos viri iamdudum ad id intentos exhortacionis bone scintillis accendit. . . . XV. . . . Ascensus ergo diluculo vehiculis, Ardoini marchionis

989 and who died in 999.[5] In consequence it would seem that the monastery must have been founded about the year 999, and that Guglielmo's date of 966 is erroneous. The question, however, is complicated by three passages in a chronicle of Maillezais, in which the foundation of the Chiusa is ascribed to three different dates, to wit: 868, 872 and 937.[6] The author of this chronicle of Maillezais was a careless compiler of c. 1150, and Savio has shown that he depends upon Guglielmo for his notices in regard to the Chiusa. It there-

curiam que tredecim tantum millibus in castro Avilliano tunc aderat, celeriter adeunt . . . adventus caussas exponunt et licenciam construendi cenobium in memorato multociens loco petunt, ea videlicet racione, ut gloriosus marchio . . . locum . . . seculari potestate scripto iudiciali solvetur. . . . Liberalissimus Princeps libenter annuit. . . . Posthec ad hospicium letus Hugo regreditur et consilio nihilominus hospitis virum cui tutelam loci commiteret quesiturus interim quia viae occasio se prebuit cum paucis ad montis cacumen haltitudinem loci visurus pocius animi quam vi corporis, nam via difficillima erat, trahitur. Estu ergo vel labore fessus admodum, nimia siti nutu Dei deficiens, ad pedes heremite, cuius ecclesie contigua erat cella parvissima prosternitur, et ut Archangelo si non humano consilio tanti periculi medelam quamtocius inveniat deprecatur. . . . XVI. Mox mira dicturus sum; . . . cernit ampullulam quasi ab imo scaturiente vena fontis inundare et summum Archangelum virtutem visibilem exhibere . . . Aderat ibi quidam nutu domini vir religiosus ordinis monastici nomine Atvertus, qui in Lisathio monasterio Abbatis prius officio functus, atque ab hoc a contrariis sancte religionis expulsus, tunc a liminibus Apostolorum regressus. . . . Prefatum ergo religiosum virum Atvertum multis precibus vincit et relictis quantum ad presens ut peregrinus poterat necessariis, ei locum committens citius rediturus ad sua cum gaudio rediit. XVII. Exinde vir Deo plenus Advertus omnino plena devocione satagens oportuna monachis edificiola secundum situm loci, nam scopulis asperrimum erat, cepit construere. . . . Tempore constituto sicut promiserat Hugo rediit, et omnibus necessariis inpensis ad perficiendam ecclesie fabricam datis, iterum ad prefatum marchionem transitum fecit, et ab eo . . . villulam . . . acquisivit. Ut autem libertati loci . . . nullus inesset, Taurinensem Pontificem qui Amico dicebatur . . . cunctis iterum locum solvi condicionibus cum anathematis eciam interposicione favorabiliter impetravit. Indeque Romam omnium predictarum sponcionum tam Pontificis quam marchionis tenores . . . Pape Sylvestro retulit. . . . Ne autem aliqua dubietas ex his que relata sunt in cordibus fidelium possit oriri, testis est predicti Hugonis filius Mauricius, testis et ipsa familia. . . . XIX. Anno igitur nongentesimo sexagesimo sexto Incarnacionis Dominice constructis . . . officinis cenobialibus . . . postquam etiam sanctus Iohannes heremita, nec non et bone memorie Advertus abbas migrasset ad Dominum, successit ei in regimine fratrum consensu et electione, vir mire simplicitatis . . . Benedictus . . . (*Chronicon Coenobii Sancti Michaelis de Clusa,* ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* V, 249).

[5] *Pedemontii Sacri,* ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XI, 1284, 1610; Malladra e Ranieri, 152-153.

[6] DCCCLXVIII.—Cœptum est cœnobium Sancti Michaelis, ad Clusam. (*Chronicon Malleacense,* ed. Marchegay et Mabille, 368). DCCCLXXII.—Clusense cœnobium Sancti Michaelis inceptum est. (*Ibid.,* 370). DCCCCXXXVII. . . . Eo tempore inceptum erat aliud monasterium de Sancto Michaele de Clusa, a sancto Johanne episcopo et eremita, ubi primus abba fuit Arveus; quæ duo cœnobia [the other is St.-Michel in Normandy] monachorum angelica jussione facta sunt, et creberrime ab angelis nimiis et fulguris et miraculis simul illustrantur. (*Ibid.,* 377).

fore appears that the monastery was not founded in 868, 872 or 937 as the chronicle of Maillezais would have it, nor in 966, as stated by Guglielmo, but about the year 999.

The confirmation of this date is found in what is known of the life of S. Giovanni. Savio has clearly shown the fabulous character of some of the legends relating to this hermit, which seem to have been invented with the sole view of showing the monastery directly dependent upon the Holy See. He has nevertheless demonstrated that S. Giovanni was a real person, and none other than the archbishop of Ravenna known as Giovanni XIII da Pavia, who was in office from 983 to 997.[7] It is, therefore, obvious that S. Giovanni came to live at the Chiusa after 997. Now S. Giovanni died in the year 1000, as is known from his epitaph, which has been preserved in the *Annales Camaldulenses:* "This tomb encloses the bones of the venerable Giovanni, a disciple of Romoaldo who lived on Monte Caprasio . . . . . After having been a bishop, he became again a hermit . . . . . The summit of Monte Pircheriano, sacred to S. Michele, owes its fame to him, since he founded . . . . . the shrine. On the twelfth day of January in the year 1000 . . . . . he died. This inscription was placed in the year 1154."[8]

Since, therefore, S. Giovanni lived on Monte Caprasio between 997 and 1000, it is certain that the first chapel was founded between these years. It is, moreover, evident that Guglielmo, probably intentionally, gave the wrong date for the foundation of the monastery, which must be referred, not to 966, but to 999. The first chapel, consequently, must have been erected slightly before this time.

That the monastery was in existence in the early years of the XI century is proved by a passage in the life of St. Guillaume of Dijon,[9] in which is related a miracle performed by that saint at the Sagra di S. Michele. The horse of St. Guillaume fell down the mountain, but at the prayer of the saint was returned to him uninjured. In this account it is to be noticed that mention is made, not of an *oratorio,* but of a *monasterium.*

The account of Guglielmo is confirmed in its main details by a diploma of Barbarossa, in which we read: "In the name of the Holy Trinity, three

[7] See inscription cited above under S. Prospero of Reggio Emilia, p. 311.

[8] HIC . TVMVLVS . CLAVDIT . VENERABILIS . OSSA . JOHANNIS
QVEM . MONS . CAPRASIVS . ROMALDI . ACCEPIT . ALVMNVM
. . . . . EX. PRAESVLE . FACTVM
RVRSVS . EREMITAM . . . . . MICHAELIS
PYRCHIRIANVS . APEX . EX . ILLO . SVMPSIT . HONOREM
QVAS . QVOQVE . FVNDAVIT . . . . . AEDES
PRIDIE . IDVS . IANI . DVM . MILLENARIVS . INSTAT
. . . . . PENETRAVIT . SPIRITVS . ASTRA
POS. A. MCLIV
(*Annalium Camaldulensium,* Liber Sextus, I, 237).

[9] *Vita Sancti Guillelmi Divionensis,* § 8, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CXLIII, 706.

Persons in one God, Federico, by the mercy of God, emperor of the Romans, ever august . . . We receive under our imperial protection and patronage our beloved abbot and all his brethren, and the monastery of Chiusa and the town of S. Ambrogio. That monastery is known to have been founded by Ugo, called the Dissolute, of Auvergne, out of devotion to God, and is situated on the Monte Pircheriano, which Ugo bought for a price from the marchese Arduin . . . Done in the year of our Lord 1162, the tenth indiction, in the tenth year of the reign of Federico, most glorious emperor of the Romans, and in the seventh of his empire."[10] The account of Guglielmo is evidently also the source of the XVII century fresco in the church, in which are depicted the principal incidents of the early history of the monastery.[11] The monastery of the Chiusa is also mentioned in a document without date, which the editors of the *Historiae Patriae Monumenta* assign to 1006.[12] There is reason to suppose that the monastic buildings were completed by Arveo before 1002, since in the full account of the life of his successor Benedetto I (1002-1046), written by the same Guglielmo,[13] no mention is made of works of construction.

The new monastery, favoured by the popes, rapidly increased in power and importance, and in a short time was able successfully to defy the bishops of Turin. In 1114 Pope Pascal II granted to the abbot the privilege of the mitre, the dalmatic and sandals.[14] The possessions of the monastery were situated not only in Italy, but in France and Spain,[15] and the number of monks is said to have reached 300.[16] Few monasteries in Europe possessed greater wealth and power. The French character of the establishment has been emphasized by Savio.[17] It was primarily a hospice for French and Spanish pilgrims.

In 1341 the monastery was seriously damaged by fire.[18] At this time the decadence of the order had already begun, and at the end of the XIV century relaxation of discipline and bad administration had reduced the fortunes of the Chiusa to the lowest ebb. In 1367 the monastery was again burned, this time by the English.[19] and in 1378 the campanile and monastic buildings threatened ruin, and the roof was in such bad repair that snow and

[10] In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis fredericus diuina fauente clemencia romanorum imperator semper augustus . . . dilectum nostrum predictum abbatem et omnes fratres eius ipsumque monasterium clusinum et burgum sancti ambrosii sicut ab hugone cognomento dissuto aluernensis regionis indigena intuitu deuocionis in monte pircheriano noscitur fondatum quem ipse ab ardnino marchione statuto precio comperauit . . . sub nostram imperialem tuicionem ac deffensionem suscepimus. . . . Acta sunt hec anno dominice incarnacionis millesimo centesimo sexagesimo secundo. indicione decima regnante domno frederico romanorum imperatore gloriosissimo anno regni eius decimo imperii uero septimo. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, VI, 839).

[11] See *Sancti Iohannis Confessoris Vita*, ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, V, 237.

[12] This document is cited below under S. Salutore of Turin, p. 443.

[13] *Venerabilis Benedicti Vita*, ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, V, 273.

[14] Malladra e Ranieri, 187. [15] *Ibid.*, 198. [16] *Ibid.*, 205.

[17] 46. [18] Malladra e Ranieri, 249. [19] *Ibid.*, 270.

rain fell upon the high altar.[20] In 1381 a commendam was established.[21] In 1622 the monastery was finally suppressed, and the abandoned church again commenced to fall into ruin.[22] In 1630 the vaults collapsed but were rebuilt at the expense of the princes of Savoy. Commendatary abbots still continued to be named, but paid little or no attention to the important abbey whose title and revenues they enjoyed. In 1736 the abbey was again vacant for six years, after which time it was taken in charge by the canons of Giaveno.[23] In 1798 the monastery was sacked by the revolutionists, but the commendatary abbot still continued to exist. In 1836 the buildings were turned over by Carlo Alberto to the Instituto di Carità directed by Rosmini.[24] Priests of this order still officiate the church. In 1855 works of restoration were carried out,[25] but in 1885 the church was found to be in such a dangerous condition that it was necessary to close it for worship. At that time was begun a restoration which has continued with many interruptions up to the present day.

III. The irregular buildings which form the monastery of S. Michele are grouped around and below the church which is the dominating feature of the whole. The church consists of a nave three bays long, six lateral chapels formed at a later epoch by erecting transverse walls across the bays of the original side aisles, a trefoiled apse and two absidioles. The side aisles are rib-vaulted; the diagonals have a circular section. The nave is at present covered by a barrel vault, but the original vaults were ribbed. This is proved by the heavy transverse buttresses which still exist under the aisle roofs (Plate 196, Fig. 7) and by the original clearstory windows which may still be seen above the existing vault. The transverse buttresses must have originally projected above the side-aisle roofs, since they rise much higher than the base of the clearstory windows. The system of the eastern bays of the nave comprises three members, one of which is rectangular, the other two circular, but that of the western bay has five members, of which three are circular. The arches of the main arcade are pointed in the second bay, elsewhere they are round. The transverse arches of the side-aisle vaults are pointed. It is evident that the construction of the church began at the east end, and proceeded slowly to the west, and that subsequently even the eastern Romanesque portions were remodelled in the Gothic style. Outside of the unfinished western bay there still remains a fragment of a ruined building, known to-day as the Coro Vecchio. This consists of a pier of T-shaped section constructed of rough masonry, and the remains of two arches. The archivolt is of a single unmoulded order, and there is no capital nor base. The buttress, or spur, of the pier still bears the imprint of a transverse arch. Beneath the existing nave of the church have been discovered the foundations of the old

[20] *Ibid.*, 265. [21] *Ibid.*, 281. [22] *Ibid.*, 294, 296.
[23] *Ibid.*, 296-297. [24] *Ibid.*, 308-310. [25] *Ibid.*, 324.

triple apses which undoubtedly belonged to this edifice, which must have been the primitive church destroyed to make room for the existing basilica.

Beneath the nave of the basilica is a crypt which is believed to be the original chapel founded by S. Giovanni. Under the apse and eastern portions of the church is the great stairway known as the Scalone dei Morti (Plate 196, Fig. 6), constructed in the vast artificial podium on which the church rests. In this part of the edifice are many highly domed groin vaults with transverse arches, but most of them appear to have been restored rather clumsily with the aid of solid centering, traces of which may still be seen in the plaster.

The remains of the monastic buildings are of little interest from a structural standpoint. Not so, however, the little edifice known as the Cappella del Cimitero (Plate 196, Fig. 3), the ruins of which still exist some distance down the mountain. There appears to be no reason to doubt the tradition that this edifice was really the chapel of the cemetery, since, in the fresco of the Coro Vecchio it is shown and distinctly labelled SEPVL.^{N} IUXTA MONASTERIV̄. The plan is peculiar. A square central area with rounded corners was surrounded by four horseshoe apses, one placed in each corner, and by four rectangular apses, one placed in the centre of each face. It is certain that the edifice was covered by a dome, since this is shown in the fresco. The masonry is rough, but not precisely rubble.

IV. The capitals of Sagra S. Michele are almost all rather crudely executed. Several on the Scalone dei Morti (Plate 196, Fig. 6) are uncarved and decorated with awkward mouldings. Others, however, have acanthus leaves, either carved or uncarved. It is evident that these capitals were executed at widely different dates, and bear witness to the numerous restorations to which the edifice has been subjected. Of higher order are the capitals of the famous Porta dello Zodiaco (Plate 196A, Fig. 1, 2), in which are found sirens, eagles, lions, grotesques, and well executed acanthus leaves. Those of the exterior galleries of the apse are of a curiously developed cubic variety, unlike any others that I know elsewhere. The Gothic capitals of the interior of the church all show plainly French influence.

Spiral columns occur in the Porta dello Zodiaco (Plate 196A, Fig. 2) and in one of the apse windows. The jambs and entablature of the Porta dello Zodiaco are decorated with rinceaux, anthemia, and leaf motives (Plate 196A, Fig. 1, 2).

On the Porta dello Zodiaco are a number of figure sculptures. On the jambs are the signs of the zodiac: CHAPRICORN[US], SAGITTARIUS, SCORPIUS, LIBRA (these two combined in a single composition), VIRGO, LEO, CANCER, GEMINI, TAVRVS, ARIES, PISCES, AQUARIVS, and opposite the following constellations: a many-headed monster, HYDRA; a fish above an altar covered with cloth, ARA . NOTIVS (the Altar, it will be remembered, is a constellation in the southern sky); CETVS, the Whale;

CENTAVRVS, a centaur holding in his hand a club and a hare; ERIDANVS, the constellation of the same name, represented possibly with reference to the river Po as a girl pouring water from a jar; PISTRIX, the constellation, represented not as a whale, but as a man in a sailing-boat; two dogs, CANIS and ANTICANIS, representing Canis Major and Canis Minor; the dogs pursue LEPVS, the hare; they are in the train of the hunter, ORION, with unsheathed sword, an empty sheath and a budding staff; DELTOTON, the triangle; PEGASVS, represented as a winged horse trampling on a fish; and finally DELF[INVS], the dolphin, much injured. The astronomical erudition displayed in these reliefs recalls the sculptures of the façade of the cathedral of Piacenza.[26] Moreover, the inscription HOC OPVS INTENDAT. QVISQVIS BONVS EXIT [ET INTRAT] is also found at Piacenza. The sculptor is anxious that every good man who enters or comes out from the church should look at his sculptures. But lest any one should erroneously suppose that all the grotesques are symbolical he hastens to explain: "Thou seest flowers and beasts mingled"—FLORES CVM BELVIS COM[M]IXTOS CE[RNIS]—. He nevertheless has serene confidence that the merit of his sculptures will hold the attention of passers-by, as is indicated by the inscription: HOC OPVS ORTATVR SEPIVS VI ASPICIATVR. This inscription is partly covered by the masonry. The upper part of one of the constellations, representing a nude genius, is also broken in two. These two facts, as well as the complex members and moulding of the archivolt, make it evident that the columns and jambs of the portal were brought here from elsewhere. In another inscription we read: "You who go up or by chance go down, read the verses which Nicolò wrote."[27] The truth is that Nicolò not only wrote the verses but executed the sculptures, and is the same artist who has left us signed works at Ferrara and Verona.

On one of the capitals of the same portal are represented serpents sucking the breasts and biting the feet of women. The vice of Luxury, it will be recalled, is represented in the same manner in the portal of Moissac. On another capital may be seen Samson, who pulls down the pillar of the house at Gaza upon the heads of two Philistines. By Samson are two animals. On the other face is represented Samson, with long hair, held prisoner by two of his enemies, one of whom blows a horn. On another capital is depicted a struggle between a number of nude persons and above is the inscription: [DOMV]S EST PACIS CAVSAS DEPONITE. This subject may be a representation of the vice of Wrath or is possibly to be interpreted merely as an exhortation to the faithful to lay aside their dissensions upon entering the church. On another capital is represented the story of Cain and

[26] Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, III, 71, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 178 f.

[27] VOS LEGITE VERSUS. QVOS DESCRIPSIT NICHOLAVS
VOS QVI TRANSITIS SVRSVM VEL FORTE REDITIS

Abel. To the right, Abel offers a lamb on the altar. Fire descends from Heaven to consume it—an indication that the offering has been accepted; envious Cain stands at the side holding in his hands a sheaf of wheat. On the other side is represented the fratricide, at which the devil leers maliciously. Above are the inscriptions: MVNVS ABEL GRAT CONSTAT CAIN RE|PROBATVM. — IVSTVS ABEL MORIT . CV . FRIS . FVSTE FERIT.

At the base of this portal are two lions executed in relief. Under one is the inscription: LEO.

The fact that one of the inscriptions of the Porta dello Zodiaco is repeated at Piacenza but does not occur elsewhere in Lombard art, the representation of the constellations which occurs also at Piacenza and nowhere else in Lombardy, the style of the sculptures themselves, with disproportionately heavy heads, and eyes with incised pupils, and the character of the rinceaux—all make it evident that the Nicolò who sculptured this portal is none other than the Nicolò who executed the sculptures at Piacenza, and who has left his signed works in the cathedrals of Ferrara and Verona and at S. Zeno of Verona. Compared with the other works of this sculptor, the portal of the Sagra di S. Michele appears to resemble most closely the sculptures at Piacenza, executed between 1122 and 1132. The inscription—*Hoc opus intendat etc.*—and the subject of the constellations are found both at Piacenza and in the Sagra but not elsewhere. The style of the sculptures at the Sagra resembles much more closely that of the sculptures at Piacenza than that of the sculptures at Ferrara or Verona. Numerous characteristics of Nicolò found in his later works do not appear at the Sagra. Similarly the curious guilloches, the variations of the heart-leaf and egg-and-dart mouldings, and the elaboration of the triple billet moulding at the Sagra are without parallel elsewhere in Nicolò's work. He seems to work here under a strong Provençal influence. The conclusion is therefore justified that the Porta dello Zodiaco is the earliest of Nicolò's productions, and that it was executed before he went to Piacenza in 1122. We may consequently assign it to c. 1120.

In the apse are four clustered piers of the flamboyant style, supporting plaques sculptured with the symbols of the four Evangelists. In the central window of the apse are statues of the Annunciation and of four prophets. These statues show an attempt on the part of the artists to imitate Romanesque models, but the hands, faces, many details of the technique and the flamboyant wavy mouldings of the window, all prove that they are works of the XV century.

The remains of the monastic buildings are of little importance from a decorative standpoint, with the exception of the Foresteria, an apse of which is adorned with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two by pilaster strips. The crude masonry consists of stone rubble thrown together at haphazard.

The Cappella del Cimitero (Plate 196, Fig. 3) is characterized by arched corbel-tables supported on shafts or pilaster strips.

V. The remains of the chapel of S. Giovanni in the crypt probably belong to the last years of the X century. The ruins of the Coro Vecchio, on the other hand, and of the Foresteria, are without question part of the work executed by Arveo in 1002. The T-shaped section of the pier recalls S. Eustorgio of Milan (c. 1000) and the pieve of Bagnacavallo (c. 1000)—Plate 18, Fig. 4—, and is characteristic of this epoch, as are also the arched corbel-tables grouped two and two like those of S. Fedelino sul Lago di Mezzola (c. 1000)—Plate 102, Fig. 1—, Bagnacavallo (c. 1000)—Plate 18, Fig. 5—, S. Sepolcro of Milan (1030)—Plate 133, Fig. 2—, and Lomello (c. 1025)—Plate 110, Fig. 2. The Cappella del Cimitero, to judge from the character of its masonry (which is crude), and the shafts supporting the arched corbel-tables must be of c. 1100. Of the existing church itself, the oldest portions without doubt are the substructures and the Porta dello Zodiaco; the latter, as has been seen, must be assigned to c. 1120, but has been radically altered at the end of the XII century. The oldest portion of the church itself is undoubtedly the apse, but this can hardly have been begun before the third quarter of the XII century, to judge from the style of its capitals, which are very similar to those of the earliest portions of Ranverso, an edifice begun in 1188. The western bays of the nave are entirely Gothic in style.

S. ALBERTO DI PIZZOCORNO,[1] S. ALBERTO DI BUTRIO

I. The abbey of S. Alberto is the subject of one of the best known of the monographs of Cavagna Sangiuliani, published in 1865, and indeed, the chief work upon which rests that archæologist's reputation. Another monograph was subsequently published by Legé, but it is an unformed work unworthy of that scholar's maturer period. The abbey had been mentioned by Carnevale[2] as early as 1844.

II. A bull of Gregory VII, of 1074,[3] in favour of the monastery of S. Alberto, implies that that institution was founded by S. Alberto, and calls the existing abbot, Benedetto, his immediate successor.[4] The pope declines

[1] (Pavia). [2] 42. [3] Legé, 23, reads the date 1073.

[4] GREGORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVORUM DEI SERVUS. *Fratribus Monasterii Beate Marie siti in Episcopatu Terdonensi salutem ed Apostolicam benedictionem.* Veniens ad nostram presentiam Frater Benedictus, quem post obitum fratris Alberti, Religio vestra sibi preesse elegit in Abbatem detulit Nobis quoddam privilegium: quod Beate recordationis predecessoris nostri Alexandri titulatum invenimus: quod nimirum ratum non esse manifestissimis deprehendimus indiciis, corruptione videlicet latinitatis, nec non et diversitate canonice auctoritatis. . . . Ceteri quoque Monachi vestri consocii per Cellas ab eodem vestro Patre constructas, ut vobiscum sint unanimes eidemque vestro Abbati reverenter obbediant auctoritate precipimus Apostolica. . . . Datum Argentee IIII Kal. Decembris, Indictione duodecima MLXXIV. (Ed. Cavagna Sangiuliani, 50).

to ratify a privilege purporting to be of his predecessor Alexander II (1061-1073), because, by the corruption of the Latin, and other indications, he perceived that it was false. The fact, however, that the monks dared to present such a forged document proves that the monastery must have been founded at least as early as the time of Alexander II, that is to say, before 1073.

Another bull of the same pope, dating from 1084,[5] takes the abbey under the apostolic protection, and explicitly states that it was founded by S. Alberto.[6] The pope mentions that he had personally consecrated Benedetto abbot of the monastery. Benedetto, we know, was abbot at least as early as 1074, and died before 1134, since in that year his successor Pietro was already in office. It is probable that Benedetto was consecrated abbot by Gregory about the year 1073, and after the latter had become pope.

In 1134 Innocent II confirmed to the abbot Pietro and the brethren of S. Alberto all their rights and privileges, including the apocryphal bull of Alexander II.[7] Another bull confirming the possessions of the abbey was promulgated by Eugenius III, in 1145.[8] There are extant donations made to the monastery in the years 1080[9] and 1155.[10] In the XIII century, the monastery found itself in serious financial difficulties.[11]

As early as 1407 the abbey had been given in commendam.[12] One of the bells bears an inscription with the date 1454. In 1516 the abbey was united with S. Bartolomeo in Strada of Pavia.[13] After a long period of decadence, the monastery was finally suppressed in 1805 and 1810.[14]

[5] Or perhaps from 1077 according to Legé e Gabotto, 8.

[6] GREGORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVORUM DEI SERVUS. Charissimo in Christo filio benedicto venerabili Abbati monesterii sanctæ Mariæ Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi constituti in loco qui vocatur butrio. . . . Proinde charissime frater et fili, quum tibi tuisque fratribus complacuit et fideli devotione in mentem venit, ut venerabilis locus vester inceptus atque constructus a religioso viro Alberto, cujus nunc et in perpetuum ex divina gratia felix est et veneranda memoria, sub tutela S. Romane Ecclesie in perpetua libertate consisteret . . . prefatum monasterium cui tu nostris in Abbatem consecratus manibus preesse dinosceris. . . . Datum . . . Idus februarii Indicione III. Incarnationis dominice anno millesimo octogesimo quarto, Pontificatus autem domni Gregorii VII, Pape XIII. (Cavagna Sangiuliani, 52).

[7] INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI. Dilectis filiis Petro Abbati et fratribus Monasterii beatæ Genitricis Mariæ quod dicitur Butrio situm est inibi secundum beati Benedicti regulam etc. . . . Venerabile beatæ Mariæ Monasterium quod a Predecessoribus tuis Alberto et Benedicto abbatibus constructum est in jure proprietario beato Petro oblatum et in ejus tutelam protectionemque susceptum Apostolicæ sedis privilegio comunis. . . . Sexto Idus aprilis indictione duodecima Incarnationis Dnicæ anno MCXXXIIII Pontificatus no Domini Innocentii Papæ II, anno quinto. (Cavagna Sangiuliani, 63. Cf. Bollea, 19).

[8] Legé e Gabotto, 24. [9] *Ibid.*, 11. [10] *Ibid.*, 32.

[11] *Ibid.*, 106, 117, 119, 120, 121.

[12] Cavagna Sangiuliani, 88.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96. [14] *Ibid.*, 105-106.

III. The little church, of very irregular plan, consists of a trapezoidal fore-court, divided into four groin-vaulted compartments by a free-standing pier in the middle; a groin-vaulted choir of two bays opening to the south-east of the fore-court; a semicircular apse, and, to the south, another corridor-like sanctuary, communicating with the main body of the church by two doors. This part of the structure has four groin-vaulted bays, in the eastern of which is the altar containing the relics of S. Alberto. The choir, with pointed arches, is certainly Gothic. The apse, on the other hand, roughly constructed of rubble, and with small, widely splayed windows (only one is extant, the others having been made over in brick at a subsequent epoch) might well be a fragment of a very early building. Still further to the south are the remains of the cloisters. Part of one gallery only is extant, and this has been walled up. The arcades, apparently, were formed of a series of bifora and triple openings. The fore-court, the lateral gallery and the cloisters all seem contemporary. These portions of the edifice are constructed of good ashlar, large, well squared blocks are accurately laid in horizontal courses, separated by fine mortar-beds.

The large square tower to the south-west of the church has masonry of similar character, but the belfry is evidently an addition of the Renaissance.

The free-standing pier in the fore-court consists of a rectangular core upon which are engaged two semi-columns. The responds have three members, of which the central one is semicircular. In one case the responds are omitted altogether, and the transverse arches merely die away. In one corner, the respond is of a single order, in one it is omitted, and in two others it is in two orders. In three cases the capitals were omitted; in one the capital is retained although the pilaster is omitted. The vaults are supplied with disappearing transverse ribs, and are highly domed. In the lateral corridor the vaults are of similar type, and are separated from the responds at most by a simple impost, which, in many cases, is omitted. The vaults of this corridor are less highly domed than those of the fore-court. They are constructed of bricks, well laid in regular rows, normal to the bounding arches, and separated by wide mortar-beds. The responds are formed of five rectangular members. These vaults have wall ribs, whereas those of the fore-court have none. The vaults of the fore-court are coated with intonaco and frescos, so that it is difficult to study their structure. It is evident, however, that they were built of bricks laid more carefully than those of the gallery, and placed in courses normal to the groins. This explains why wall ribs are omitted. A curious feature of the vaults of the fore-court is the fact that the bifora are placed higher than the crowns of the vaults, which in consequence are given interpenetrations very awkwardly executed. This probably shows that these vaults are not original.

The choir and apse, roughly constructed of rubble, appear to have been entirely made over at a late epoch. The interior of the choir is Gothic in style.

It is possible, however, that some of the masonry of the choir and the apse belongs to a more primitive edifice.

The masonry of the fore-court is tied together by wooden chains.

IV. The capitals have low abaci decorated with interlaces and rinceaux, and are carved with grotesques of fully developed Lombard style. Only one base is visible. This has a flattened Attic profile, and is supplied with griffes.

The most noteworthy decorations of the edifice are the frescos of the late XV century. Three inscriptions record the date 1484, the epoch at which undoubtedly the greater part of this ornament was executed. The rich colours nevertheless give a good idea of what the interior of a Lombard church must have been when adorned with its original polychrome decoration. In the centre of three of the vaults are sunbursts about a bust of a saint. The rest of the vault surface is occupied by red stars on a white background.

V. The lower part of the campanile, the fore-court, the gallery and the cloister, may all be ascribed to c. 1125, because of the character of the masonry and the capitals. The eastern portions of the edifice are probably somewhat earlier, but have been so much remade that it is impossible to determine their date.

S. BENEDETTO DI LENNO,[1] S. BENEDETTO

(Plate 102, Fig. 4, 5, 6, 7)

I. The beautiful remains of the abbey of S. Benedetto form an authentically dated and well preserved example of the architectural style of the province of Como in the last quarter of the XI century. The buildings are, moreover, full of the poetry of the majestic landscape by which they are surrounded (Plate 102, Fig. 4). It is, therefore, extraordinary that the abbey is but little known. Monti[2] published a brief description of the edifice, which had also been illustrated in the *Grande Illustrazione*.[3] The monument, however, was adequately published for the first time by Monneret de Villard, who illustrated it with excellent half-tones and made a careful study of the documents which elucidate its history. The originals of these documents are, for the most part, still preserved in the Archivio dello Stato at Milan. Transcriptions may be found in the manuscript of Bonomi preserved in the Brera.[4]

[1] The abbey of S. Benedetto, sometimes called S. Benedetto di Monte Oltirone, or S. Benedetto della Perlana, lies two hours' climb above the commune of Lenno (Como).

[2] 470. [3] III, 1169. [4] *Dip. Scti. Benti.*, Brera MS., AE, XV, 33.

II. The charter of foundation of the abbey of S. Benedetto, although it seems to have been known to Cantù,[5] and was transcribed by Bonomi, remained inedited until it was published by Monneret de Villard. The document is extant in a copy of 1279. From it we learn that, in 1083, there was a controversy between the men of Isola and the men of Lenno in regard to the church of S. Benedetto, both parties claiming that it was under the jurisdiction of their pieve. The dispute was settled by both parties renouncing their rights to the church. This donation was doubtless made in order that a monastery might be established.[6] The *conversi* who are mentioned as in

[5] *Grande Illustrazione*, III, 1169.

[6] The original document has been published by Monneret de Villard (224). I reproduce the transcription of Bonomi: In nomine Domini anno a Natiuitate eiusdem milesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono die sabati quarto intrante februario. indictione septima. Domini don Albertus de Bruga abbas monasterii sancti Benedicti de Insula et don Bonaparj de Campo monacus eiusdem monasterii constituti coram domino Guilelmo de Sicleriis potestate Cumensi hostendunt eidem domino potestati infrascriptum instrumentum pacti quod per antiquitatem obscurum factum erat et ualde difficile ad legendu Quamobrem predicti domnus don Albertus abbas et don Bonapari monacus suis nominibus et nomine dicti capituli et monasterii ab ipso domino potestate eum instancia petierunt quatenus ipsum instrumentum suum faceret transcribi exemplari e in publicam formam redigi per Ferrabouem notarium suum et scribam palacii. et quod ipsi exemplo et infrascriptis omnibus auctoritatem suam interponeret ac decretum. ut ipsum exemplum tamquam hautenticum a quo sumitur ad eternam rei memoriam in iudicio et extra iudicium eidem capitulo et monasterio ualeat et prosit. Qui suprascriptus dominus potestas inspiciens diuturnitatem infrascripti instrumenti producti coram eo nomine dicti capituli et monasterii precepit suprascripto Ferraboui scribe suo et palacii Cumani. quatenus ipsum instrumentum per eum uisum. non cancellatum nec uitiatum de uerbo ad uerbum exemplet et in formam instrumenti publici redigat et reducat. Quibus omnibus et infrascriptis presentibus infrascriptis testibus et notarijs scribis palacii quos ad hec esse fecit ipse dominus potestas auctoritatem suam interposuit et decretum. Ut ipsum exemplum ad eternam rei memoriam in iudicio et extra prosit eidem capitulo et monasterio. et teneat et ualeat efficaciter in iudicio et extra et ubicumque et tamquam originale hautenticum instrumentum a quo sumitur. Interfuerunt predictis et infrascriptis omnibus presentibus notariis et scribis palacii Cumani dominus Bertarus Guardinsacus filius quondam domini Domadradi Guardinsaci et dominus Chicara de Putco filius quondam domini Mathei de Puteo et dominus Ugolinus de Siclerijs socius miles suprascripti domini potestatis. et Maracinus filius quondam Maragani seruitoris Cumani et pronotariis et scribis palacii Curadus filius ser Beltrami de Brena. Gasparolus filius Rolandi de sancto Laurentio et Obicitio Caza filio quondam Mayfredi Caze scribis palacii Cumensis. Frugirolus de Pusterla filius ser Bertramei de Pusterla scriba et notarius ad maleficia. Actum in palacio Cumano. Unde plura.

Ego Obizinus Caza notarius suprascriptus filius quondam Maynfredi Caze de Cumis et scriba palacii Cumensis publicacioni huius instrumenti a me nisi et lecti sani et integri pro notaria et scriba palatii interfui et subscripsi predicta die.

Ego Gasparolus de sancti Laurentio notarius Cumensis filius Rolandi de sancto Laurentio de Cumis et scriba etc. ut supra.

Ego Conraddus de Brena suprascriptus filius ser Bertrami de Brena de Cumis et scriba palatii etc. ut supra.

charge of the church, in the document of 1083, had yielded to, or become, choir monks in the year 1090, since a donation of this date made to the monastery mentions the abbot.[7]

Tenor enim pacti et instrumenti talis est. Anno Incarnationis domini nostri Ieshu X̄pi mileximo octuagesimo tertio. indictione sexta. die dominico pridie callendas madii. In presentia bonorum hominum quorum nomina subter leguntur per lignum et pergamena quod in suis tenebant manibus Odelfredus iudex. Gotefredus de Molo. Atto Guasceta. Olricus Quadra. Oddo iudex. Ojerius iudex. Rusticus iudex. Otto de Solario. Nazarius Gualera. Ingo de Stabio. Lazarus de Usucio. Rusticus frater eius. Aribertus de Usucio. Uitalis Zacarelus. Guido Magister. Operbus de Cusizano. et Gezo et Iohanes Musa de Sorlena. Amizo Mulinola. Cresencius de Flona. dominus de Masanego. Morrus de Magalino. Compertus de Narima. Cresencius de Uila. Atto de Arsaleno. et Morrus de Molzixio. Petrus de Lamponio. finem et refutacionem fecerunt per parabolam aliorum omnium uicinorum in manibus domini Raynaldi Cumanensis episcopi et Boldi conuersi et Anradi conuersi et Lanfranci Galine conuersi de illa discordia quam ipsi suprascripti homines de Insula et de Leno habebant inter se. Suprascripti homines de Insula dicebant quod ecclesia sancti Benedicti constituta in monte qui uocatur Altironus debebat esse subtus plebe de sancta Eufemia de Insula. Suprascripti homines de Leno dicebant quod suprascripta ecclesia sancti Benedicti debebat esse subtus plebe de sancto Stephano de Leno. et de suprascripta discordia quam suprascripti homines de Insula et de Leno habebant inter se finem et refutationem fecerunt ut supra legitur. in manibus suprascriptorum. Et insuper suprascripti homines de Insula et de Leno per parabolam aliorum omnium uicinorum. pro remedio animarum suarum donationem fecerunt suprascriptis conuersis suprascripte ecclesie de tota illa terra que est ab una ualle ad aliam et de ascolo et pascolo in monte de Usucio. et in monte de Leno ubique. sine omni contradictione. Que autem suprascripta terra. qualiter supralegitur. in integrum. ab hac die suprascriptis conuersis eorumque successoribus suprascripti homines de Insula et de Leno spoponderunt et promiserunt ab omni homine defensare. et si contra hanc cartam donacionis per quoduis ingenium agere aud causari presumpserint a parte Domini nostri Ieshu X̄pi atque Raynaldi Cumanensij episcopi et omnium suorum successorum sub uinculo anathematis nisi resipuerint in perpetuum sint damnati. Actum in suprascripto monte Altirono feliciter. Signum ✠ manuum suprascriptorum uicinorum qui hanc cartam donationis fieri rogauerunt ut supra.

Signum ✠ manibus Attonis Caginose. Crescencius de Pino. Andreas de Premunte. Crescencius testes.

Signum ✠ manibus Utonis de Murofracto. et Attonis. et Iomerardi. et Loterii. et Uberti de Perlana testes.

Amizo notarius et iudex sacri palatii scriptor huius carte donationis post traditam compleui et dedi.

Ego Oddo notarius sacri palatii interfui et confirmaui.

Ego Oldefredus notarius sacri palatii interfui et confirmaui.

Ego Ferrabos filius quondam ser Alberti Ferrarii equorum notarius Cumanensis missus regis ac iudex ordinarius et scriba palacii Cumanensis hanc cartam exempli sumpsi et extraxi iussu predicti domini potestatis ab originali et hautentico instrumento a me uiso et lecto sano et integro. omni uicio et cancellatione carente et suspicione carente. et exscripsi. et in publicam formam redegi. cum apositione testium et notariorum. ut hoc exemplum in iudicio et extra. et ubicumque eidem capitulo et monasterio prosit ualeat et efficax adsit quemadmodum et tamquam originale et hautenticum instrumentum a quo sumptum est hoc exemplum. nullo adito uel diminuto quod mutet

It has been frequently stated that the abbey of S. Benedetto was Cluniac.[8] There is, however, no indication in the contemporary documents that such was the case.

The history of the abbey during the XII and XIII centuries is established by a large number of parchments.[9] It is apparent that it enjoyed considerable prosperity, and received numerous donations. In 1161 it was taken under the apostolic protection by the pope Alexander III.[10]

During the XIII century the abbey continued to enjoy a separate existence.[11] In 1298, however, the abbot resided no longer on the mountain but at Sala.[12] In 1431 the monastery was united to that of Acquafredda.[13]

In 1593 the bishop Ninguarda visited the church, and made of it the following description: "This church has three aisles and is entirely constructed of cut stone, and is very ancient. The eastern end is vaulted, and has three altars, that is, one for each aisle. Above these altars there is a vault, but the rest of the edifice is covered with a timber roof which is in such ruinous condition that the rain falls in the church. There are two doors, of which one opens on the road and is opposite the high altar. Entering the church by this door, one descends eight steps. . . . . The other door is on the Epistle side, and gives access to the houses where, I believe, the monks lived.[14] These houses, however, are now inhabited by a peasant.

sensum uel uariet intellectum preter litteras uel silabas plus minusue. que sensum non mutant nec uariant intellectum.

*10. MLXXXIII Apographum superioris tertii decimi seculi characterem prȩseferens.

Anno Incarnacionis domini nostri Ieshu X̄pi mileximo octuagesimo tertio Etc. ut supra. Est namque apographum superioris, descripti usque ad subscriptionem Ferrabouis notarii exclusive; ciusque litere, indicant seculum XII recedens vel XIII pene inceptum. (Bonomi.—*Diplomatum aliorumque ex membranis monumentorum ad coenobia sci Benedicti et scae Mariae Acquafrigidae . . . existentia.* Brera MS., AE, XV, 33, f. 18-34).

[7] Anno ab Incarnacione Domini nostri Ieshu X̄pi millesimo nonagesimo mense ienuarii. indictione terciadecima. Tibi monasterio sancti Benedicti constructi in monte de Insola ubi dicitur Alterione ego Obizo filius quondam Lanfranci de loco Premonto sita Insola . . . dono et offero etc. . . . a presenti die pro anima mea mercede faciendum exinde dominus abas uius monasterii aut cui pars illius monasterii dederit etc. (Bonomi, *Dip. Scti. Bdi.*, Brera MS., AE, XV, 23, f. 40).

[8] Ratti, *Del Monaco,* 336; Monti, II, 244, etc.

[9] These have been registered by Monneret de Villard, 187 f., and transcribed by Bonomi, *MS. cit.*, 23, f. 46, 48; 33, f. 51, 109, 111, 112, 151, 163, 178, 180, 181, 184, 185, 187, 219; 35, f. 136, 148, 152, 160, 171, 443, etc. See also Rovelli, II, 179-180.

[10] *Codice della Croce,* MS. Amb., D. S. IV, 9/I, 9, f. 2.

[11] See the long series of documents transcribed by Bonomi, *Dipl. Coen. Sci. Bdi.*, Brera MS., AE, XV, 34-35.

[12] Monneret de Villard, 121.

[13] *Grande Illustrazione,* III, 1169; Monneret de Villard, 121.

[14] All except three of the steps, and the door on the south side have disappeared. In the north wall are the remains of a Lombard doorway, now walled up and in part cut across by a new window.

Also on the Epistle side is a campanile, made like a tower, and supplied with only a single bell. In this church there are eight large, square piers of cut stone, that is, four on each side, and these separate the aisles . . . . . This church enjoys the revenues of Acquafredda, etc. It is under the charge of the archpriest of Isola, and is distant from Isola four miles of very bad road."[15]

This church is now officiated only once a year. Part of it is used as a storehouse by the contadini who inhabit the neighbouring houses.

III. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 102, Fig. 6) four bays long, roofed in wood; two side aisles, also with wooden ceilings; a choir of a single bay, groin-vaulted, and flanked by two side aisles, also groin-vaulted and each of a single bay; three apses, and a campanile (Plate 102, Fig. 4) which rises over the southern side aisle of the choir. The nave is separated from the side aisles by square piers (Plate 102, Fig. 6), without capitals or bases, on which rest the unmoulded archivolts of a single order. The design is singularly severe and simple (Plate 102, Fig. 6). There is no gallery nor system, and the side-aisle walls, except in the eastern bay, are without responds. The clearstory windows (Plate 102, Fig. 4, 6) are small, widely splayed, and irregularly placed. It is evident that they were designed to serve without glass.

The choir is as severe as the nave, except that rectangular pilasters are engaged on the piers to support the transverse arches of the nave and side aisles, and certain of the groins of the aisle vault (Plate 102, Fig. 6, 7). The system supporting the transverse arches of the choir on the south side (Plate 102, Fig. 7), on reaching the springing of the arches, is stepped out to occupy the entire width of the pier, which, in its lower portion, on the side facing the nave, thus acquires a rectangular section. On the north side, however, this stepping-out is omitted, and the pier has a cruciform section. The groin vaults are all supplied with wall ribs, which, like the transverse arches, are loaded at the crowns. These wall ribs, however, appear to have been added for purely decorative purposes at an epoch much later than the original construction of the vault. It is notable that the vaults of S. Benedetto (Plate 102, Fig. 6, 7) are not domed. They are, moreover, constructed of

[15] A dì 4 decembre 1593. Visitata la chiesa di S.to Benedetto nelli monti, sopra Insula, la quale è di tre nave, tutta di pietra picata, et è molto antica, et è volta verso l'oriente, et ha tre altari, cioè uno per caduna nave, et sopra detti altari vi è la volta, et il resto è solo de travi et assi rovinati et gli piove drento. . . . . ha due porte, una di rimpetto alla capella maggiore, la quale va in istrada e nell'entrare in chiesa da detta porta si discende otto gradi . . . . . et l'altra dalla parte dell'Epistola, la quale entra nelle case dove credo stassero li frati, et hora vi sta un massaro e nella detta parte dell'epistola vi è uno campanile fatto a modo di torre, con sopra una sola campanella. In detta chiesa vi sono otto pilastri grossi di pietra picata quadri, cioè quatro per parte et partiscono le navi. . . . . La detta chiesa gode li frutti di Aquafreda, etc., è sotto la cura del sig. Arciprete d'Insula, la quale è distante da Insula miglia quatro di pessima strada. (Ninguarda, ed. Monti, II, 258).

rubble, so that there is no doubt that they were erected with the aid of a complete centering in wood.

The walls of the church are constructed of ashlar masonry of local stone (Plate 102, Fig. 5). The courses are, for the most part, well maintained, though they are not always horizontal. Numerous holes in the wall still indicate the spots to which wooden scaffoldings were attached during the construction.

The stone used is of an obstinate and brittle character, and could with difficulty be adapted to architectural purposes. Hence is was that the builders depended upon the adhesion of the mortar rather than upon exact stereotomy to maintain the stability of their vaults; and for this reason they reduced decorative carving to a minimum. Thus is to be explained the severity of style in the nave, which, with its rectangular piers (Plate 102, Fig. 6), its absence of capitals and bases, its unmoulded archivolts, and its exterior walls unrelieved even by arched corbel-tables (Plate 102, Fig. 4), seems almost Carlovingian in its simplicity.

IV. The façade was originally adorned with a row of arched corbel-tables (Plate 102, Fig. 4) which crossed it at the height of the side-aisle roof, but at a later date (probably in the XIII century) the central portion of this wall was removed to make way for a great rose-window. This window, in turn, has been suppressed and closed by a solid wall.[16] The lower part of the façade is broken only by a single simple doorway, with architrave surmounted by a lunette. The gable of the façade (Plate 102, Fig. 4) has a row of saw teeth crossing horizontally like a pediment, and arched corbel-tables following the rake of the cornice.

The two side apses are adorned with thin pilaster strips and arched corbel-tables (Plate 102, Fig. 5), the main apse with pilaster strips on which are engaged shafts terminating in cubic capitals that, in turn, support the second order of the arched corbel-tables.

In the lower part of the campanile there were originally coupled windows, which have since been walled up. The character of the other windows (Plate 102, Fig. 4) has also been changed by walling up portions of them. Originally, the campanile appears to have had one story of coupled windows, a second story, the character of which it is now difficult to determine, and two stories with a single great window on each face. The three upper stories are probably of much later date. Of later date also is the wing wall over the choir (Plate 102, Fig. 4), connecting the campanile with the roof of the church.

S. Benedetto contains nothing of iconographical or liturgical interest

[16] Monneret de Villard (113) thinks that this rose-window is part of the original construction, but the fact that it cuts the arched corbel-tables and the arrangement of the stereotomy prove clearly that it is a later addition.

except a vase used for holy water, a fine piece of Lombard carving in marble, about contemporary with the church itself.

V. As Monneret de Villard has already recognized, S. Benedetto is a dated monument of 1083.

S. BENEDETTO DI PORTESANA,[1] BADIA

I. The desecrated priory of S. Benedetto di Portesana has been published by Sant'Ambrogio.

II. Lupi has published a document of April 23, 1099, which records that a certain Nazaro, priest, monk and prior of the church of S. Trinità built near the river Adda in the province of Bergamo, in the territory of Colusco, and the place called Vergi, gave this church, which he had founded and erected, to the church of St. Peter at Rome.[2] There can be no doubt that this document refers to our church. Calusco is situated some kilometers above S. Benedetto di Portesana, on the left bank of the Adda, and Vergi, which I suppose to be the modern Verderio, is somewhat nearer and on the right bank. Lupi recognized correctly that the document must refer to a Cluniac priory. Add to this the fact that both our priory and that mentioned in the document were on the banks of the Adda, and that in the document appear members of the family of the Scnioribus who, it is known, lived at Trezzo,[3] and there can be little doubt of the identification. It is clear, therefore, that in the year 1099 our church had already been constructed.

The priory is included among the list of possessions confirmed to Cluny by Honorius II, in 1125.[4]

According to Lupi, in 1132 the church and its dependencies had already been transferred to the cathedral chapter of Bergamo. This is, however,

[1] Frazione di Trezzo, provincia di Milano. The ruins are situated on the right bank of the Adda, a good half hour's walk from Trezzo.

[2] Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi millesimo nonagesimo nono, nono Kalend. Aprilis Indict. septima. Sanctæ & Apostolicæ Ecclosiæ [*sic*] Beati Petri Apostoli que est constructa in Urbe Roma ubi corpus sanctissimi ejus requiescit ego in Dei nomine Nazarius presbiter & Monachus prior Ecclesiæ & Monasterii quod est edificatum in honore sancte Trinitatis in Comitatu Pergamensi in territorio de loco Calusco ubi dicitur Vergi, juxta flumen Abdue ofertor & donator . . . Presbyter et humilis monachus ortodoxe fidei & prior atque inceptor & edificator ipsius Ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis . . . donamus etc. . . . tres Ecclesias ædificatas in honore Sancti Salvatoris & Sancti Michaelis Archangeli atque Sancti Eusebii confessoris ædificatas in territorio de ipso loco Calusco etc. . . . hec nostra Ecclesia & Monasterium & omnes res Monasterii que nunc vel deinde erunt sint defense atque gubernate sub tutela & protectione Domini Apostolici Urbani qui nunc presidet ipsi sedi Romane vel illius catholice post eum in perpetuum electum, etc. (Lupi, II, 811).

[3] Lupi, II, 1343. [4] Tomassetti, II, 352.

probably an error, since Marrier, who wrote in 1614, says that the priory ought to have two monks, including the prior.[5]

III. Of the ancient priory there remain only the choir and an apse, desecrated and transformed into houses. The choir was covered with a groined vault, which has been destroyed, but of which distinct traces remain. In the supports shafts were provided for the transverse and wall arches, and spurs for the groins. The church was supplied with side aisles, which were probably vaulted, since two of the responds of rectangular section are still extant in the southern wall. Traces of the foundations of the piers separating the nave and side aisles also survive. The northern wall is entirely modern.

It is difficult to say how far the church extended to the westward. In the houses to the west of the choir already described remains of one bay of the nave are still clearly observable, but it is not certain whether or not it was vaulted. It is probable that the edifice originally embraced all of the present block of houses. The southern doorway is still visible, as well as the arch of the main arcade, on the southern side of the choir. The exterior of the apse, with its widely splayed windows, is still well preserved in the lower part.

IV. The capitals are cubic (in one case the cushion is carved with a pattern) or of a curious voluted type, very Carlovingian in appearance. The volutes are merely scratched on the surface, and the broad leaves are indicated by parallel incisions. The exterior of the choir was ornamented with shafts. There are grotesques on the lintels of the southern doorway.

V. The remains of S. Benedetto di Portesana form a surely dated monument of 1099.

S. BENEDETTO PO,[1] S. BENEDETTO

I. The mosaic of S. Benedetto of Po has been illustrated by D'Arco[2] and Venturi.[3] An archæological study of the edifice is contained in the work of Matteucci. For the history of the edifice the classic monograph of Bacchini and the manuscript *Chronica Universale di Mantova* of Federigo Amadei[4] should be consulted.

II. According to Amadei[5] there existed on the site of S. Benedetto Po a chapel dedicated to St. Benedict, before the foundation of the monastery. This chapel is, in fact, mentioned in the deed of uncertain date by means of

[5] Prioratus S. Benedicti de Portesano, vbi debent esse, Priore computato, duo Monachi. (Marrier, 1745).

[1] (Mantova). [2] 14.

[3] III, 435, 437. Some account of the fragmentary sculptures is contained in a foot-note, III, 197.

[4] MS. 75-76 in Archivio Gonzaga, Mantova, I, f. 79. [5] *MS. cit.*

which the property passed into the hands of Atto, Count of Canossa.[6] According to Matteucci[7] the land was given to the Benedictines in 984; but the monastery was founded only by the count Tedaldo, in the early years of the XI century. The deed of foundation, which has been published by Bacchini, dates from 1007.[8] In this document the count—or marchese as he calls himself—expressly states that he had built—that is, rebuilt—the church of S. Benedetto. The usually accurate Amadei[9] says that the foundation of the monastery took place about the year 1003, but it is certain that the document of 1007 is the first charter of foundation. That the monastery was founded by Tedaldo, and about this time, is also explicitly recorded by Donizone.[10] Similarly the *Chronicon Breve* refers to the foundation by Tedaldo, but gives the date erroneously as 1008.[11] Tedaldo is mentioned as the founder also in the Chronicle of Siccardo,[12] and in the *Vita Mathildis*.[13]

Subsequently to its foundation, and doubtless owing to the influence of the countess Mathilda,[14] the monastery passed under the discipline of Cluny.

[6] Bacchini, 3. [7] 200.

[8] . . . Henricus Dei gratia Rex anno Regni eius, Deo propitio hic in Italia quarto mense Iunij Indictione quinta. Ego in Dei nomine Teudaldus Marchio . . . volo, & statuo, seu iudico . . . vt habeat Basilica illa, quam Ego edificaui in loco proprietatis meæ, quę dicitur Insula Sancti Benedicti, & est dedicata in honore Sanctę Mariæ, & Sancti Benedicti, & Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Sancti Petri Apostoli, quam Deo volente, & me disponente volo, vt sit Monasterium in perpetuum, in quo statuo, & bona voluntate iudico aliquantum de Rebus iuris, & proprietatis mee etc. . . . (Bacchini, Ap. 16).

[9] *MS. cit.*, I, 79.

[10] Ex his [Atto and Ildegarda] sunt orti tres . . .
Rodulphus . . .
. . . Gotefredus, & ille Tedaldus,
Qui post Attonē totum servavit honorem. . . .
Iste Padum juxta, Larionis propter & undam
Cœnobium dignum Domino, Sanctum Benedictum
Construxit, certè Monachos ibi maluit esse;
Felix iste locus, nimis est quia relligiosus.
(Donizone, *Vita Mathildis*, I, 3, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., V, 350).

[11] Annos Domini circa Quingentos & Triginta. Temporibus hujus prædictæ institutionis, Anno scilicet Domini MXVII, apud Monasterium Sancti Benedicti in Pado Lirone, quod per Illustrem Tedaldum Longobardorum Ducem, Avum inclytæ Comitissæ Mathildis, anno nono antea constructum erat. (Nerlii, *Breve Chronicon*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XXIV, 1073).

[12] Anno Domini MCXV Comitissa Mathildis moritur & apud Ecclesiam Sancti Benedicti inter Padum & Lironem, . . . sepelitur; quam Tedaldus avus construxerat. (Sicardi Epis., *Chronicon*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., VII, 594).

[13] . . . Mausoleum ostenditur in monasterio S. Benedicti de Padilirone Mantuani Dioecesis à quodam Tedaldo Bonifacii Patre genitoris Comitissae, juxta Padum fundato, quod a Mantua dec milliariis distat . . . (Muratori, R. I. S., V, 397).

[14] Bacchini, 69, 70.

There are extant no documents which show at what date S. Benedetto Po was united with Cluny, but Bacchini conjectures that the change in order must have taken place c. 1077.[15] The earliest document I know in which S. Benedetto Po appears as dependent upon Cluny is a bull of Paschal II, of 1109.[16] Subsequent bulls of Gelasius II of 1119,[17] of Callistus II of 1120,[18] and of Honorius II of 1125[19] speak of S. Benedetto as dependent upon Cluny. In the latter document it is notable that S. Benedetto appears as an abbey in contrast to the many priories and obediences subject to the great Burgundian monastery. In 1141 Innocent II confirmed an agreement between the abbots of Cluny and S. Benedetto, in regard to the controversy that had arisen between them, as to how far the latter was dependent upon the former.[20]

Whether the Cluniac rule at S. Benedetto was established in 1077, or somewhat later, there can be no doubt that in the last years of the XI century the monastery was a staunch ally of the pope. It thereby incurred the wrath of the emperor, at whose hands it suffered severe physical damage in 1082[21] and again in 1086. In the latter year, according to Bacchini, the emperor Henry V took away from the monastery all its possessions, tore down the houses and even part of the dwellings of the monks, and profaned the sacred place with every imaginable sacrilege. The abbot and a great part of the monks were obliged to fly in disguise.[22] In 1093 the fortunes of the countess Mathilda improved, and the imperial army was driven from her land.[23] Even before this, on October 5, 1092, the countess had made a very rich donation to the abbey,[24] and when her power was fully established, she lavished rich gifts upon the monastery which had braved the imperial persecution to cleave to her party.[25] When the countess died, she chose to be buried in the abbey of S. Benedetto. Here her body lay in the Oratorio di S. Martino until it was transported to Rome in 1634.

The goods of the abbey were confirmed by Paschal II in 1105.[26]

An inscription still extant in the mosaic pavement of the Oratorio di S. Martino gives the year 1151 with the correct indiction, epact and concurrent.[27] Remains of the ancient architecture still extant make it clear that not only the pavement, but the entire chapel, was erected at this time. It was in this chapel that the body of the countess Mathilda was preserved, and it must consequently have been brought here from the site somewhere else in the church where it was first buried.

[15] 77-79. [16] Tomassetti, II, 256.

[17] *Ibid.*, 292. [18] *Ibid.*, 303. [19] *Ibid.*, 351.

[20] *Ibid.*, 454. For further documents in regard to the Cluniac dependence of S. Benedetto, see Tiraboschi, II, *Codice*, 65; Bernard, 338.

[21] Bacchini, 83-84. [22] Bacchini, 105-106. [23] *Ibid.*, 109.

[24] *Ibid.*, 110. [25] *Ibid.*, 117-119. [26] Tomassetti, II, 236.

[27] [AN]NO DNI MILL. C. L. I. INDICTI . . . . .
XIIII EPACTA I. CONCVRRENT. [VII]

In 1246 the church was rebuilt and the first cloister erected.[28]

In 1500 Lucrezia Pico of Mirandola left a bequest to rebuild the church of S. Benedetto.[29] In 1539 the heirs of Lucrezia sued the monks because they had begun the church, but had not completed it, enjoying meanwhile the revenues.[30] In consequence of this suit the work of reconstruction was begun in earnest, and in 1542 Giulio Romano was appointed architect. On the first of July, 1547, the doors were hung, and on October 4 of the same year the new church was solemnly consecrated.[31]

In 1797 Napoleon confiscated all the possessions of the monastery, and the church was reduced to the rank of a simple parish.[32]

III. Beneath the Renaissance architecture of Giulio Romano may be seen a few remains of the mediæval period, such as late cubic capitals in the choir. These remains are not of the Romanesque period, but of the Gothic church of 1246. It is, however, at least clear that since the XIII century the church has always stood in the same spot, and it is entirely probable that the Romanesque church of Tedaldo stood in the same position. The Oratorio di S. Martino has been almost entirely made over, but some remains of Romanesque architecture—arched corbel-tables, buttresses, etc.—make it clear that this chapel was added to the original church in 1151. Was it erected as a mausoleum to contain the body of Mathilda? In addition to this oratory many of the monastic buildings are still extant, but they all date from the Gothic period, or later.

IV. The pavement of the Oratorio di S. Martino is one of the most notable of the extant mosaics of northern Italy. In the centre are represented the four cardinal virtues, standing in niches, crowned and bearing palms. They are distinguished by the inscriptions:

PRVDENTIA IVSTITIA FORTITVDO TEMPERENTIA

To the left are two medallions. In one a youth, naked to the waist, transfixes with his lance a monster who stands in the second. This monster has lion's body, bird's wings, a cock's head, a horse's ears and mane, a lion's tail and paws. Still further to the left are two other grotesque figures, a bird with a woman's head and serpent's tail ending in a bird's head, and an animal with a fox's head and lion's body. To the right are also two medallions. In one is shown a unicorn, in the other a grotesque bird which looks like a duck, except that it has a fox's tongue and ears and a serpent's tail. The borders have rinceaux, grotesques, Greek frets and leaf patterns. The colours are generally black and white, but some red, or, rather, a reddish-yellow, is used. The drawing is notably fine.

[28] MS. in sacristy of church. [29] *Ibid.;* Amadei, *MS. cit.*, II, 497.
[30] Amadei, *MS. cit.*, II, 589.
[31] MS. in sacristy, with original parchment of consecration annexed.
[32] *Ibid.*

V. The mosaic of S. Benedetto is an authentically dated monument of 1151.

S. FERMO DI SOPRA,[1] S. FERMO

(Plate 196A, Fig. 3)

I. This monument has never been published.

II. According to Celestino[2] the church of S. Fermo was erected to commemorate the spot where the martyr once spent the night. This assertion is, however, substantiated by no documents. A cleric of the church of S. Fermo is referred to in a document of 1270.[3] Celestino[4] says that shortly before he wrote (1617) the church had been restored by Angelico Mapello, canon of the cathedral of Bergamo.

III. The edifice consists of a nave of a single aisle (Plate 196A, Fig. 3) and a semicircular apse. Over the choir is an oblong dome (Plate 196A, Fig. 3), surmounted by a central tower. The dome has the form of a square with rounded corners, and the transition is managed by superimposed squinches separated by a horizontal cornice (Plate 196A, Fig. 3). The dome is carried on transverse and wall arches. The vault of the nave is modern, and the walls of the nave and tower have been much patched up. Notwithstanding the restorations, however, the church still preserves essentially its mediæval forms. The western part of the nave has been walled off and converted into a house.

The masonry consists of a mixture of rubble and ashlar. The former is formed of pebble-like round stones, often laid in herring-bone patterns; the latter of smooth, well squared stones, carefully laid in thin mortar-beds. The horizontality of the courses is, however, frequently broken. The ashlar is used in the buttresses of the choir (which are rectangular and salient), in the apse and, in fact, wherever it is needed for structural or decorative reasons.

IV. The capitals in the eight consoles of the dome (Plate 196A, Fig. 3) are interesting. The grotesque element largely predominates. There are fish, two animals with a single head which forms the volute (a man holds them by the tails), caryatid figures holding the abacus (a motive twice repeated), the Lamb of God, a lion whose tail bursts into a flourish of foliage, eagles, two stags drinking out of a vase, an ox, and others of like character. The floral ornament consists of guilloches, interlaces and anthemia. The eastern imposts of the choir resemble those of S. Giorgio at Almenno, but

[1] Frazione di Grignano (Bergamo).
[2] Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 318. [3] Ronchetti, IV, 141. [4] *Loc. cit.*

are supplied with carved ornament. Some of the abaci are elaborately moulded (Plate 196A, Fig. 3).

A barocco choir-screen has been built across the apse (Plate 196A, Fig. 3).

The apse is decorated externally with small arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips. The windows, in three orders, are shafted.

V. The decoration of the apse is somewhat simpler than that of Marne, a monument which dates from c. 1130. S. Fermo di Sopra is, therefore, presumably earlier. On the other hand, the masonry is very similar, but somewhat superior, to that of S. Giorgio at Almenno (Plate 11, Fig. 5), a monument which dates from c. 1120. S. Fermo di Sopra may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1125.

S. GIORGIO DI VALPOLICELLA,[1] S. GIORGIO

(Plate 197; Plate 198, Fig. 1, 3, 4)

I. The parish church at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella is famous principally for the inscription on the columns of the baptistery, carried away to Verona in the early years of the XVIII century, and subsequently placed in the Museo Maffei, now known as the Museo Civico. This inscription has been studied by all the historians of Verona, and by many of those of Italy. Observations upon it of especial value have been contributed by Maffei,[2] Troya,[3] Biancolini,[4] Orti Manara and Testi. The very first publication of the inscription was that made by Panvinio in 1648.[5]

The church itself has been the object of a monograph by Orti Manara. Cattaneo was the first to draw attention to its importance for the history of Carlovingian architecture. The account of Righi should be consulted for the restoration of the cloister in 1884. The monograph of Lago, which appeared in 1888, is of slight importance. Ten years later Cipolla contributed a valuable study of the frescos and of the baptistery. The discovery of the new fragments of the baptistery is related by Berchet.[6] Venturi, in his history of Italian art, published drawings of the columns of the baptistery and a copy of the inscription.[7] In 1908 Cavazzocca attempted a critical restoration of the baptistery, and published a valuable bibliography.

II. Practically all that is known of the early history of the church is deduced from the inscription of the baptistery. A fragment of the inscription still remains at S. Giorgio but the greater part is in the Museo Civico at Verona. The casts of the whole in the Museo Lapidario of the same city

[1] (Verona). [2] *Mus. Ver.*, CLXXXI. [3] III, 556.
[4] I, 114; VI, 60-63; IV, 646. [5] 131. [6] IV, 180. [7] I, 145 f.

make it possible to study the entire inscription. Placing together the now separated fragments we read: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this ciborio was constructed with the proceeds of the offerings made to S. Giovanni Battista in the time of our Lord, King Luitprando and of our venerable father Bishop Domnico and of the venerable men Vidaliano, custode of this basilica, and Tancol, priest, and of Refol, gastaldo; the unworthy deacon Gondelme wrote this inscription. The master-builder Orso with his pupils Giuvintino and Giuviano, constructed this ciborio. Vergondo, Teodoal, Foscari."[8] From this inscription it is clear that the ciborio was erected in the time of Luitprando (712-743), and that it surmounted, not an altar, but a baptismal font. The latter fact may be deduced from the circumstance that it was erected from the offerings of S. Giovanni. At Cividale in Friuli there is still extant an almost contemporary ciborio, erected over the baptismal font in the cathedral. The Cividale ciborio differs from the ciborii of altars in that, instead of being square, it is octagonal. Now, in recent years, there have been discovered parts of a fifth archivolt of the S. Giorgio ciborio, so that it is certain it had at

[8] IN N̄ DN̄I ĪHV
XP̄I DE DONIS
SCI IVHANNES
BAPTESTE EDI
FICATVS EST HANC
CIVORIVS SVB TEMPORE
DOMNO NOSTRO
LIOPRANDO REGE
ET VB PATER N̄O
DOMNICO EPESCOPO
ET COSTODES EIVS
VV̄ VIDALIANO ET
TANCOL PRBRIS
ET REFOL GASTALDIO
GONDELME INDIGNVS
DIACONNVS SCRIP
SI . . . . .
✚VRSVS MAG . . . . .
CVM DISCEPOL
SVIS IVVINTINO
ET IVVIANO EDI
FICAVET HANC
CIVORIVM
VERGONDVS
TEODOAL
FOSCARI

least five sides. There can be no doubt that it in reality had more, either six or eight, and that, in fact, just like the ciborio of Cividale, it surmounted the baptismal font.

The significance of the three names at the end of the inscription has never been interpreted. Biancolini[9] believed that the word *foscari* was a corruption of *fossarii,* which in mediæval Latin was used to designate a certain order of priests who were charged especially with funeral rites, and he found confirmation of his hypothesis in the fact that it is known that at a later date the church was officiated by a chapter of canons. This interpretation, however, appears somewhat forced, and it is more natural to suppose that the inscription for some reason was never finished and that the three proper names at the end refer to donors or conspicuous benefactors of the church. On the subsequent history of the basilica the documents are silent.

In 1900 an arch of the nave, which had been walled up, was opened.[10]

III. The basilica consists of a western apse, a nave eight bays long, two side aisles, and three eastern apses, the central one of which was preceded by a short choir (Plate 197). The supports of the four western bays are rectangular piers; of the eastern supports, the three on the south side are pilfered columns, but on the north side the central support is a pier, on either side of which is a column. There is thus a decided tendency towards an alternation of supports, which is probably to be explained by supposing that the supply of second-hand columns ran out, and that the builders were consequently obliged to piece out the construction with a pier (Plate 197). To the south of the church are the campanile and cloister. The campanile penetrates the wall of the basilica (Plate 197). The eastern bays of the nave—those supplied with columns—are at a higher level than the western bays which have piers. This however is only one of the indications that the western part of the church is more ancient than the eastern. The very presence of a western apse—a construction almost unknown in Italy, though familiar in Africa and Germany, implies that the orientation was reversed when the church was extended to the eastward. Moreover, the character of the masonry is entirely different in the two portions of the edifice. The eastern bays are constructed of small, rectangular pieces of stone, mixed occasionally with brick, laid in thick beds of mortar. There is some attempt to preserve horizontal courses. The masonry of the campanile is of similar character. The walls of the western bays of the nave, on the other hand, where they have not been made over in Gothic or Renaissance times, are much rougher. The western part of the south side-aisle wall appears to have been entirely rebuilt. All the windows of the church were originally widely splayed, and intended to serve without glass.

[9] I, 114; VI, 60-63. [10] Berchet, V, 177.

IV. The piers are without capitals or bases and support unmoulded archivolts in a single order. The columns are all pilfered Roman, and the capitals and bases are formed of fragments of Roman altars, pedestals, etc. (Plate 198, Fig. 1). Two still carry fragments of Roman inscriptions. The most important Roman inscription, however, has been carried away to Verona. The exterior walls are entirely without decoration of any kind, if we except the Gothic portal opened at a subsequent epoch in the western apse. The campanile is decorated with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two and supported by pilaster strips. The two upper stories, the lower of which has arched corbel-tables grouped three and three, and the upper, a belfry and triforia, are evidently later.

The church contains numerous frescos, of which that in the western apse depicting Christ has been assigned by Cipolla to the XII or XIII century. The Adam and Eve on the south wall are ascribed to the XII century, the decorative frescos on one of the arches to the XII or XIII century, and the other frescos of the church to the XIV century by the same authority.[11]

Of great interest and importance are the fragments of the ciborio of the baptistery preserved in the cloister (Plate 198, Fig. 4) and in the closet of the principal apse. The capitals are characterized by the dry style of the design, and crudeness of execution. The volutes are merely scratched on the surface, and the acanthus leaves are rather projecting bumps than naturalistic forms (Plate 198, Fig. 4). The archivolt is decorated with interlaces, Greek crosses, eggs and darts, circles and crockets. Two of the columns formerly carried a slab with an inscription P. GVLELVS BOFIOLVS R S.^{c} M.^{c}, which is interpreted as referring to a certain rector of S. Giorgio who held office from 1630 to 1645.[12] It is therefore evident that at this time the ancient ciborio had been broken up. It was perhaps this priest who was responsible for this act of vandalism as well as for the modern barrel vault which covers the nave, the intonaco smeared over the walls internally and externally, the baroceo windows of the eastern bays of the clearstory, and the Renaissance restorations evident in the eastern apses.

The gracious cloisters are formed of a series of arches supported on columns, and divided into bays by piers (Plate 197; Plate 198, Fig. 3). The widely splayed capitals are unearved, or ornamented with leaf motives, birds, grotesques, etc.

[11] Frescos in the absidiole were discovered by Professore-Architetto Covini on September 6, 1910. I quote from his letter on this subject: "Io quest'oggi volendo esser preciso nel controllo, feci togliere alcune pietre dell'abside minore, e potei penetrare fra l'abside e il muro che limita la chiesa, e vi scopersi bellissimi affreschi, che forse nessuno vide mai." These frescos, placed in the southern absidiole, appear to be of the XIV century. They are supplied with an inscription which it is impossible to decipher until access to the absidiole can be obtained.

[12] Cipolla. The church was formerly dedicated to S. Maria.

V. It has been seen that the western bays of the nave and the western apse are the earliest portions of the edifice. The crude character of the original masonry, and the complete absence of all decoration gives good reason to suppose that this was the church in which was placed, between 712 and 743, the ciborio of the baptistery of Orso. It was natural to suppose that the basilica was completed before it was supplied with this accessory, and we shall hence be not very far out of the way in assigning this part of the church to c. 730. It may, indeed, cause surprise to find rectangular piers substituted for columns at so early a date, especially as pilfered Roman material is used in the later part of the edifice. These columns are, however, excessively crude and unsymmetrical, and it may be that the builders of the VIII century declined to use them. It may also be that at that date they were not available.

It is more difficult to fix the date of the eastern bays of the nave. The absolute lack of decoration of all kinds makes it necessary to depend upon an analysis of the quality of the masonry. This, we have seen, seems to be identical with that of the campanile. Moreover the fact that the campanile penetrates the wall of the basilica indicates that the former is either contemporary with, or earlier than, the latter. The arched corbel-tables of the campanile are entirely similar in character to those of the Foresteria of Sagra S. Michele, and many other edifices of the early years of the XI century. The masonry of the campanile and the eastern bays is very similar to that of S. Vincenzo of Galliano (Plate 99, Fig. 1), and the plan of the church itself, with three apses and a mixture of piers and pilfered Roman columns, recalls that of the basilica of Galliano. (Compare Plate 97 with Plate 197). The campanile, the eastern bays of the nave and the apses, may consequently be ascribed to c. 1000. The cloisters, on the other hand, and the upper stories of the campanile are evidently of a later epoch. The cloisters differ from those of the cathedral of Verona (1185-1193) and of S. Zeno of the same city, which are about contemporary, in that the columns are single instead of double. This probably indicates a somewhat earlier date, although coupled columns are introduced in one bay of the cloisters. This portion of the edifice may consequently be ascribed to c. 1160, a date which agrees well with the style of the capitals.

S. ILARIO DI BAGANZA,[1] S. ILARIO

(Plate 199, Fig. 1)

I. This church, to the extent of my knowledge, has never been published.

[1] Frazione di Felino (Parma).

II. In the second story of the sacristy may be seen the following inscription embedded in the choir wall:

HOC OPUS FEC FIERI
DOMNUS IACOBUS TH
OFANIE D[E] BURGO S DONINI.
·:· M.C.C.C.XX.II ·:·

To what this inscription refers it is not easy to tell, since considerations of style forbid that it should be connected with any part of the existing edifice.

In the façade is the enigmatic inscription: 1686 R. C. V., which, I believe, means that the façade was reconstructed in the year mentioned. It was probably at this date that the edifice first took the rank of a parish church, the dignity being hither transferred from elsewhere at that time—at least such is the local tradition. The sacristy was added in 1729.

III. The edifice consists of a single-aisled nave of three bays, two lateral chapels, and a rectangular choir. The nave and choir are covered with undomed groin vaults, with pointed wall and transverse ribs, both of rectangular profile. The edifice evidently dates from several different periods. Of the first epoch are the two systems at the middle of the present structure. They consist of a pilaster strip flanked by two shafts. Of the second period are the vaults and the core of the eastern part of the church, the system of which consists of a single rectangular member, supporting the transverse arches only (the wall arches and groins are carried on corbels). The masonry is ashlar formed of small, square blocks as at Vicofertile (Plate 240, Fig. 1), but brick is used in the cornices. To this epoch belongs also the campanile that rises to the south of the choir. In the XVII century a new bay was added to the west of the edifice, and the lateral chapels were built. At this epoch the interior was covered with the stucco which it still retains.

IV. The decoration of the earliest period consists of capitals carved with grotesques, leaf patterns, volutes, etc., all evidently much under the influence of the earliest capitals of the cathedral of Parma. Of this same epoch is a little relief in the wall near the north portal, which shows two workmen carrying a pail—perhaps full of building materials—suspended from a pole held over their shoulders (Plate 199, Fig. 1). Notwithstanding the crudity of the execution, this relief is of the greatest archæological importance as illustrating mediæval methods of building. In the wall near by is a relief representing St. George and the dragon.

The ornament of the second period consists of round-arched corbel-tables in the north wall and in the south wall under the sacristy roof, blind arches and pointed arched corbel-tables in the east wall, and arched corbel-tables grouped two and two in the campanile. The pointed arched corbel-tables of the middle bay of the north wall seem to be the result of an alteration carried out in the late Gothic period.

S. MICHELE DI CASTELVETRO, S. MICHELE

V. The first epoch of construction shows the strong influence of the early portions of the cathedral of Parma, which was begun c. 1130. The oldest part of the church of S. Ilario di Baganza, accordingly, can hardly be earlier than c. 1140. The crudity of the sculptures (Plate 199, Fig. 1) must therefore be due to lack of skill on the part of the sculptor rather than to early date. The second epoch of construction must be the early years of the XIII century, while the western bay is dated 1686 by the inscription.

S. MICHELE DI CASTELVETRO,[1] S. MICHELE

(Plate 199, Fig. 2)

I. The chapel of S. Michele has been published by Maestri and Toschi,[2] both of whom saw the monument before it was restored. In the museum at Modena are preserved photographs showing the edifice before and during the restoration.

II. The chapel of S. Michele is first mentioned in 1038.[3] In 1115 the land of Levizzano passed to the church of Modena, but in 1137 the emperor Lothair confirmed to S. Prospero of Reggio the *Ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis de Luvazano*.[4] The church is also mentioned in documents of 1154 and 1463.[5] Over the portal in the inside of the church is a much damaged painted inscription of 1692, recording a restoration. The exterior walls bear witness to the great extent to which the chapel was rebuilt at this period. Abandoned and desecrated in the XIX century, the monument has recently been declared a national monument and restored, but it has not been reopened for worship.

III. The edifice consists of a chapel of a single aisle, roofed in wood. The apse has been destroyed. The little ancient masonry that survives is formed of a mixture of ashlar and brick, both of good quality. The joints are very fine, and the stones well squared, but the courses are not always horizontal, and are often interrupted. The bricks are cross-hatched, as are also the stones in the interior.

IV. In the interior are numerous fragments of corbels, bits of cornice, etc., piled up. The existing cornice, like the roof,[6] is evidently a work of the recent restorers.

The western portal is in three unmoulded orders (Plate 199, Fig. 2). The main portal has a guilloche, the side portal a very classic anthemion motive. The façade (Plate 199, Fig. 2) is adorned with arched corbel-tables,

[1] (Modena). The oratory is frequently known as S. Michele di Levizzano.
[2] 452. [3] Maestri, 16. [4] Affò, II, 347. [5] Maestri, *loc. cit.*
[6] Before the restoration the chapel long stood without roof.

ornamented with rope-, diamond- and bead-mouldings, and supported on shafts or pilaster strips. These arched corbel-tables are placed at the level of the impost of the portal (Plate 199, Fig. 2). The capitals have Byzantinesque acanthus leaves, or an anthemion-like motive.

The windows are widely splayed, and supplied with arcuated lintels. They were evidently intended to serve without glass. On the north wall are six fine frescos of the XIV century. In the old and now abandoned parish church of Levizzano (frazione di Castelvetro) is walled a slab covered with Lombard carving of c. 1150. It perhaps belonged to an ambo, or a choir-rail, or, more probably, an altar. It may have come from S. Michele.

V. The masonry of S. Michele is analogous to that of Villanova (Plate 241, Fig. 3), a monument which dates from 1148. Our oratory may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1150.

SANNAZZARO SESIA,[1] S. NAZARO

(Plate 200; Plate 201, Fig. 1, 2, 5, 6; Plate 202, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. The Romanesque architecture of Sannazzaro Sesia was entirely unknown until I published a monograph upon the church in *Arte e Storia* in 1911. The cloisters and the XV century church had, however, been published by Villa in a newspaper of Turin. Scanty and inexact historical notices of the abbey had appeared in the works of Cusano, Perosa, Casalis, and Dionisotti. In recent years some account of the church has been included in the work of Orsenigo, who appears to have derived his information from Villa and Perosa, and from a letter written him by Sacerdote Barbonaglia. The latter is the local school-teacher at Sannazzaro Sesia, who has made a careful and exceedingly exact study of the local archives. His work has, unfortunately, never been published, but I possess a copy of a paper which he wrote and read to a local gathering of priests, and I shall print below extracts from the most important portions of this work, lest the result of his researches should be lost.

II. Cusano appears to have been acquainted with a local tradition that the abbey of Sannazzaro Sesia was founded by Alberto, Count of Biandrate, though he seems to have confused singularly the chronology of its foundation, assigning it in one place to the year 550 and in another to 1127. In point of fact, the foundation took place in the year 1040. This date is established by a document which I saw while it was in the possession of Sacerdote Barbonaglia. This was a list of parchments sent to Turin on June 29, 1753, to be used in a lawsuit. Among them was noted the copy of the foundation

[1] (Novara).

of the abbey of Sannazzaro under the title "Donation made by Riprando, 1040."[2] Riprando, who must therefore have been the founder of the abbey, was bishop of Novara 1040-1053,[3] and the younger brother of Alberto, or Adalberto, Count of Biandrate.

Barbonaglia has found the confirmation of the date of foundation (1040) in an inedited catalogue of the bishops of Novara, in which Riprando is credited with having built, together with the counts of Biandrate, both the church and the monastery of Sannazzaro Sesia.[4]

In the archives of Sannazzaro is still preserved a catalogue compiled at the end of the XVII century and containing a list of more than 400 documents which formerly belonged to the abbey.[5] The earliest of these documents dates from 1060, and from 1070 they proceed in uninterrupted order. This fact accords well with the notices that the abbey was founded in the year 1040.

There is no evidence that a church pre-existed on the site. Perosa[6] states that in 984 Sannazzaro depended upon S. Salvatore of Pavia. This notice, which is repeated also by other historians, is evidently derived ultimately from Mabillon,[7] who, in turn, refers to a diploma of Otto II, of 982, in which the *cella Sancti Nazarij* is confirmed to the abbey of S. Salvatore of Pavia.[8] The *cella Sancti Nazarii* also appears as a possession of the monastery of S. Salvatore of Pavia in other documents, genuine or fictitious, bearing the dates 981 (?),[9] 1014,[10] 1023,[11] and 1077.[12] That, however, this *cella Sancti*

[2] 1753 . . . 29 Giugno.

Nota delle scritture mandate a Reum Sig. Abbe Buglione a Torino il gno 29 Giugno 1753 per orde di Monsignore Illmo e Revmo, nelle quali oltre una nota di ricapiti per l'esenze dell'Abbazia eravi un attestato de 14 Giugno 1753 ecc. . . .

Copia fundazione Abbatie S. Nazarii sub tit. Donatio facta a Riprando etc. 1040.

[3] Savio, *Vescovi*, 263. He was not bishop of Vercelli, as I stated erroneously in my monograph, misled by Dionisotti, 32.

[4] I cite from the paper of Barbonaglia referred to above: Infatti nella sala del Vescovado evvi l'eleneo completo dei vescovi novaresi ed al No XLVII di esso si legge:

"Riprando presule glorioso sedette anni 14 mesi 10 giorni 19. Verso l'anno 1040 edificò con i conti di Biandrate la Chiesa e il Cenobio dei SS. Nazzaro e Celso e li diede ai monaci di S. Benedetto col diritto delle decime."

Il Savio nella sua storia dei Vescovi del Piemonte parlando di questo vescovo gli assegna qualche mese di meno di ministero ma lo pone cronologicamente nello stesso posto e tempo assegnatogli dall'elenco.—Chiesi al Canco Barbero del valore storico di quest' ultimo ed egli mi rispose che venne rinnovato nel 1887 ma che l'anteriore era antichissimo e che il suo valore è certamente grande.

[5] Barbonaglia, *MS. cit.* [6] 325.

[7] *Annales Benedictini*, Lib. XLIX, Cap. LVII, Vol. IV, 14, sub annis 981, 984.

[8] Margarinus, II, 53; M. G. H., *Diplomatum*, II, pt. 1, 327. This diploma is false. See the preliminary note of the editors of the M. G. H.

[9] Margarinus, II, 44. This diploma is false, as is shown by the editors of the *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, *Cod. Dip. Lang.*

[10] Margarinus, II, 71; M. G. H., *Diplomatum*, III, 336.

[11] Margarinus, II, 71. [12] Margarinus, II, 111.

Nazarii can not be identified with our Sannazzaro Sesia is proved by a diploma of Adelaide, in which the possession of the monastery of S. Salvatore appears as situated in another part of the county of Novara.[13] It is unnecessary to discuss whether or not this document is authentic. Whether forged or genuine, its sole purpose was to describe accurately the possessions of the abbey of S. Salvatore. From a study of the diplomas of S. Salvatore, moreover, it clearly results that the Sannazzaro belonging to that monastery was acquired between 1002 and 1014, still belonged to the abbey in 1077, and had been disposed of before 1145. It hence can not be the same as the abbey of Sannazzaro Sesia, which was founded in 1040.[14]

For the later history of the abbey, I can not do better than refer the reader to the work of Sacerdote Barbonaglia, extracts from which are quoted below.[15] In the light of this, and the authentic documents referred to above,

[13] In nomine Domini Dei ac Salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Tercius Otto imperator augustus, anno imperii ejus Deo propicio tertiodecimo . . . . . die mensis aprilis, indictione duodecima. Monasterio Domni Salvatoris, qui est fundatum foris et prope civitate Papie ad domna Adelcida imperatrix augusta. . . . Ego qui supra Adalcida imperatrix . . . dono et offero a presenti die in eodem monasterio Domni Salvatoris . . . sicut hic subter legitur. Sunt cortes tres; una ex ipsis cortibus, que est hedificata in honore sancti Nazari in comitatu Novarie prope fluvium Agogne, et in ipsa civitas Novaria pro ecclesia una in honore sancti Benedicti hedificata, cum casis et omnibus rebus ad se pertinentibus vel aspicientibus infra ipsa civitas, servis et anzillis, aldiones vel aldianas ad ipsas cortes pertinentes in integrum, et est per mensura juxta mansos centum triginta, etc. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, *Cod. Dip. Lang.*, 1762).

[14] Margarinus, II, 61; *ibid.*, 65; *ibid.*, 209; *ibid.*, 238; Cavagna Sangiuliani, *Doc.*, 74.

[15] Infatti prevedendo dal fatto che il territorio di Sannazzaro apparteneva esclusivamente ai monaci sicchè nemmeno un palmo di esso apparteneva ad altri, vediamo che si impegnono donazioni e acquisti in Biandrate dove pare avessero già possessi fino dalla fondazione del monastero, come per esempio di boschi, di diritti d'acqua, del molino dell'abate. Lo stesso si dica di Casalbeltrame dove fin dai primordii si annoverava possessi di terre coltive e boschi. Nel novero si deve porre anche Vicolungo dove affittavoli si veggono debitori di fitti scaduti e quindi espulsi dalle affittanze. E partendosi lontano vediamo il monastero cambiare il diritto di pedaggio sul ponte di Varallo . . . . . col conte di Biandrate Guido il Grande.

Importantissimi gli acquisti e le donazioni di Greggio dove ebbero il possesso del Castello e gran quantità di terre e della cui chiesa parrocchiale erano patroni come risulta chiaramente dalle controversie insorte tra il monastero e i vescovi di Vercelli i quali ne uscirono sempre perdenti e dovettero più d'una volta revocare nomine fatte a dispetto delle proteste degli abati di Sannazzaro, tale diritto vien pure confermato da immissioni in possesso fatte dai predetti monaci delle quali si conservano atti.

Anche la vicina Arboro diede il suo contingente in donazioni e in vendite fatte ai nostri monaci. Così per esempio risulta che l'importantissima roggia molinara che anche oggidì è fonte di tanta ricchezza per le nostre terre venne acquistata del Sig. Ferrarane di Arboro.

Rilevantissimi poi i possessi di Novara che consistevano in un caseggiato nella città dato per qualche tempo come ricovero alle vergini orfane di detta città, in 200 giornate, circa, di terreni coltivi posti nei dintorni di essa città, in Olengo e Garbagna

it is needless here to repeat the remarks which I made in my monograph showing the inexactness of the notices referring to Sannazzaro in the dictionary of Casalis, and other historical works, notices which were derived from a careless reading of the inscriptions of Barbavara which were referred to the XI, instead of to the XV, century.

con casa colonica e chiesa dedicata a S. Pietro. Altri possessi ebbero in Camodica, in Selamora, in Sigrano, Trivero, Oliate, l'attuale Castelletto Monastero ed altrove. Che se di taluni si spogliarono in seguito, ciò fu per lo più, per nuovi acquisti più convenienti e qualche volta per migliorare le costruzioni locali.

L'entità di questo gran numero di beni riuniti in una sola mano doveva senza dubbio essere l'indice dell'importanza del Monastero che vantava pure il diritto di passaggio senza pedaggio sul ponte del Cervo a Vercelli, su quello del Ticino a Castelletto Ticino, e de' suoi abitanti i poveri avevano pur diritto alle distribuzioni caritative del vescovo di Vercelli.

Che Sannazzaro fosse feudo dell'abate, indipendente da Biandrate non v'ha dubbio. Lo provano le infinite questioni insorte durante i molti secoli di vita dell'abbazia stessa, questioni che finirono sempre colla vittoria di essa abbazia. Quindi il suo pretore giudicava in civile e criminale, salvo pei casi di appello nei quali sottostava direttamente ai tribunali ducali o regii di Milano dai quali solì riconosceva sudditanza e la sua elevazione a feudo indipendente.

A prova di che citerò il seguente brano che trovasi nell'esposizione dei ragioni di esenzione dalla tassa d'imbottatura del vino nuovo preteso dall'apparatore del dazio di Biandrate, Conte Giorgio Tania: "Postremo pro ipsis domino abbate, monacis et hominibus et contra dictum georgium sunt aperte pacta celebrata inter ecclesiam romanorum ex parte una et magnificos dominos Mediolani etc. ex parte altra, que diplomatibus solemnibus et instrumentis sunt confirmata." Nello stesso atto sono esposti molti motivi a conferma d'indipendenza da Biandrate e di giurisdizione abbaziale alla quale sola erano obbligati i Sannazzaresi.

Pertanto nella presa di possesso dell'abbazia dei nuovi abati gli abitanti di questa terra prestavano solenne giuramento di fedeltà al nuovo investito, come a loro sovrano e della solemnità con la quale si compiva tale rito, se ne ha un saggio nella presa di possesso dell'abate Barbavara di cui tengo copia autentica. E gli abati a loro volta come tali si facevano premura di provedere ai loro sudditi concedendo loro terre, casa, e difendendoli dai rapini che si tentavano a danno loro specialmente dai paesi confinanti: Biandrate, Recetto, Cassinale, Albano ecc. Anche la Sesia nemica accanita assai più che non ai nostri giorni di questa povera popolazione aveva nell'abate di Sannazzaro un oppositore sempre fiero quantunque non sempre fortunato. Nè mancava, durante la dura stagione invernale, quando il povero non poteva raggranellare il vitto, di venirgli in soccorso facendo distribuire cereali e procurandogli meno disaggiata l'esistenza.

Questo feudo però era ecclesiastico e come tale godeva di molte immunità non concedute ai feudi secolari. A tal uopo nuovi abati si facevano premura di far riconoscere tale qualità alle autorità civili, come risulta da molti atti.

Se poi l'abate avesse anche il titolo di conte anche nei primordii dell'abbazia, non risulta. Certo è che più tardi essi presero anche questo titolo nobiliare, e già il Barbavara, che ricostrusse chiesa e castello, aveva uno stemma speciale come abate sul quale inquadravasi quello del nobile suo casato, come si può vedere nelle facciate dei capitelli dei colonnini dell'atrio superiore adiacente alla chiesa, e più chiaramente nella lapide a sua lode murata a sinistra di chi entra nell'attuale chiesa.

Due furono le fasi percorse da quest' abbazia. La prima durante la permanenza

The turbulent nature of the times in which the abbey of Sannazzaro was founded, and the quarrelsome character of the counts of Biandrate, appear in an agreement between the counts and their soldiers, drawn up in 1093.[16] A deed of sale in which the abbey figures, and which dates from April 26, 1174, is one of the few documents of the monastery which has found its way into print.[17] In 1199 Biandrate became a bone of contention between the communes of Novara and Vercelli, and the men of Biandrate, who seem to have been redoubtable soldiers, were divided between the two rival cities.[18] In 1216 the abbot Giovanni of Sannazzaro Sesia executed a deed concerning certain lands belonging to his monastery.[19]

In 1223, on the twentieth day of July, steps were taken by the

dei monaci. La seconda quella degli abati commendatori. Non si conosce l'anno preciso della totale scomparsa dei monaci da essa, ma da documenti sicuri si sa che nel 1454 vi dimoravano ancora, anzi, vi dimoravano durante l'investitura del commendatario Cardinale Federico Cesio, il quale dall'atto d'investitura era obbligato a mantenere otto monaci nel detto monastero.

All'anzidetto abate commendatario Cesio, teneva dietro nel 1568 Scipione di Santa Croce vescovo di Cervia che a sua volta veniva nel 1571 surrogato da Ottavio suo fratello. Questi fu che ottenne da S. Pio V l'erezione a vicaria perpetua di Sannazzaro. Ora nella postulazione che egli fa alla S. Sede, espone che già suo fratello Scipione teneva sul luogo un prete secolare e per mezzo di quel suo vicario esercitava le funzioni parrocchiali. Il modo d'esposizione del fatto fa comprendere che quella fatta da suo fratello era una novità e che prima di lui le funzioni parrocchiali dovevansi compiere per mezzo dei monaci mantenuti dal suo antecessore Cardinale Cesio. Evidentemente adunque si deve ritenere estinta per sempre col Cesio la permanenza dei monaci in questo Cenobio. Impertanto la vita monastica in questo luogo sarebbe durata cinque secoli e mezzo.

Molte e di queste alcune importantissime furono le vicende a cui soggiacque l'abbazia. Prima, che si conosca, viene quella della distruzione della Chiesa e del campanile di essa imposta dal podestà di Milano, Mercurino Pace alli 23 Novembre 1223, perchè in Sannazzaro eransi riparati i conti e gli uomini di Biandrate e gli uni e gli altri contro il divieto contenuto negli accordi intervenuti tra Novara e Vercelli nella distribuzione di Biandrate. L'obbligo era "ut destruantur fortilitia ab initio huius guerrae constructa, precipue in Ecclesia et campanile S. Nazarii."

Nel Museo Civico di Novara ebbi dalla gentilezza del prof. Morandi visione di alcune pergamene riguardanti Sannazzaro e fra quelle di una senza data perchè abbruciata la pergamena precisamente in quel punto dove essa doveva trovarsi. Il professore mi disse che aveva già fatte molte indagini, ma senza frutto, per ristabilirla con precisione. Essa pergamena contiene l'atto notarile col quale si cedono dal monastero dei beni posti in Casalbeltrame a favore di certo Oberto de Roxate e ciò per ottenere che Manfredo Laveca capitano incaricato forse ad hoc che non distrugesse il Campanile.

Siccome i monaci nominati in quest' atto corrispondono quasi perfettamente a quelli contenuti in altra pergamena dell'archivio del nostro Comunale del 1260, io perciò volli attribuirla l'anno stesso 1260. Ma il professore Morandi accampò altre obbiezioni per cui non pareva sicura tale data e perciò non l'accettò. Però di questi giorni percorrendo i regesti dell'Inventario trovai fra altro: "Cessio Jurium super nonnullis possessionibus sitis in territorio Casalybeltrami facta per monacos S.

ambassadors of Milan to establish peace between Novara and Vercelli. Novara was commanded to liberate all the Vercellesi who were held as prisoners. The final compact was drawn up on November 23 of the same year. The terms included, among other things, the stipulation *ut destruantur fortilitia ab initio hujus guerrae constructa, praecipue in Ecclesia et Campanili Santi Nazarii.*[20] As I pointed out in my monograph, it is ordered only that the fortifications erected since the beginning of the war in the church and campanile should be destroyed, and there is no intimation that the destruction of the campanile itself was contemplated. The researches of Sacerdote

Nazarii ad favorem Oberti de Rezato pro quadam summa ab eodem Oberto erogata in reparationem fabricae ipsius Monasterii destructae de anno 1260."—Come si vede la pergamena corrisponde al Regesto dell'Inventario salvo pel nome Roxate e Rezate, variante da attribuirsi puramente ad errore di lettura facilissimo anche in periti, trattandosi di calligrafia sommamente ingarbagliata.

Se ne deve dedurre da questo, che almeno la parte del monastero che assumeva aria di fortezza venne realmente demolita salvo il campanile che pare salvo per denaro.

A conferma dell'avvenuta distruzione posso citare anche il fatto che avendo io praticato uno scavo presso una sporgenza di muro apparente appena sopra terra, rinvenni blocchi di muraglioni e sotto questi un alto strato di cenere con pezzi di travi carbonizzati con qualche frammento d'ossa e qualche chiodo irrugginito di fattura antica, quali si veggono tuttora in serramenti di antichi castelli. Io sono d'avviso che tutto questo fossero ruine dell'antico castello atterrato.

Sta poi il fatto che l'attuale castello e chiesa vennero fatti costruire dall'abate Barbavara più tardi, segno questo che non eravi più castello e la Chiesa che certamente esisteva perchè in essa ricevette il Barbavara il giuramento di fedeltà sarà stata o troppo augusta o rovinante per cui stimò opportuno ricostruirla.

Altra questione di altissima importanza si è quella della giurisdizione ecclesiastica pretesa su questo luogo dai vescovi di Vercelli e negata invece dai monaci e più tardi perfino dai commendatarii. I monaci e loro abati ritennero sempre immuni gli abitanti in questo luogo. Tutti gli stemmi di abati che ho potuto avere sotto occhio li ho sempre veduti col pastorale e colla mitra, anche se non vescovi. Questo prova che era in loro radicata la convinzione di avere giurisdizione vescovile. Ma più che altro provano questa loro convinzione le esplicite ragioni addotte nelle controversie insorte primieramente con vescovo Ugo di Sessa nel 1228, poi con Martino degli Avvogadri nel 1248 e più tardi nel 1727 e seguenti tra il Commendatario Confalonieri ed il Cardinale Carlo Vincenzo Ferrero e per ultimo tra il Commendatario Mons. Sanseverino e Mons. Solaro. Nel primo caso sebbene il Monastero (per mezzo del suo procuratore) presentasse a Giacomo Arcidiacono e a Ordemario prevosto di S. Gaudenzio di Novara ai quali era stata deferita la questione da Papa Gregorio ". . . . . quoddam scriptum quod privilegium ipse dicebat et si privilegium seu rescriptum non valebat dicebat sindicus (monasterii) stetisse (monasterium) in possessione libertatis per quadraginta annos et ultra," tuttavia venne condannato. Nel secondo caso, a venti anni di distanza si riportano le stesse ragioni con richiamo alla libertà "ab immemorabili." Ma anche stavolta vengono condannati dal prevosto di S. Gaudenzio Guala Brusato a cui venne sottoposta la causa, a pagare L. 10 pavesi imposte al Monastero dal Martino, vescovo eletto di Vercelli, come quota di concorso per le spese dal medesimo eletto incontrate per portarsi al Consiglio di Lione.—Il monastero tuttavia non s'acquietò e ricorse al sommo Pontefice. Di tale ricorso però non si conosce l'esito.

Barbonaglia give some reason to suppose, however, that this order was subsequently supplanted by another which did command the destruction of the campanile; at all events, it appears from a document of 1260 that the fortress which had been built around the church was destroyed, and that the monks only succeeded in saving the campanile by the payment of a sum of money.

In 1228 the monks tried to free themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Vercelli, but in this they were unsuccessful.[21]

In the XV century the existing church and the castle were erected by the abbot Antonio dei Barbavara. This is proved by two inscriptions still extant in the church. The first, engraved in Gothic letters, is placed in the

Il caso del Commendatario Confallonieri riguardava la nomina e l'approvazione e l'istituzione del parroco al quale voleva aver diritto il medesimo, mentre tale privilegio veniva impugnato dal vescovo di Vercelli Cardinale Carlo Vincenzo Ferrero che dimostrò nella difesa di questa sua pretesa un' energia forse un po' discutibile, certamente non approvata ai nostri tempi. La causa venne portata a Roma davanti alla Congregazione Cardinalizia ad hoc incaricata e questa ancora diede ragione al vescovo Cardinale condannando il Commendatario. Le ragioni hinc inde esposte nella lunghissima controversia non saprei valutarle, ma constato solo il fatto che secondo il Cardinale le visite pastorali fatte da' suoi antecessori furono tutte per ordinaria giurisdizione, mentre invece dai Registri parrocchiali risulta che tali visite i vescovi di Vercelli le facevano tamquam ab Apostolica Sede Delegati come appare dalla esplicita dichiarazione di ciascun visitatore; nè per altra parte abati e parroci li ricevano sotto altro titolo, come potrei dimostrare, se ciò non portasse troppo a lungo.

Ultimo nel dibattito entra il Commendatario Mons. Sanseverino vescovo di Novara. Egli, che era amico personale di Mons. Solaro vescovo di Vercelli al quale aveva affidata la regenza dell'abbazia durante il tempo in cui egli non era ancora vescovo di Novara, divenuto tale chiese per favore al Solaro il permesso di celebrare e funzionare qui come in parrocchia di sua diocesi, ma l'altro non ne volle sapere. Il Sanseverino allora propose il cambio di questa parrocchia con quella di Villaba. Ma il Solaro voleva Casalvolone, che Sanseverino non concedeva per non spostare il capo pieve. Preclusa così ogni via ad amichevole componimento il Commendatario s'apprestava a ricorrere a Roma, dove aveva molti amici per avere ivi dimorato lungo tempo nelle Curie, e dove dichiarava, avrebbe avuto facile vittoria. Così risulta da varie lettere del Sanseverino che tengo presenti. Ma la morte lo raggiunse ed ogni querimonio finì.

Altra questione di gravissima importanza fu il possesso delle baracche situate tutto all'intorno di Sannazzaro vale a dire confinanti coi territorii di Biandrate, Recetto, Casalbeltrame e Casalvolone e col Sesia pretese prima dai Conti di Biandrate succeduti all'estinto primo casato fondatore della contea nel 1333, in seguito dal comune stesso al quale erano state cedute le loro pretese. La causa che tratto tratto pareva assopirsi, rinasceva violenta e si protraeva per secoli. Finalmente nel 1596 terminava la contesa colla condanna di Biandrate a L. 4000 e più di spese. Però sedata questa ne sorse altra tra questo comune e gli abati Commendatarii a riguardo della baracca Zerboli stendentesi lunga la riva sinistra del Sesia che finì quando il Demonio incamerando nel 1801 i beni abbaziali ne assegnò la metà al Comune ritenendo per sè l'altra metà.

Non si ha la serie completa degli abati, almeno dei Regolari, perchè son pochi gli atti conosciuti, ed in questi pochi non sempre vien segnato il nome dell'abate, ma

west wall, in the interior of the church, to the north of the principal entrance. It reads as follows:

Que sacrata uides sancti fundamina templi
E [*sic*] Barbavarijs posuit venerabilis abbas
Fundauit turres Nazari et menia diui
Sustulit impensa propria pietatis amore
Hec loca qu[i]etia [*sic*] male culta et sentib' aspris
Culta dedit: positis vario cum semine plantis
Uiue pater qveso multos feliciter annos
Antoni: et reru sint hec monumenta tuarum

Perosa has interpreted the word *turres* of the third line of this inscription as referring to the campanile which still exists, and which, in his opinion, must therefore have been erected by Antonio dei Barbavara. But aside from

solo l'iniziale del nome ed anche questa omessa con una lacuna che attende ancora di essere riempita. Ecco cronologicamente i loro nomi cogli anni in cui s'incontrano:

Alberico	1091
Alberto	1164
Ottone	1176
Lanfranco	1190
Guglielmo	1208
Guido	1226
Ardicio degli Ardicii	1242
Grassi Giovanni	1260-1265
Lanfranco	1295
Bonifacio	1352
Dampono de Azelio	1373
Scazzosi Michele	1380
Enrico	1426
De' Barbavara Antonio	1429
Bertodano Antonio	1450
Fieschi Ibleto	1497
Fieschi Ottobono	1518
Car. Trivulzio Agostino	1524
Car. Cesio Federico	1554
Car. S. Croce Scipione	1564-1568
Car. S. Croce Ottavio	1568-1583
Aymo Paolo Giovanni	1588-1596
Aymo Melchiorre	1596-1639
Car. De Torres Tosima	1639-1648
Car. Spinola Morio	1648-1697
Sforza Alessandro	1697-1700
Confaloniere Vincenzo	1700-1747
Sanseverino Rotario	1747-1756
Car. Millo Giangiacomo	1756-1757
Millo Celso Bartolomeo	1757-1785
Vivalda Giuseppe	1785-1801

Di tutti questi abati sono sicuramente regolari i primi quattordici; è dubbio il Bertodano; invece è nessun dubbio Commendatarii l'Ibleto Fieschi e i successivi. Le scarse notizie dei Regolari mi dispensano di parlare in particolare di taluno di essi

the fact that the style of the campanile is clearly that of the XI century, the use of the plural *turres*, instead of the singular *turris*, and, indeed, the entire phrase *turres et moenia divi Nazari*, show that here the reference is to the castle, which was supplied with several towers, some of which are still in existence. The fact becomes even more clear if we compare this inscription with another, which was anciently in the pavement of the choir, where it was seen by Perosa. The latter, however, was able to read it only in small part, and very incorrectly. The present priest of Sannazzaro, D. Paolo Zaninetti, caused it to be placed in the wall of the choir, where it can now be read with ease. The lacunæ were filled by Sacerdote Barbonaglia, and in the copy

fuori chè del Barbavara che lasciò di se memoria incancellabile. Della nobile famiglia dei Barbavara di Gravellona era egli abate del monastero benedettino di S. Giustina di Bezadro prope Alexandriam [Sezzè], quando per la morte dell'abate Enrico di questo monastero extra romanam curiam presse Martino V a sè la nomina del nuovo abate nel Barbavara togliendolo al nuovo di S. Giustina. Nella bolla di nomina così vien descritto ". . . divinum ad filium Antonium de Barbavariis Abbatem dicti monasterii S. Iustinae de Bezadro prope Alexandriam eiusdem monasteriorum ordinis in sacris constitutum, cui de religionis zelo, scientiae, vitae munditia, honestate, bonorum spiritualium providentia, et temporalium circumspectione, aliisque multiplicium virtutum dotiis apud Nos fide digna testimonia perhibentur." Nè Papa Martino errò nella scelta, poichè come ne fanno fede l'iscrizione già citata, murata a sinistra di chi entra nella chiesa & la sua lapide sepolcrale che trovasi murata in cornu evangelii presso l'altare. Da queste si apprende, come questo monastero doveva essere caduto ben al basso poichè trovò tutto da rifare e a tutto riparò facendolo risorgere a nuova vita sia nell'abitato come nel dissodamento e coltura delle terre. . . .

Il munificentissimo uomo però spiegò la sua attività, la sua virtù, il suo sapere e la sua prudenza anche fuori del suo monastero, poichè venne delegato a dirimere una questione insorta [fra] l'ospedale di Vercelli e un conte Popoli di Bologna. Fu anche delegato da Paolo II in un coll'abate di Muleggio di Vercelli e il prevosto di Livorno a dirimere altra questione vertente sul possesso di Capriasco. Altra delegazione apostolica ebbe da Eugenio IV di comporre e giudicare in una causa importantissima insorta tra i monaci di S. Gennario e il conte Giacomo Tizzani signore di Crescentino, che risolse avverso ai monaci.

E ritornando su quanto fece per Sannazzaro, c'è da stupire esaminando quanto un uomo da solo ha saputo fare. Di fatti ad eccezione del campanile e probabilmente della massiccia torre a sud di esso e nell'angolo sud est del castello, tutto a lui si deve—le mura, le torri di cui una taluna demolita, i caseggiati, la chiesa, il chiostro, le pitture in esso esistenti. E lo stupore s'accresce ripensando che i mezzi finanziarii dovevano essere assai limitati. . . .

Ma rimpianto sincero dobbiamo però avere per il vandalismo usato da qualche ignorante d'arte che deturpò il magnifico tempio, demolendo le elegantissime primitive finestre in istile gotico come l'intero edifizio. Dai residui di alcune di esse, che ancor permangono dietro l'abside si comprende facilmente l'elegante loro fattura: le sagome linie e ritorte che formano la loro strombatura sono di una perfezione ammirabile a quanti intelligenti hanno veduto il disgraziato lavoro del martello operato su di esse; si mostrarono tutti meravigliati che vi si sia trovato un' animo tanto digiuno d'arte da ordinare si riprovevole demolizione.—l'erò non si deve imputare al solo Abate Commendatario Melchiorre Aymo di Cremona (piochè evidentemente il deturpamento avvenne durante la sua investitura) tale vandalismo, ma pur data la sua parte ai

given below the parts restored by him are indicated by brackets. I transcribe the inscription as it stands on the stone, except that I have written out the letters *vi, ve* and *et,* indicated by marks of abbreviation in the original:

ILLE . IDEM . EGREGIVS . TEMPLVM . QVI .
CONDIDIT . ABBAS . AVXIT . ET . ORNA
VIT . RELIGIONE . SACRVM . QVIQVE .
DOMOS . CELSAMQVE . DEDIT . CVM .
MŒNIIS . A[RCEM . ET] . OMNIA . QVÂNTA .
VIDES . DEFV[NCTIS . SEPVLC]RA . PARANS .
CONDIDIT . [HOC . QVOQVE . SIBI . S]ED . PARS .
NVNQV[AM . OBLDA . QVO]D . ANTONI .
SPECVLVM . POSTERITATIS . ERIS: .

This inscription records the construction of the church and of the lofty castle with its walls among the other works of the same abbot, Barbavara, but is absolutely silent about the campanile. It is therefore certain that the

vescovi visitatori di Vercelli ed in particolare a Mons. Vizia che replicatamente insistette perchè fosse data maggior luce alla chiesa sfondando e allargando le finestre.

Di finestre primitive rimane ancora intatta quella della facciata di forma circolare ed anch'essa modellata con sagome di una eleganza inarrivabile. . . . Il singolare lavoro della facciata è di bellissimo effetto, ed eccita l'ammirazione la stupenda sua conservazione dopo cinque secoli d'esistenza. . . .

L'edificio tanto all'esterno come nell'interno è tutto in mattoni, anche i pilastri interni che in origine, come gli archi sui quali poggiano le volte della chiesa, non erano intonacati con calce; grossi mattoni ben levigati e con regolarità perfetta uniti, dovevano produrre un effetto magnifico, quale ne fece un simile lavoro a Pavia. Gli altari non sono in istile. L'altare maggiore che era in legno e di cui rimane ancora il tabernacolo nella sacristia, venne ricostrutto in marmo circa il 1830. Quello pure in legno in cornu epistolae trovavasi in origine nell'arcata di mezzo dello stesso lato ed aveva per ancona un S. Nazaro a cavallo, dipinto sul muro, ed era ritenuto per altare del Comune. Quello in cornu evangelii [fu] dalla metà del secolo possato. Quello del Rosario fu fatto costruere dal benemerito attuale Sig. Vicario.

Al Barbavara devesi anche il chiostro che si vede tuttora sebbene non più intero ed anche il rimanente nella maggior parte deturpato da costruzioni sovraposte. Di forma quadrata con ampli porticati al pianterreno, più ristretti al piano superiore, doveva essere cosa grandiosa, poichè il piano superiore era tutto adorno di espressive pitture, che per l'epoca alla quale si attribuiscono avevano certamente un valore artistico non dispregevole. Saggi di queste, oltre a quelle aderenti alla parete di sud della chiesa ce ne sono nella parte ridotta a cantina e in quella che dà adito alle così dette prigioni del Castello. Queste pitture che rappresentano fatti della vita di S. Benedetto e scene monastiche, sono d'avviso che siano opera dei monaci stessi, poichè le scene storiche monastiche in esse ritratte hanno un' espressione tale di verità anche nei minimi particoli che difficilmente non sarebbero sfuggiti a chi fosse stato profano e non avesse conosciuto intimamente la vita monastica.

Dai segni indubbi di muratura si comprende che i portici superiori non esistevano nella primitiva costruzione ma furono certamente eretti in seguito, dallo stesso Barbavara, poichè lo stemma suo havvi rappresentato nei capitelli, e le terre lavorate

campanile was not destroyed in the XIII century, and that it was not rebuilt by Barbavara.[22]

The later history of the abbey resembles that of all the monasteries of Lombardy and Piemonte. In the XVI century we find it given in commendam. In 1801 the abbey was suppressed, the goods confiscated. Since this time the great abbey church has served as parish for the little commune of Sannazzaro Sesia.

III. The ruins of the Romanesque church (Plate 200) present difficult questions of archæology. There are extant the remains of four bays, with a nave, side aisles and galleries above the latter. These ruins are all at the west of the existing church of the XV century (Plate 202, Fig. 1, 3), to the portal of which access is to be had only by means of the ancient nave now without roof, and forming, in fact, a sort of road. The southern side aisle, with the exception of the eastern bay (which serves as a chicken coop), has been converted into a house for the parish priest (Plate 202, Fig. 3). The northern side aisle and gallery (Plate 202, Fig. 1, 5) are used as store-rooms, with the exception of the eastern bay of the side aisle, which has been converted into a chapel of the church, symmetrically placed with the hen-house on the other side. The masonry shows many alterations executed in almost every age from the XI century to the present day (Plate 202, Fig. 4), and this renders it exceedingly difficult to trace the ancient dispositions of the church.

Especially difficult are the problems connected with the plan (Plate 200). In the three western bays (Plate 202, Fig. 1, 3) we find the simple dispositions common in mediæval churches, that is to say, a nave separated from two side aisles by two rows of piers, but in the eastern bay there are the remains of a vault (Plate 202, Fig. 1, 2, 3) no higher than that of the side aisles, and which obviously must have crossed the church from north to south. This vault is evidently too low to have spanned the nave without some intermediate point of support, but, since the nave is about seven metres broad, while the bays of the side aisles (with which this transverse gallery must have been symmetrical) average about three metres in length, it appears that there must

che ornano l'interno dei portici stessi sono intonate a quelle che ornano non solo la porta principale, ma anche quella di fianco che dà nel chiostro.

Anche la parte prospiciente il cortile esistente tra gli archi del porticato inferiore e i lavori in terra cotta di quello superiore era coperto di pitture rapprasentanti scene storiche e allegoriche e di iserizioni, come si vede dalle poche vestigia che ancora permangono. Questo lavoro però non fu condotto a termine.

[16] *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, I, 708. [17] Arnoldi, etc., I, 345.

[18] *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, I, 1062-1064. [19] Durando, 127.

[20] Perosa, 325. [21] Barbonaglia, *MS. cit.*

[22] The Barbavara family were lords of Pallanza, who in 1270 removed to Intra. For notices regarding them see Viani, 41 f.

have been one, and not two, intermediate points of support (Plate 200). Mediæval architects, it is true, frequently did not hesitate to place a column on axis. Nevertheless, in this case, such a construction would seem singular, and the more so, because it is difficult to conjecture what could have been the use of this tranverse arcade.

At first glance it seemed to me probable that there was anciently a crypt above which was placed a raised choir of the type familiar in Lombard churches of the XI century, and even in those of the Carlovingian period, such as S. Vincenzo of Galliano (1007)—Plate 97; Plate 98—S. Pietro of Agliate (c. 875)—Plate 8; Plate 9—S. Vincenzo in Prato of Milan (c. 830)—Plate 134; Plate 136, Fig. 1. A careful study of the eastern bay, however, has convinced me that this can not be the explanation; in fact, it is evident that, had the church been thus arranged, the choir would have been raised as high as the galleries, a disposition exceedingly awkward, and, indeed, impossible, especially when we consider that anciently the side aisles were much higher than at present, since the level of the pavement has obviously been raised, the lower part of the piers being hidden. Furthermore, if the two easternmost piers still standing be carefully examined (Plate 202, Fig. 1, 3), and especially that on the south side (Plate 202, Fig. 3), it will be evident that above the transverse gallery there was a wall, indubitable traces of which are still extant. It must be, therefore, that not only the side aisles, but also the galleries above them, were carried across the nave.

Such an arrangement recalls churches of the type of S. Flaviano of Montefiascone (Plate 149; Plate 151, Fig. 4; Plate 152, Fig. 3), where the side aisles and galleries are carried around on all four sides of the central nave. However, the abbey of Sannazzaro was not of this type, and the proof is the westernmost bay, where the extant remains demonstrate that there was neither side aisle nor transverse gallery. It is, moreover, impossible that the church could ever have extended further to the westward, since parts of the transverse wall which terminated the northern side aisle, are still extant (Plate 202, Fig. 1). It might be conjectured that the transverse arcade was a sort of narthex opposite the apse, and that the latter was placed to the west, the orientation of the church being reversed. But in view of the rarity of such orientation in Lombard churches of the XI century, and in view of the fact that the campanile contemporaneous with the church of the XII century rises to the east of the existing church, and hence exceedingly far from the ancient church, unless this extended further to the east than at present (Plate 201, Fig. 1), it seems to me more probable that at Sannazzaro there was a great narthex, so developed as to form, in fact, an outer church in front of that of the monks, or the choir. The two parts of the basilica were separated by the transverse side aisle and gallery, and the narthex perhaps served for the parishioners. Atria and narthexes were much used in Lombard churches of the XI and XII centuries, especially in monastic churches, and

were found, for example, at S. Ambrogio (Plate 116; Plate 118, Fig. 5), and S. Simpliciano of Milan, at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia, at S. Abondio of Como, and at S. Maria of Vezzolano (Plate 237, Fig. 1). The narthex of Sannazzaro Sesia, however, appears to have been more developed than any other in northern Italy, with the possible exception of Casale Monferrato (Plate 47, Fig. 2; Plate 46, Fig. 1, 2), and rather resembles the great narthexes of ultramontane monasteries, such as Cluny or Vézelay, because the central nave is raised above the side aisles. When, in the XV century, the good abbot Antonio dei Barbavara undertook the reconstruction of the church, we must suppose that he rebuilt the basilica itself on the same site; but he let the narthex—which was no longer used—fall into ruin. It is, therefore, with a certain exaggeration that his epitaph credits him with having enlarged (*auxit*) the church (*templum*).

It is evident that at Sannazzaro Sesia we have the remains of a building which, for complexity of plan, if not for actual dimensions, must be counted among the most important churches erected in Piemonte in the XI century. That such is the case, is made even more clear by a study of the system of construction. To each pier were attached three members (Plate 200), which were continued across the wall of the gallery (Plate 202, Fig. 1, 3). This system anciently supported rib vaults. The proof is in the section of the system itself, the central members of which evidently must have supported transverse arches, while the flanking members, of rectangular profile, are placed at such an angle that they could have only served to support diagonal ribs (Plate 200). That the vaults were not only planned but actually erected is proved by the traces of a wall rib still extant in the west bay of the south side (Plate 202, Fig. 3).

Although these traces have been in part hidden by later reconstructions, they nevertheless form, without any doubt, part of the building of the XI century, and are sufficiently clear to leave no doubt as to their significance. Furthermore, it is certain that rib vaults were known to the constructors of this church, and, in fact, used by them. This is demonstrated by the east pier on the south side (Plate 202, Fig. 2; Plate 201, Fig. 6), in which are to be seen the remains of the transverse arcade already described. Here still exists, in perfect preservation, a portion of a vault with broad, rectangular, projecting diagonal ribs (Plate 201, Fig. 6; Plate 202, Fig. 2). It is, therefore, not possible to doubt that the nave was covered by rib vaults. The existence of these vaults explains the narrowness of the nave (Plate 200), since the builders of those times evidently did not dare to vault a wider space. The bays of the central nave, moreover, are much wider than they are long, measuring about 7 x 3 metres (Plate 200). This is a fact of capital importance, since it demonstrates that the earliest rib vaults in Italy were not built on a square plan.

The vaults of the side aisles and galleries (Plate 202, Fig. 1, 5), although

they have been in great part made over and more or less completely reconstructed in later times, were undoubtedly all of groin type, with transverse and longitudinal ribs, but without diagonals. Above the existing wooden roof, in the two western bays of the southern gallery, the original vaults perhaps still survive intact, but they are inaccessible, and I have not been able to inspect them. Of the others, the ancient construction may be best seen in the vaults above the eastern bay of the southern side aisle, or in the remains of the western bay of the northern gallery (Plate 202, Fig. 1). Here it is evident that the vaults were about fifty centimetres thick, that they were domed, and that the masonry consisted of brick, carefully laid in courses normal to the arches (Plate 202, Fig. 1). These courses met at the groins, as is usual in vaults of this type. The other vaults of the side aisles and galleries, although more or less rebuilt (Plate 202. Fig. 5), still preserve enough of their ancient form to prove that they were formerly all similar. It seems strange that, while groin vaults were employed throughout the side aisles, rib vaults should have been substituted where the side aisle crosses the nave. However, an entirely analogous disposition is to be found in the atrium of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 116).

The galleries opened on the central nave by means of little bifora in two orders, without mouldings, and doubtless anciently supported by colonnettes (Plate 202, Fig. 3). Since the apertures were exceedingly small, the gallery was for the greater part separated from the nave by a solid wall. This arrangement, of which the only analogy in northern Italy, to the extent of my knowledge, is to be found in the destroyed church of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia, recalls several churches in northern Europe, as, for example, St.-Pierre of Jumièges, and the abbey—now cathedral—of St. Albans. The gallery was lighted by means of long narrow windows without glass, as may be seen in the exterior of the north wall (Plate 202. Fig. 4). The side aisles were furnished with similar windows, and all the arches of the windows, like those of the vaults, were semicircular. Apparently there was no clearstory, so that a roof of a single slope covered both nave and side aisles. The vaults of the galleries, therefore, served to buttress the vaults of the nave. Beyond this no attempt was made to buttress the walls against the thrust of the vaults, except in the west façade, where there were two buttresses.

The bricks with which the walls are constructed show great variation of size, some being thin, others thick, some long, others short (Plate 201, Fig. 5, 6). They are laid in rather thin beds of mortar. In those parts of the wall which date from the XI century the bricks are always laid horizontally, never in herring-bone fashion. Courses of herring-bone pebbles, however, are introduced at irregular intervals (Plate 201, Fig. 5). The bricks are generally cross-hatched on the exposed surfaces. Traces of the intonaco and of the frescos with which the walls were once covered still exist in various portions of the building.

IV. The ornamentation is exceedingly simple. The capitals (Plate 201, Fig. 6; Plate 202, Fig. 2) are cubic, very low in proportion to their width, and decorated only with an incised line which follows the curve of the cushion. The bases, if they exist, are buried. The north wall externally is furnished with a rich cornice (Plate 202, Fig. 4), but this is evidently an addition of the XIII century. The ancient cornice of the XI century is preserved in the corresponding position on the southern wall, and is of especial interest. It is formed of arched corbel-tables, the semicircular space below which is left open, and then filled up by bricks, so laid as to form simple ornamental motives. Without any doubt, the apertures served to ventilate the roof; windows built with the same purpose are found at S. Ambrogio of Milan. Arched corbel-tables of this same type are to be found in the fourth story string-course of the campanile of Pomposa (1063). They are also represented in fresco of c. 1030 in the church at Mazzone. They are likewise found in several Romanesque campanili of the Val d'Aosta, notably in that of the church at Courmayeur.

The campanile of Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 201, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 202, Fig. 1) deserves a careful study. Between the campanile and the church are the remains of an old passage-way which evidently once joined the campanile with the basilica destroyed by Antonio dei Barbavara. The campanile of Sannazzaro Sesia is of a type which departs widely from that which was usual in Lombardy in the XI century, and of which an excellent example is to be found in the campanile of S. Satiro at Milan (Plate 132, Fig. 2), an authentically dated monument of 1043. It is very broad, and had anciently six stories, in each one of which—except the lowest—there were two pairs of bifora. Many of these, however, are now walled up. There are pilaster strips on the angles, and between each two stories is a string-course of arched corbel-tables. It is easy to distinguish two epochs of construction. The lower part, the wall of which is not much more advanced in character than that of the church, may, in my judgment, be assigned to about 1055. The upper part, which is evidently more recent, was probably built about 1075, to judge from the character of the masonry, which, with the exception of the pebbles laid in herring-bone courses, resembles that of the atrium of S. Ambrogio (Plate 118, Fig. 7).

This imposing tower appears to be in dangerous static conditions. The windows have evidently been walled up to reinforce the wall, and on the south side a great piece of masonry has dropped down several centimetres, carrying with it part of the arched corbel-tables of the next to the highest story, and this cornice is now seen below its original position.

Although of unusual type, the campanile of Sannazzaro Sesia is not without analogy among other buildings of the XI century in Lombardy. The campanile of the cathedral of Novara is similar, as are the campanili of S. Stefano of Ivrea (1041), the abbey church of S. Benigno di Fruttuaria,

and the campanile of Pomposa, which dates from 1063. The campanile of Rivolta d'Adda, to judge from the base (the only part which is of the XII century), must have been of the same type.

V. The abbey of Sannazzaro Sesia, as has been seen, was founded in 1040. It is my conviction that the construction of the church was begun immediately after, and that the portions which still exist date from that epoch. The catalogue of the bishops of Novara distinctly states that Riprando, in the year 1040, *built the church* of Sannazzaro Sesia. There are numerous indications that the statement of the catalogue is exact in this particular.

It, of course, frequently occurred in the Middle Ages that the church of a monastery was begun only years after the abbey had been founded—as happened, for example, at Morimondo. However, when a monastery was founded in a spot where no church pre-existed, the usual and natural proceeding was to begin the church at once, even when the construction was finished only some years later. Thus, for example, the Cluniac priory of Vertemate was founded in 1084, and although the church was consecrated only eleven years later, the construction was finished some years sooner, since the consecration was delayed because of the schism in the church of Como.

That the church of Sannazzaro Sesia was begun in 1040 is amply proved by the style of the building. The cubic capitals (Plate 201, Fig. 6; Plate 202, Fig. 2) are of a type which was employed in the first half of the XI century. They are more developed than those of Lomello (c. 1025)—Plate 109, Fig. 4—where the cushion is formed by straight, instead of curved lines. They are better proportioned than those of Stradella (c. 1035)—Plate 209—which are also angular, but more beautiful than those of Lomello, and ornamented with a rather barbarous zigzag ornament. On the other hand, they are distinctly less advanced than the cubic capitals of the second half of the XI century, such as, for example, those of S. Abondio of Como (Plate 59, Fig. 1), a church consecrated in 1095, or those of the priory of Vertemate (Plate 18, Fig. 1), a church begun in 1083, or those of S. Vincenzo of Gravedona (Plate 100, Fig. 7), a church consecrated in 1072. They are evidently about contemporary with the original capitals of Calvenzano, which date from c. 1040. The style of these capitals, therefore, is precisely such as we should expect to find in the year 1040.

Another proof of the date of Sannazzaro is the absence of decoration. The only ornament, with the exception of the lost frescos, was the arched corbel-tables of the cornice. Now, this motive, as I have shown elsewhere, came into general use in Lombardy about the year 1040. On the other hand, that rich ornamentation which is usual in churches of the second half of the XI century, such as sculptures inlaid in the walls, or capitals, mouldings, string-courses, jambs, arches and doorways sculptured with grotesque figures,

with vine-patterns, with leaves, with interlaces—in fact, all that sumptuous decoration of which we find a magnificent example at S. Ambrogio of Milan—is here entirely lacking. The church was simple and unadorned, like the churches of S. Vincenzo of Galliano (1007)—Plate 96, Fig. 3—S. Carpoforo of Como (1040)—Plate 60, Fig. 1, 2—Lomello (c. 1025)—Plate 109, Fig. 4—Calvenzano (c. 1040)—Plate 42, Fig. 2—Stradella (c. 1035)—Plate 210—and all the other monuments of the first half of the XI century. This can not be explained by saying that Sannazzaro Sesia was built in the country, where the new ornament would have been adopted only at a late date, or where lack of resources would have prevented the builders from using costly sculptures. The excellent construction of Sannazzaro Sesia, as witnessed by the character of its vaults—vaults more daring than any others of the XI century still existing in Piemonte—the vast size of the majestic campanile, the great interior narthex, the grandiose dimensions of the entire building, all prove that this was a church of the first order, in the construction of which there were lacking neither skilful builders nor resources. Moreover, in the second half of the XII century we find the rich Lombard decorations used freely even in churches of very secondary importance, such as, for example, Brusasco (c. 1050)—Plate 37, Fig. 5. Since, therefore, this ornament is not found at Sannazzaro Sesia, there is good reason to believe that that church was constructed before the year 1050.

We are led to the same conclusion by a study of the masonry. If the reader will compare the brickwork of Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 201, Fig. 5, 6), with the masonry of Lomello (c. 1025)—Plate 111, Fig. 3—with that of the campanile of S. Sepolcro at Milan (1030)—Plate 133, Fig. 6—with that of the campanile of S. Satiro of Milan (1043)—Plate 132, Fig. 2—and with that of the atrium of S. Ambrogio (c. 1090)—Plate 118, Fig. 7—he will be convinced that the brickwork of Sannazzaro Sesia could only have been produced in the fifth decade of the XI century.

If it be objected that the construction of Sannazzaro Sesia is too advanced for it to be possible that the church was erected at so early a date, I must confess that I myself have long doubted the date of the church for this very reason. Vaulted galleries, it is true, were introduced at S. Sepolcro of Milan as early as 1030, but how is it possible to admit that rib vaults were erected as early as 1040? For a long while the difficulty to me seemed so great that I was forced to consider the church a monument of the second half of the XI century. However, the more I studied the style, the more this seemed to me to be undoubtedly of the fifth decade of the XI century. Moreover I observed that the vaults themselves were of a type entirely different from those of the second half of the XI century, which were always built on a square plan, as at S. Ambrogio (Plate 116) or S. Nazaro (Plate 128, Fig. 4) of Milan. I first found a little light on the subject in the church of Stradella (Plate 208; Plate 209; Plate 210). In this monument, which was erected c. 1035, the

system is uniform, and consists of three members which are continued to the roof. A similar arrangement is found in the side aisles. The church of Stradella was never finished, but it is evident that the architects would have built groined vaults over nave and side aisles had they not been prevented by the yielding of the walls. Thus Stradella marks a step in the direction of Sannazzaro Sesia. An even earlier step in the evolution of our monument is to be found in the church of Mazzone (c. 1030)—Plate 187, Fig. 2. If, in the churches of Stradella and Mazzone, both more ancient than Sannazzaro Sesia, the nave was covered with groin vaults, or it was the intention so to cover it, it is not surprising that at Sannazzaro vaults similar, except that they were supplied with diagonal ribs, should have been erected. Our surprise is made even less by observing that rib vaults were used elsewhere at about this same time, notably in the cathedral of Novara, in a sacristy which is apparently contemporary with Sannazzaro Sesia, and at Lodi Vecchio (c. 1050), where one bay of the side aisles still retains its original rib vault (Plate 104, Fig. 5).

In view of all these considerations, Sannazzaro Sesia may be considered an authentically dated monument of 1040.

S. PANCRAZIO,[1] S. PANCRAZIO

I. So far as I am aware, this monument has never been published.

II. The *Plebe sancti Pancratii*[2] is mentioned in a document of 1002.

III. The edifice consisted originally of a nave five bays long, two side aisles and three apses, but the two absidioles have disappeared, and the eastern bays of the side aisles have been transformed into a sacristy and other accessory rooms. The edifice is now entirely vaulted, but was probably originally roofed in wood. Although the interior has been largely denatured by modernization, it is evident that the supports were all cylindrical. The second pair from the west consist of monolithic shafts, the others were piers of bricks coupled in the direction of the axis of the church. Notable are the highly stilted Byzantine-like arches of the main arcade.

The exterior of the edifice, with the exception of the apse, has been entirely denatured. The brickwork appears to be very rough. The mortar-beds are 1 centimetre in thickness, and the surface of the bricks is rough. The masonry of the apse is little better than rubble. Unsquared stones and odd pieces of brick are used, but the courses are more or less horizontal, and the mortar-beds are not excessively wide.

[1] (Parma). [2] Affò, I, 378.

IV. The capitals of the second piers from the west are Corinthianesque, and rather crudely executed, with dry crinkly leaves, slightly undercut. The other capitals are constructed of brick, and are cubic with angular cushions.

The apse has pilaster strips, placed about 1.06 metres apart. The existing cornice is modern, and there is said to have been anciently an open-work gallery.

V. The pilaster strips of the apse show the influence of the cathedral of Parma. Our edifice, therefore, could not have been erected before 1130. On the other hand, the crude quality of the masonry would lead us to assign to it as early a date as possible. The structure may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1135.

S. PIETRO DI CIVATE,[1] S. BENEDETTO

(Plate 56, Fig. 4)

I. S. Benedetto is situated a few paces to the west of S. Pietro. The bibliography of the monument is practically the same as that for S. Pietro, which has been outlined below, but there should be mentioned in addition an illustration in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*.[2]

II. It is evident that S. Benedetto was a chapel dependent upon the neighbouring monastery of S. Pietro, the history of which is studied below. S. Benedetto could not have been a baptistery, as has been supposed, since in these mountain solitudes there could have been no parishioners to baptize. Analogy with the chapels of S. Maria at Piona and S. Benedetto at Sagra S. Michele makes it certain that we have here the chapel of the cemetery of the monastery. When I first visited the edifice, in 1910, it was in perfect preservation, but when I returned in 1914, I found that it had been almost completely ruined by the disastrous restoration executed in 1912, under the direction of Emilio Gussalli.

III. The chapel consists of a single-aisled nave of a single bay, semicircular transepts and a semicircular apse. The entrance is through the southern transept (Plate 56, Fig. 4). The nave is covered by a groin vault, very oblong in plan, undomed, and with loaded wall and transverse ribs. The system consists of rectangular members without capitals or bases, corresponding to the groins and ribs. The apses all have half domes. The crossing is now roofed in wood, but was intended to have a rib vault, as is proved by the section of the system. This system comprises a central semicircular member on either side of which is a member whose two sides meet in an obtuse

[1] (Como). [2] Anno XXV, 1898, 173.

angle. The character of this section closely resembles that of the system of Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 200).

The masonry of S. Benedetto (Plate 56, Fig. 4) closely resembles that of S. Pietro (Plate 56, Fig. 5), but is somewhat better.

IV. The ornament of the church consists chiefly of the simple arched corbel-tables of developed type, which form the cornices of the nave, transepts and apse (Plate 56, Fig. 4). In the apse these corbel-tables are surmounted by a saw tooth. The widely splayed windows were evidently intended to serve without glass. The archivolts are in two orders. The edifice still retains its original altar in masonry, adorned with frescos. On the interior there are yet visible numerous traces of the original intonaco with which the walls were undoubtedly covered.

V. The section of the system of the crossing and the fact that a rib vault was here projected recalls Sannazzaro Sesia, a surely dated monument of 1040. The edifice, however, is evidently somewhat later than the church of S. Pietro, which there is reason to assign to about this same time (1040). The masonry is more advanced, and the arched corbel-tables are all of fully developed type. We may, therefore, assign S. Benedetto to c. 1045.

S. PIETRO DI CIVATE,[1] S. PIETRO

(Plate 56, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 5; Plate 57, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. The monastery of S. Pietro lies on the mountain side, a steep hour's climb above the commune of Civate, where the keys are kept by the local priest. Notwithstanding its remote and inaccessible position, the monument has attracted the attention of many historians and archæologists. Its history was studied by Giulini, in pages which are still indispensable to every serious student of the abbey, although subsequent research has thrown new light upon numerous details. To Allegranza, an antiquarian of the XVIII century, belongs the honour of having been the first to describe the church from an archæological standpoint. His account is still of great value, in that it preserves an accurate picture of the edifice as it was in his day. The two great rivals of 1829, Cordero and the brothers Sacchi, both knew the monastery of Civate and spoke of it at length. In 1844 Dozio published a monograph in which are contained a description of the frescos and copies of the inscriptions. Longoni published a history of the abbey in 1850. In view of the wealth of historical notices contained in this work, one is quite prepared to forgive the author for occasional inaccuracies, and even for the spasms of

[1] (Como).

bad verse by which he is at times overtaken. A description of the church, written in 1844, is contained in the volume entitled *Milano ed il suo territorio*.[2] The monograph by Barelli, printed in 1881, is still of value, as are also the careful description and illustration of De Dartein. Among the general historians of architecture who have discussed the edifice, Venturi and Rivoira should be mentioned. Savio[3] has contributed important critical observations. Feigel has made a study of the iconography, and especially of the ciborio. Particularly important is the work of Magistretti, who has investigated the documentary evidence for the dates of construction in a brilliant monograph. Nothing new, on the other hand, is contained in the recent monograph of Giussani, but the illustrations in half-tone of this work are useful.

II. In 1829 the brothers Sacchi mentioned a contemporary chronicle of the foundation of S. Pietro in Civate, which was soon to be published.[4] This promise was never kept, and nothing more was subsequently heard of the contemporary chronicle. Giulini had already mentioned a *Translatio reliquiarum SS. Petri et Pauli ad Clivatum*, which he ascribed to Galvaneo della Fiamma.[5] This also had disappeared. It now appears, however, that the contemporary chronicle of the brothers Sacchi, and the *Translatio* mentioned by Giulini, are the same as a fragment which has recently been published in the *Chronica Mediolanensis* (or *Danielis*), edited by Cinquini.[6] The date of the fragment is exceedingly difficult to determine. The chronicle in which it is contained is possibly of the XIII century, since it breaks off with the destruction of Milan by Barbarossa. The account is, however, embellished with fabulous incidents, which must have been added later. The fragment with which we are specially concerned is undoubtedly the work of a monk of Civate, but can not be contemporary with the events which it relates. Nevertheless it is by all odds the most important, and undoubtedly the primary source for the history of the abbey of Civate. I translate the most interesting passages: "In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity let all the sons of loving Mother Church hear and understand the deeds written concerning the translation of the relics of the illustrious apostles Peter and Paul, how and in what manner they were translated from the city of Rome into the mountain which is called Pedale. And we take pains to write on this account, namely in order that no man may cast doubt upon their authenticity, since there are some who, swollen with ill will, assert that these relics

[2] II, 480. [3] La légende des saints Faustin et Jovite, 24.

[4] Finalmente serbasi manoscritta una preziosa cronaca contemporanea di quella chiesa, in cui è minutamente descritta la cerimonia colla quale l'ultimo re Longobardo si rese in pompa a porre la prima pietra di quell'edifizio. Attinte queste cognizioni dall'autore delle *Notizie storiche sulla Brianza*—esso ne ha gentilmente comunicato il suo libro V ancora inedito della stessa opera, ove è provata l'origine di questa chiesa con monumenti indubitati: e che veranno in breve resi di pubblica ragione. (Sacchi, 97).

[5] I, 226-227. [6] 8.

are not in our monastery, although we can manifestly prove that such is the case. . . . It is evident to all that, by divine inspiration, the Prince of the Apostles wished that a church should be built in his honour in Monte Pedale by the venerable abbot, just as by divine inspiration the church of St. Peter, which was the apostolic seat, was built at Rome. For we can show with so many proofs that it must be believed, willy nilly, even by the incredulous, that we possess those sacred relics which it has been shown by our predecessors that we have, and that there are deposited in the sacred altar the right hand of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and the coagulated blood of St. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. These are the two Princes of the Apostles from whom the Church received the beginning of faith. Moreover we possess not only these relics, but also the tongue of the pope, S. Marcello, in a silver reliquary, gold-plated, a cubit in measure, and bearing an inscription. This hand of the Apostle St. Peter, we read, was here placed by the once glorious king, Desiderio, because of the miracle performed upon his son by the power of the apostles. Concerning this miracle we shall speak fully and clearly."[7]

After this prologue the monk begins the main body of his work, and relates in detail the translation, which he assigns to the year 707 and to the time of the kings Desiderio and Adelchis and of the pope Hadrian. To the chronological difficulties we shall return later. "The king Desiderio . . . came to the place which is called Civate. . . . On a certain day his son, named Adelchis, a particularly handsome youth, came with his retainers to hunt . . . in the dark forest of Monte Pedale, hoping to find a deer or a bear or a wild boar. . . . There he raised his eyes, and saw afar off a mighty wild boar, . . . and immediately pursued him with his dogs. Since the boar was possessed of extraordinary size, great strength and sharp tusks, he fought so vigorously that he tore the dogs to pieces, and when at last he was tired out by the too hard struggle, he escaped to wild and desert places;

[7] In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis: cuncti pie matris ecclesie filij audiant et intelligant gesta conscripta de translatione reliquiarum eximiorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli quomodo vel qualiter translate sunt ex urbe Romana in monte qui dicitur Pedalis. Et ob hoc scribere curavimus ut nullus possit ambigere, quia sunt nonnulli qui nimio livore turgidi asseverant quod minime sint apud nos, cum manifeste possimus approbare. . . . Patet itaque omnibus ut sicut eclesia beati Petri est constructa ubi est sedes apostolica Romano opere, ita in monte Pedali ex divino nutu a venerabili abbate voluit princeps apostolorum similiter hedificari. Cum enim tantis inditiis facile possimus demonstrare et incredulorum cordibus velint nolint credendum est sine dubio apud nos tam sacrata pignora possidere, que a maioribus demonstrata, quando reposita sunt in sacro altario dextra scilicet beati Petri apostolorum principis cum sanguine coagulato beati Pauli doctoris gentium, a quibus principibus ecclesia suscepit exordium fidei. Nec solo modo ista, sed etiam lingua beati Marcelli pape in capsa argentea in superficie deaurata ad mensuram cubitalem litteris formatis descriptis. Hec est manus beati Petri apostoli, que a glorioso quondam rege Desiderio hic repositam legimus ex occaxione detersa filij sui per virtutem apostolicam, de qua pleniter et liquido conscribimus. . . .

and as he was wandering hither and thither, following the instincts of his savage nature, he came to the summit of the mountain. . . . At that time a certain servant of God, Durus by name, had chosen that solitude for his habitation, and there he held communion with the angels, and had built a chapel in honour of St. Peter, in which he ministered as a priest. The boar, seeking safety in flight, came to the above-mentioned church, which he found open. Immediately laying aside his savageness, he lay down next to the altar, as if to commend himself to the apostle, and ask help from him. There the king found him, and having entered the church, eagerly desired to kill him. But before he could attack the boar, he perceived in himself an extraordinary change, for he suddenly became blind. Then the venerable man, Durus, who, together with those of the king's retinue who had arrived, beheld this miracle, offered prayers to God in that oratory, that the king might be cured of his blindness. Moreover the king himself, seeing that he was deprived of sight, commenced to promise ample gifts and to vow great vows, undertaking to build a larger church to St. Peter, and to endow it richly, if the Lord should restore his sight. . . . Immediately upon having made these vows, by divine mercy his sight was restored."[8]

The monk goes on to relate how the king obtained the relics from the pope and brought them to Civate. "The king then ascended Monte Pedale with his son, and found Durus, the man of God. With him he took counsel as to how he could construct a church to St. Peter, the Apostle, and, seizing a hoe, he commenced to dig the earth to lay the foundations of a basilica, and they carried out on their shoulders twelve baskets of earth in honour of

[8] Prefatus rex . . . devinit ad locum, qui appellatur Clavatis. . . . Quadam die filius eius nomine Adelgixius speciosus iuvenis valde, causa venandi aggressus cum suis sodalibus si fortasse posset reperire aliquam venationem cervum, an ursum seu aprum . . . , per opaca nemora pervenit ad montem Pedallem ibique . . . elevatis oculis procul vidit ingentem aprum . . . statim insequitur cum canibus. Aper vero cum esset mire magnitudinis, fortis viribus acutis dentibus vi existebat in tantum ut a ferino dente dilaceratis canibus, ad postremum nimis certamine vexatus, desertas et abditas peteret regiones. Cumque nimia feritate vagabundus, huc et illuc cum discurreret, pervenit in montis cacumen. . . . En namque tempestate, quidam dei servus nomine Durus sollitariam elligens habitationem, ibi angelicam erat ducens conversationem ecclesiamque brevissimam in honorem beati Petri construens sacerdotale officium fongebatur. Aper vero cum fuge presidium summeret, ad dictum ecclesie patentem invenit. Confestim deposita feritate, decubuit iuxta altare quasi commendaturum se apostolo auxilium postulans ab eo. Tunc rex invenit eum, in eclesiam ingressus, avide cupiens aprum perhimere. Cumque priusquam impetum in aprum committeret, sensit in se subito factum mirabile. Rex mira, nec ulterius visa, obcecatis luminibus regis tenebras incurrit fugata ab ipso claritate dei. Venerabilis vero prefatus Durus viso tanto miraculo cum ceteris qui adinvenerant, pro cecitate regis preces fudit ad deum in eodem oraculo. Idem vero rex videns se lumine privatum, cepit ampla dona promitere et magna vota vovere, si ei Dominus lumen oculorum impenderet, ecclesiolamque beati Petri apostoli amplirem construere, multis opibus ditare. . . . Talibus itaque votis promissis, divina misericordia consecutus illico lumen recepit. . . .

the twelve apostles, following the example of the great emperor, Constantine. After that the king appointed a master-builder and stone-cutters and masons, and laid aside funds sufficient entirely to complete the basilica, and then returned to his palace at Pavia, where he remained until it was time to dedicate the church; and when the construction of the edifice was finished, King Desiderio summoned all the orthodox bishops, together with the venerable archbishop, Thomas, who at that time was enthroned in the church of Milan, bringing them all with him to Monte Pedale, and there they consecrated the church of the apostles, placing in the altar the relics of the apostles Peter and Paul, and this consecration took place on the day of the nativity of the said apostles, which is the twenty-ninth day of June, to the praise and glory of our Lord, Jesus Christ. King Desiderio, moreover, endowed this church with many possessions and constructed a large monastery, of which he made Durus abbot."[9]

If we assume that the account in the chronicle is substantially correct, we must admit that the monastery of Civate was founded in the time of Desiderio and Adelchis (759-774), of Tommaso, archbishop of Milan (759-783), and of Pope Hadrian I (772-794); that is, the foundation must have taken place between 772 and 774. The date 707 given by the monk, must, therefore, be an error, and perhaps resulted from an ignorant attempt on his part to establish the chronology of the VIII century, or else from a misreading of the date of an earlier document. It should be observed, however, that the date of foundation is given as 706 in several documents. According to a manuscript of the first half of the XV century, found by Magistretti, the church of S. Pietro was built in the year 706, and consecrated on May 16, 912.[10] Magistretti has assumed that the original oratory was really founded in 706. I think, however, it is much more probable that the dates have been confused by bad copying. For example, a careless copyist might easily

[9] Ascendens itaque cum suo filio in montem Pedalem, reperit hominem dei Durum nomine et habito consilio cum eo quomodo vel qualiter ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli possit construere, arepto itaque sareulo, ad fondamenta basilice construenda terram cepit effodere. Quam XIIcim cofinis suis humeris asportant in honorem videlicet XIIcim apostolorum, exempla summens a maximo Constantio venerabili Augusto. Depositis etiam archimagistris cum latonijs et cementarijs operum et omnes impensas que ad usum ipsius basilice pertinebant, donec fabrica tota compleretur revertens ad palatium Ticini donec instaret tempus dedicationis eius ibique permansit. Perfecto itaque opere, convocans rex Desiderius omnes episcopos orthodoxos cum venerabili Thoma archiepiscopo, qui eo tempore intronizatus erat in ecclesia Mediolani, deducens secum in montem Pedalem et consecraverunt ecclesiam apostolicam, impositis in sacro altario eisdem reliquijs apostolicis Petri et Pauli, in nativitate eorumdem apostolorum, que est III kalendas iulii ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri Yhesu Christi. XI.—Rex vero Desiderius eandem ecclesiam multis opibus dittavit . . . magnoque monasterio constructo, Duro abbate constituto . . . (12).

[10] Hedificata fuit ecclesia Sancti Petri in Monte anno DCCVI et consecrata anno DCCCCXII die XVI Madii. (*Codice* Trivulziano, No. 514, cit. Magistretti).

transform the year 772—DCCLXXII, the real date of the consecration, into DCCCCXII, of the text. By some similar error it is to be presumed that the year 706, and the day May 16 were derived.[11] Allegranza, who visited and described the church in the XVII century, speaks of an inscription formerly painted on the wall, but which, even in his time, had disappeared. This inscription recorded, he says, that Desiderio built the church on May 10, 706.[12]

Magistretti has discovered in a late manuscript which he calls the *Miscellanea della Trivulziana* (Cod. 2256), another version of the tradition which is of interest because the foundation of the church in 706 is related precisely as in the inscription cited by Allegranza.[13]

It is altogether probable, therefore, that instead of the year 706 or 707, for the foundation of the monastery, we should read the year 770, and that instead of the year 912 for its consecration, we should read 772. The authentic date is preserved for us in the chronicle of Goffredo da Bussero, which passes under the name of Filippo da Castel Seprio: "In the year of our Lord 770, Desiderio, king of the Lombards, erected the monastery of S. Pietro at Civate."[14]

Galvaneo della Fiamma, with evident error (since Desiderio was deposed in 774), ascribes the foundation of the monastery to 780. In the *Chronicon Majus* we read: "In the year of Christ 780, Desiderio erected the monastery of S. Pietro at Civate, whither he translated from Rome the following relics, to wit: the right hand of St. Peter the apostle; the milk which flowed from the neck of St. Paul; and the tongue of Pope S. Marcello, which spoke after it had been cut out, and a great part of the chain with which St. Peter had been bound. He also obtained wonderful indulgences."[15] He possibly derived this date from a chronicle, a copy of which is preserved in manuscript

[11] Another document published by Magistretti gives the day as May 18: XV kal. jun. Inventio Corporis S. Syri; eodem die dedicatio in Monte Pedali.

[12] Iscrizione già dentro essa sul muro dipinta, in cui leggevasi, come n'è ivi registrata, averla fabbricata il Re Desiderio alli 10 Maggio l'anno 706 (che vorrà dire 756 anno primo del suo regno) la qual cosa però sembrami da se sola molto insussistente.

[13] Nel settecentosei Dino [*sic*] abbate de Santo Pietro regnando Desiderio con suo figliuolo Algiesio nel regno d'Italia, ordinò che si facesse la chiesa tale quale è quella di S. Pietro di Roma; quali tutte cose a voi Padre Bartolomeo di S. Pietro in Chivate per gratia d'Iddio e della Santa Sede Apostolica l'ho ridotte a memoria Umaine [*sic*] de Barzanore.

[14] Anno dni 770. Desiderius rex Lombardorum fecit fieri monasterium S. Petri de Clivate. (*Chronica* detta di Filippo da Castel Seprio, MS. Amb., S. Q. + I, 12, f. 52).

[15] Et anno Christi DCCLXXX [Desiderius] monasterium sancti Petri de Gyvate erexit, ubi detulit de Roma reliquias, scilicet dextram beati Petri apostoli, et lac quod fluxit de collo beati Pauli, et linguam beati Marcelli pape, que abscissa locuta fuit, et magnam partem cathene, qua beatus Petrus vinculatus fuerat, cum mirabilibus indulgentiis. (Galvanei Flammae, *Chron. Maius*, ed. Ceruti, 517).

in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, and bears the title *Edificationes ecclesiarum Mediolani.*[16]

A great number of documents, many of which are derived from the fragment we have cited, repeat the main facts of the story of the foundation. Thus, in the inedited chronicle of Lampugnano de Legnano, we read, in two different passages, that the monastery was founded by Desiderio,[17] [18] and the same thing is repeated in a manuscript chronicle of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana[19] which bears the composite title *Chronica Danielis de comitibus Anglerie.*

The account in the *Geneologia comitum Anglerie* appears not to be derived from the Civate chronicle. It speaks of the milk which flowed from the neck of St. Paul, and of privileges and indulgences obtained from Pope Hadrian at the time of the foundation.[20] These privileges are referred to also in a document of 1516, published by Magistretti, which contains the clause: "Moved by devotion we went to visit the church on the mountain dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. This church was constructed by King Desiderio, as is evident from a privilege extant in the monastery."[21] It is probable that these privileges were the source for the *Translatio* also, and there can be little doubt that they veritably existed. Galvaneo della Fiamma evidently knew the *Geneologia* and made use of it in the passage from the *Chronicon Majus* which we have cited. Elsewhere, however, he makes use of the *Translatio.* In a passage from the inedited *Politia Novella,* cited by Ceruti, we read: "Astolfo, king of the Lombards, . . . begat Desiderio, last king of the Lombards, from whom were born Bernardo and Adelchis. The latter lost his sight on the mountain of Civate while he was hunting a boar,

[16] Anno dn̄i 780 Desiderius Vicecomes rex fecit fieri Monasterium S. Vincentii et S. Petri de Clivate. (MS. Amb., S. Q. + I, 12, f. 69).

[17] Beatus Thomas Mediolan' archiep̄s xlviij anno domini dcclxviiij sedit annis xxviij. isto tempore Desiderius fecit fieri Mon̄ de Clauate, obijt anno dni dcclxxxxvij. quarto die ante kal̄l octubris. (Lampugnano de Legnano, *Chronicon,* MS. Amb., H 56 Sup., f. 62).

[18] [Desiderius] Monasteriu̇ de Clauate in Comitatu Mediolanensi et Monasteriu̇ sc̄i Julie in Ciuitate Brixien̄ construxit. (*Ibid.*, f. 86).

[19] MS. Amb., C. S. IV, 18, f. 52 f. This I suppose to be a defective copy of the chronicle published by Cinquini.

[20] Qua obtenta victoria a domino papa obtinuit [Desiderius] brachium dextrum Beati Petri Apostoli: lac coagolatum decolationis beati Pauli Apostoli et linguam sancti Marcelli papae . . . , quae reposuit in monasterio sancti Petri de Clavate Diocesis Mediolani in monte Brianzia apud Leucum quem hedificari fecit et dotavit: prout in privilegiis dicti monasterij indulgentiarum a pena et culpa plenius continetur. In quibus etiam religitur dictum Regem Desiderium propter ipsius et Longobardorum bonam probam ut premittitur obtinuisse ab Adriano papa suprascripto terciam partem reliquiarum et terciam partem indulgentiarum urbis predictae et insuper a predictis domino papa et Karolo. (*Geneologia comitum Angleriae,* ed. Cinquini, 29).

[21] Cum ivissemus pro devotione nostra ad visitandum ecclesiam supra Montem sanctorum Petri et Pauli constructum ut per previlegium constat in Abbatia positum per regem Desiderium.

on account of which that monastery was founded."[22] In the *Manipulus Florum*, Galvaneo states simply that Desiderio constructed the monastery of Civate,[23] but in the same *Chronicon Majus* in which, as we have seen, Galvaneo makes use of the *Geneologia*, he shows in another passage that he was acquainted with another source which may have been the *Translatio:* "In the year of Christ, 769, . . . Tommaso was made archbishop of Milan, and sat twenty-eight years. At the request of King Desiderio, he consecrated the church of S. Pietro of Civate."[24]

In addition to these texts should be mentioned the laconic notice in a chronicle of Modena to the effect that Desiderio built the monastery of Civate in the county of Milan.[25] Malvezzi gives us the strangely confused notice: "For Desiderio, as I have learned from trustworthy sources, founded the monastery of Civate in the diocese of Milan. He also founded the monastery of S. Pietro in the Alps, in a spot which is distant from the city of Brescia about fourteen miles."[26] The worthy chronicler of Brescia has evidently made two monasteries out of one.

Finally the tradition that the monastery was founded by Desiderio is faithfully recorded by the diligent Vasari,[27] who believed that the edifice which existed in his day was the very one built in the VIII century, inaugurating thus an error which has survived to our own times.

The documentary evidence is, therefore, quite sufficient to warrant the belief that the monastery was founded by Desiderio on the site of a pre-existing oratory, and was consecrated in 772.

A question almost as difficult as that of the foundation of the monastery is that raised by the translation of the body of S. Calocero. Galvaneo states explicitly that Angilberto II translated the body of S. Calocero and placed

[22] Astulfus rex longobardorum . . . genuit Desiderium regem ultimum longobardorum: de quo natus est Bernardus et Aldechisius, qui perdidit visum in monte de Givate in venatione apri, propter quod illud monasterium fundatum fuit. (Galvanei Flammæ, *Politia Novella*, cap. 57, cit. Ceruti, 547).

[23] Monasterium de Clivate construxit [Desiderius]. (Galvanei Flammæ, *Manipulus Florum*, CXXI, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 599).

[24] Christi anno DCCLXIX. . . . Thomas factus archiepiscopus mediolanensis sedit annis XXVIII. Hic ad instantiam Desiderii regis consecravit ecclesiam sancti Petri de Gyvate. (Galvanei Flammæ, *Chron. Maius*, ed. Ceruti, 549).

[25] [Desiderius] monasterium de Clivate in Comitatu Mediolanensi . . . construxit. (*Chronicon Modoeticense*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XII, 1076).

[26] Hic [Desiderius] namque, ut à fide dignis percepi, Monasterium de Giavate Mediolanensis Diœcesis condidit. In summa quoque alpe, quæ ab urbe Brixia distat circiter milliaria XIV. Monasterium Sancti Petri condidit. (Jacobi Melvecii, *Chronicon*, IV, 89, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XIV, 848).

[27] Nè dissimile fu . . . [il tempio] che Desiderio, il quale regnò dopo Astolfo, edificò, di San Piero Clivate, nella diocesi milanese. . . . (Vasari, Proemio delle *Vite dei Pittori*, XI, ed. Firenze, 1878, I, 235).

it in the monastery of S. Pietro of Civate.[28] This notice is evidently derived from the chronicle of Lampugnano de Legnano.[29] All the ancient authorities agree in ascribing the translation to Angilberto. Savio cites a manuscript of the XII century in the Vatican which contains this notice.[30] Magistretti cites the following passage from the Martirologio d'Adone also of the XII century: "Angilberto, archbishop of Milan, translated thence the body of S. Calocero and caused it to be placed with the greatest care, diligence and honour in the monastery of his dioeese which is called Civate."[31] Magistretti further observes that the ancient chronicles from which the priest Antonio Gonfaloniere derived his lives of the archbishops of Milan, must have attributed the translation of S. Calocero to Angilberto, since that author wrote: "Angilberto of Pusterla, the fifty-fifth archbishop of Milan, was elected in 823, and sat thirty-five years. He covered with gold the altar of S. Ambrogio, buried the body of S. Calocero in the church of Civate, etc."[32] Magistretti further observes that all the sources for the life of the archbishop Ariberto are unanimously silent in regard to any such translation. It therefore seems clear that Giulini[33] and Longoni are in error in ascribing the translation, not to Angilberto but to Ariberto (1018-1045). In view of the new documents produced by Savio and Magistretti, we must accept the translation of the body of S. Calocero by Angilberto II (824-854) as an historical fact.

In later times the body of S. Calocero was venerated in the church at the foot of the mountain in the town of Civate. This church was dedicated to S. Calocero, and eventually became the chief seat of the monastery.[34] The question arises whether the body of the saint was ever carried to S. Pietro. Since there is no record that it was ever moved from the church of S. Pietro to the church of S. Calocero, it is reasonable to suppose that the latter was

[28] Hic archiepiscopus [Angibertus secundus] transtulit corpus sancti Kaloceri de Albingana, et posuit illud in monasterio sancti Petri de Gyvate. (Galvanei Flammæ, *Chronicon Maius*, ed. Ceruti, 562).

[29] hic [Angilbertus] transtulit de Albingana ad Mon. de Clauate corpus sci Cloceri. (Lampugnano de Legnano, *Chronicon*, MS. Amb., H 56 Sup., f. 62r.).

[30] *La Légende des Sts. Faustin et Jovite*, 24.

[31] Quamvis nunc Angilbertus archiepiscopus Mediolanensis ecclesiae eum inde transtulerit, et in monasterio, quod vocatur de vadis (lege Clevadis) suae dioecesis summa cura diligentia et honore collocare curavit.

[32] Angilbertus de Pusterla mediolanen. archiepiscopus LV, anno Domini DCCCXXIII, sedit annis XXXV. Hic fecit deaurari altare beati Ambrosii, corpus sancti Kaloceri in ecclesia de Clivate reposuit ecclesiam Sce Marie pedonis fieri fecit, ecc.

[33] I, 226-227.

[34] The church, locally known as the Chiesa dei Frati, still exists, although desecrated and used as a storehouse. The nave and crypt have been entirely remade in the barocco style, but the apse still retains its Romanesque arched corbel-tables. The campanile was destroyed in 1899.

erected at the time of the translation by Angilberto, expressly to receive the relics of the saint.

The existence of the monastery of Civate in the IX century is proved by an authentic and contemporary document, the *Liber Confraternitatis Fabrariensis,* edited by Piper[35] and written c. 845. Here under the heading *Haec sunt nomina Fratrum de Monastero Clavades* are listed an abbot (*abb.*), eleven priests (*presb.*), six deacons (*diac.*), fourteen monks (*mon.*), two subdeacons (*subdiac.*) and one cleric whose quality is not specified. It is therefore clear that the monastery possessed a large body of clergy.

A document of May 14, 927, mentions the *monasterii sancti Petri scito Clavate.* This was first published by Morbio[36] and was subsequently reprinted by Dozio.[37] Although it comes from a tainted source, the document seems to be authentic.

Giulini[38] has laid great emphasis upon a diploma of 982 which mentions the church of S. Pietro of Civate, and argues that the relics of S. Calocero could not have been translated before this date, since otherwise the church would have been called S. Calocero and not S. Pietro. The argument falls to the ground, however, if we suppose that the relics were never carried to the top of the mountain. In 1018 the monastery is denoted by the title of S. Calocero, which indicates that the church in the town had at that time already become the principal seat of the monastery.[39] It is called simply the monastery of Civate by Landolfo the Younger, about 1107.[40] Arnolfo, archbishop of Milan, who died in 1097, was buried at S. Calocero.[41]

In 1162 Barbarossa issued a diploma rewarding the abbot of Civate for his fidelity to the imperial party against his superior, the archbishop of Milan.[42]

At the end of the XIV century began a period of decline during which the abbey was nearly abandoned. In 1364 there were connected with the monastery only one monk and an abbot who lived at Monza. In 1436 there were only two monks. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the monastery was given in commendam at an early date (1484). To Filippo Trivulzio, commendatary abbot from 1508 to 1541, was due the restoration of

[35] M. G. H., *Libri Confraternitatum,* 384.

[36] III, 154. [37] 14. [38] I, 486.

[39] Giulini, II, 105. Published by Muratori, A. I. M. A., V, 931. Cf. *Codice della Croce,* MS. Amb., D. S. IV, II, f. 77.

[40] *Hist. Med.,* XIV, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., V, 485.

[41] [Arnulphus] iacet in Monasterio de Clauate in eccla sci Kalocceri. (Lampugnano de Legnano, *Chronica,* MS. Amb., H 56 Sup., f. 65).

Arnulphus Episcopus sedit annis III. mens X. sepultus est in Monasterio S. Kaloceri in Clivate. (*Catalogus Med. utque Archiep.,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IV, 143).

. . . donec Arnulphus de Porta Orientali tunc temporis senex Mediolanensis Archiepiscopus in Clavatensi Monasterio fuit sepultus. (Landulphi Junonis, *Hist. Med.,* 28, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., V, 498).

[42] Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., XV, 503.

the church of S. Pietro, in the windows of which before the last rehabilitation were still seen painted the arms of the Trivulzi. In 1516 many relics were found at S. Pietro, a fact which proves that the church up to this time had not been abandoned. In 1556 the cure of souls was taken from the monks, the monastery was reformed, and *monaci olivetani* were introduced. In 1571 the relics were translated to S. Calocero, and in 1594 the monks who were under obligation to climb the mountain for specified festivals, ceded certain lands to the commendatary abbot on the condition that they be relieved of this duty. The abbot established there *frati romiti* who, however, left after four years. They were succeeded by secular priests, who remained until 1611, when one of them was killed by bandits who sacked his house and the church as well. After this crime no chaplain could be induced to live in the lonely and dangerous site. In 1633 the monks of Civate again undertook the service of the church. In 1758 the campanile collapsed, and, in clearing away the débris, numerous relics came to light. From a letter of Allegranza of 1760, which contains a description of the church, it is evident that S. Benedetto had not at that time been desecrated. Allegranza could see no traces of monastic buildings about the edifice, and therefore conjectured that very few monks could have resided there, and that S. Pietro must have been dependent upon S. Calocero. In 1798 the monastery of S. Calocero was suppressed.[43]

In 1879 the restoration of the edifice was begun, and practically finished three years later. The roof was remade. The Renaissance windows were suppressed, and new windows opened in the form of the ancient ones of the XI century, on the traces of certain fragments of the latter which remained. One of the original choir windows had been closed at the time of the Renaissance by the erection of a new campanile. This campanile was demolished, and the windows reopened. The presbytery or choir was restored to its original form, with pavement at two levels. The lower level had been raised to that of the higher at an unknown period. New chancel-rails in iron were added. The south stairway leading to the crypt was reopened. During the course of the restorations traces of an earlier building came to light beneath the crypt. The location of these ancient remains has been indicated in the existing pavement, and the plan has been published by Barelli. Since the restoration, the church has been declared a national monument, and is under the care of a *custode*.

III. The existing edifice consists of a single-aisled nave, a western choir with an apse, an eastern apse, which has been divided into three groin-vaulted aisles, and a crypt below the eastern apse. The crypt is groin-vaulted,

[43] All the above details of the later history of the monastery are taken, in some cases *verbatim*, from the work of Magistretti.

and the western apse has a half dome, but the nave is supplied with an open timber roof (Plate 57, Fig. 3).

The widely splayed windows are at present filled with leaded glass, restored, though I presume on traces of the original. The masonry consists of a somewhat rough ashlar, small roughly squared blocks separated by thick mortar-beds being laid in courses which are not always horizontal (Plate 56, Fig. 5). There are many scaffolding holes and scaffolding brackets (Plate 56, Fig. 1, 2). About the edifice and particularly to the east of it are remains of various subsidiary buildings, which have fallen into such complete ruin that it is not easy to determine their original dispositions, although it is clear that there was a sort of exterior ambulatory or passage-way about the eastern apse (Plate 56, Fig. 3, 5). Since the masonry of the western part of the north wall and of the western apse is not different from that of the rest of the church, it is clear that the entire building is homogeneous.[44] It follows as a necessary consequence that the edifice was built with two apses, and that the entrance was originally placed in the middle of the side walls. At a later epoch the main entrance was moved to the east end, and the old eastern apse turned into a sort of narthex by the addition of the present columns and groin vaults (Plate 57, Fig. 5). A church with two apses in Italy is extraordinary, but finds analogy at S. Giorgio of Valpolicella. Civate, moreover, is placed on the slopes of the Alps, not far from one of the main routes leading through Lecco to Germany and Switzerland, where churches with two apses were frequently erected. Furthermore at Civate the peculiar plan may well have been suggested by the fact that the monastery claimed to possess important relics of both St. Peter and St. Paul. It would therefore be entirely natural to erect a basilica with two principal altars in order that one might be dedicated to each of the princes of the apostles.

The vaults of the narthex, which are erected on a very oblong plan, have peculiarly sharp groins, and are not domed. The vaults of the crypt are of a similar type. The pavement slopes sharply to the east, and the choir is raised five steps above the nave.

It is evident that at S. Pietro at Civate we have three distinct eras of construction. To the first belong the remains of the ancient church discovered beneath the pavement; to the second belongs the core of the existing edifice; to the third, the western portal and the present narthex.

IV. The decoration of the church is as interesting and important as the structure. The nave is ornamented externally with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, three and three or four and four by thin pilaster strips (Plate 56, Fig. 1, 2), and the eastern apse by similar corbel-tables grouped two and two (Plate 56, Fig. 3). The western apse and the western part of the northern wall have, on the other hand, arched corbel-tables of fully

[44] The character of the masonry throughout was ruined in the recent restoration.

developed type, without pilaster strips, save where the corbel-tables have been broken away in later times by the addition of the campanile. The rich decoration of the interior is of later date than the main body of the nave, and was doubtless executed at the period when the new entrance-way was established in the old eastern apse. To this epoch belong the columns in terra-cotta of the eastern apse (Plate 57, Fig. 5) arranged in a manner which recalls Cividale (Plate 57, Fig. 7); the ornamentation in stucco of the archivolts of the apse (Plate 57, Fig. 5), two decorated terra-cotta slabs forming rails in the eastern apse, three similar slabs forming the railing of the entrance to the crypt on the north side (Plate 57, Fig. 1), and the stucco decorations of the crypt (Plate 57, Fig. 4). The columns of the east apse are spiral-fluted (Plate 57, Fig. 5), and have peculiar bases formed generally of a succession of tori of different sizes. The capitals of the eastern apse and crypt are ornamented with curious wrinkled acanthus leaves very drily and somewhat barbarously executed, of which I know no exact analogies elsewhere (Plate 57, Fig. 4). The stucco ornaments of the archivolts of the eastern apse (Plate 57, Fig. 5) consist of a curious ornament like an inverted volute, or like an anthemion motive, strikingly analogous to an ornament on the archivolt of Cividale (Plate 57, Fig. 6). All this ornamental carving preserves an extraordinary amount of Carlovingian character, but upon a close study of the details, such as the figures of the lion in one of the slabs (Plate 57, Fig. 1) and the classic bead-moulding of the archivolts of the eastern apse, we perceive that it is really of late date. The slabs are decorated with rinceaux, with two beasts facing a vase, with all-over patterns of vines and interlaces, etc. (Plate 57, Fig. 1). One has a figure of a chimæra. On the east wall of the crypt are important bas-reliefs in stucco offering several iconographic peculiarities. In the first is represented the Presentation in the Temple. Joseph and Mary stand before an altar in front of the temple. Joseph, who has a halo, though Mary has none, still holds out his arms, on which there is a napkin, after having given the Child to Simeon. Of Simeon and the Child nothing remains, and of an attendant behind only the legs and feet. Below is the metric inscription, in part much weathered, but which can easily be restored with the help of old copies:

SVPPLEAT VT VETERE N VENIT SOLVERE LEGEM[45] FILIVS ECCE D[EI PERSOL]V[EN]S MVN[ERA L]EGIS.

The next relief shows the death of the Virgin, who expires in bed while two angels receive her soul. At one side stand six haloed apostles. John has a palm, some of the other apostles are beardless. On the other side are depicted Christ and three angels. Below is represented the Crucifixion. To the left of Christ are shown John and the sponge-bearer, to the right Mary and

[45] Matth., v, 17.

Longinus.[46] There can be no doubt that all the stuccos of the church were once coloured like those of the ciborio of S. Ambrogio at Milan; and indeed clear traces of this colouring still survive. The church is also decorated with numerous frescos which, however, do not fall within the scope of the present work, the more so since they have already been studied by Feigel. In the crypt is still preserved the original altar in masonry.

The ciborio (Plate 57, Fig. 2, 3) at first glance shows a striking analogy with that of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 119, Fig. 3; Plate 121, Fig. 2). Like the latter it was once enriched with blues, golds and other colours, but unfortunately has been subjected, at an unknown epoch, to a barbarous restoration, in which the original colours were removed, the background painted white, the figures and ornament painted red to resemble terra-cotta, the inscriptions painted over, and, I suspect, grave changes wrought in the sculptures themselves. This ciborio is supported by four columns of which the capitals are adorned with a single row of carved acanthus leaves. Between the four archivolts rise pendentives which carry a miniature dome with remains of very ancient frescos. Above the archivolts externally the construction terminates in a sort of pediment on each side. This pediment is adorned with terra-cotta sculptures and ornaments. On the four corners, above the capitals, are the symbols of the four evangelists. On the east face (Plate 57, Fig. 2, 3) is depicted the Christ on the cross between MARIA and S. IOVANNES, the sun and the moon. The inscription is: CERNIT ADDICTI| MORS SUPERAT| MORTEM.| MORTI SINE FUNERE XPS| VENIA REGNANTE P[ER] ORBEM.[47] On either side of the cross emerges the head of a Benedictine monk. On the south face is represented Christ carried in an aureole by two angels with the metrical inscription: SACRIS SPIRITIBUS FERTUR SUP[ER] ÆTERNA XPS| SIC VENIET MUNDI IUDEX IN FINE TREMENTIBUS. On the north face is depicted the resurrection with two Marys, MARIA MAGDALENE, MARIA IACOBE, the sleeping watchmen, CVSTODES, and the angel seated on the empty sepulchre, ANG[E]L[V]S HEC [*sic* = his] PRIMIS. On the west face is represented Christ, who gives a book to Paul on his right and the keys to Peter on his left: PECCANTES| VINCLIS| ABSOLVE| CLAVIBUS| ISTIS.

V. It is exceedingly difficult to judge of the date of the remains of an older church found beneath the pavement, since the masonry can not be inspected. It is natural to suppose, however, that this was the church consecrated in 772.

[46] The inscriptions over the two windows adjoining to the south clearly refer to the frescoed figures of the wise and foolish virgins, one of which is still extant.

[47] The meaning seems to be: Behold the death of the condemned. Death conquers Death. Christ dies but is not destroyed (?). Pardon reigns throughout the world. Cf. Os., xiii, 14.

S. PIETRO DI CIVATE, S. PIETRO

The existing church, with two apses, is obviously of the XI century. The masonry of the nave (Plate 56, Fig. 5) is analogous to that of S. Carpoforo of Como (Plate 60, Fig. 4), an authentically dated monument of 1040. The corbel-tables of the eastern apse, grouped two and two, recall those of S. Sepolcro at Milan (Plate 133, Fig. 6), an authentically dated monument of 1034. The presence of arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, which can not be very much later than this date, combined with those of fully developed form, which can not be much earlier than c. 1040, is sufficient to fix the date of the core of the edifice as c. 1040.

The western portal, the narthex, the terra-cotta slabs, the decoration in stucco of the crypt, of the west interior wall of the nave and of the ciborio are evidently all the work of the same artist, who must have redecorated the church of c. 1040 at the time that the western entrance was opened. Many points of resemblance make it evident that this artist was the same who executed the ciborio of S. Ambrogio and the stucco decoration at Cividale. The points of contact are so numerous that it would be tedious to enumerate them, especially since they have been already recognized by numerous critics. I shall therefore merely refer the reader to a comparison of the illustrations in Plate 57, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and Plate 121, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4. The style of this artist has about it undoubtedly something mysterious, and which seems foreign to Italian tradition. His ornament seems to be inspired from Carlovingian works, and is notably different from any contemporary decoration in Lombardy. The saints of Cividale (Plate 121, Fig. 4) have a certain elongation and an heraldic mystic quality, which is quite out of the spirit of other Lombard work. In the ciborii of S. Ambrogio and Civate both, St. Peter is placed to the left of Christ, whereas his normal position is to the right. To explain this extraneous quality in the sculptures, M. Bertaux[48] supposes that our sculptor was a Greek, and to prove his statement he generously donates to the unnamed six female saints of Cividale (Plate 121, Fig. 4) Greek names. This, in his opinion, seems to decide the matter, and nothing further is required to establish the Byzantine origin of the sculptures. As a matter of fact, however, the art of our sculptor, however radically it differs from contemporary works in Lombardy, differs even more fundamentally from any works of genuinely Byzantine authorship that are known to me. The peculiarities of technique are probably in no small part due to the fact that the sculptor was working in a new and softer medium, terra-cotta, which made it possible for him to originate a style of decoration much freer and less trammelled than could be executed in stone. If we are obliged to assume foreign influence at all, it is much more natural to believe that it came from the West rather than from the East. In the Byzantine tradition, Peter was always placed to the right of Christ, and it is only in works that are notably free from Byzantine influence that he is

[48] Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, 1, 392.

placed at the left. There is something about the long, slim figures of Cividale (Plate 121, Fig. 4), with their heraldic and architectural draperies, which recalls those sculptures of Spain which were executed under the influence of the schools of Chartres and Toulouse. The figures of Peter and Paul in both the S. Ambrogio and Civate ciborii show analogies with those of the same apostles in the church of S. Pablo del Campo at Barcelona.

Granted, therefore, that the stucco decorations of Civate are by the same artist who executed the ciborio of S. Ambrogio shortly after 1196, it remains to be determined whether the Civate ciborio and stuccos are an early or a late work. Comparing the figure sculptures of Cividale, Civate and S. Ambrogio, it is clear that the latter have a certain dignity and repose which is lacking at Cividale, and also to a somewhat less extent at Civate. The sculptures of S. Ambrogio are surer, more dignified, more restful in drawing and composition, more serene, less woodeny. It seems as if the sculptor who had tried in vain to obtain his effect by somewhat exaggerated mannerisms at Civate and Cividale, had at S. Ambrogio realized the full possibilities of his art. I am, therefore, inclined to think that he worked last at S. Ambrogio, and first at Cividale. Civate, therefore, would fall between the other two. Since the ciborio of S. Ambrogio was begun after 1196, we may assign the Civate sculptures to c. 1195.

S. PIETRO DI LEGNANO,[1] S. SALVARO

I. An excellent monograph upon the church of S. Salvaro was published anonymously in 1907.

II. There is a tradition that the monument was erected by the countess Matilda. An inscription, which appears to be of respectable antiquity, but certainly not of the XII century, records this as a fact. The inscription is placed on the exterior north-east angle of the church:

CONTESA
MATELDA
HOC OP F F
1117
DIC

The meaning of the letters of the final line, D I C, is obscure. They may be an abbreviation for *dicatum* meaning that the church was dedicated in 1117. Or it is possible that an M has disappeared, and that the date, 1599, recorded the epoch at which the inscription was erected. Countess Matilda died in 1115. There is no difficulty, however, in supposing that the church was erected two years later by means of funds which she had given.

[1] (Verona).

In 1610 was erected the campanile demolished in the recent restoration.[2] An inscription of 1625, at the entrance of the crypt, probably records the epoch at which this portion of the church was baroccoized.[3] A new altar was erected in 1711.[4] In the XIX century the church was sold. In 1885 the roof was restored, according to an inscription which was, until recently, extant.[5]

In 1904 a very radical restoration was undertaken. The intonaco was stripped off the nave, the roof was remade, the campanile demolished, a new cornice erected, the frescos restored, new choir-furniture installed, a new central portal erected, new windows added to the façade, the crypt rebuilt, and the whole edifice thoroughly overhauled. At this epoch were added in the windows inscriptions recording the names of various persons connected with the restoration.

III. The edifice consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, three apses, and a crypt extending under the apses and two easternmost bays. The nave and side aisles are roofed in timber, the crypt with domed groin vaults and loaded transverse arches. These vaults are constructed of brick and stone accurately laid in courses. Where the crypt adjoins the principal apse, the vaults are given a curiously and technically difficult form. A single arch spans the opening of the apse, but on the western side this vault has an intermediate support.

The supports of the upper church consist of rectangular piers without capitals or bases, except one, constructed of pilfered material, which has an impost. The supports of the crypt are similar, but are supplied with impost mouldings, and two have cubic capitals of the S. Abondio type. The responds consist of half columns. Two of them have pilfered Roman Corinthian capitals.

The masonry is quite similar to that of Isola della Scala (Plate 101, Fig. 1). Some bricks are very thin, others are thicker. All are well laid in horizontal courses, separated by wide mortar-beds, and mixed with bands of ashlar and herring-bone pebbles. The bricks are without cross-hatching.

IV. The apses are simpler than those of Cerea, since they have not even pilaster strips, but merely a cornice formed of a double saw tooth. The archivolts of the main arcade are all in a single unmoulded order. The widely splayed windows were evidently intended to serve without glass. Some are in two orders. In the façade are inlaid crude reliefs representing a lion pursuing another animal with a long tail. The façade is further adorned with prismatic buttresses. In the interior are some remains of XIV century frescos.

V. The masonry of S. Salvaro is very similar, as has been remarked, to that of Isola della Scala, an authentically dated monument of 1120. It is,

[2] Anonymous monograph, 32. [3] MZo 1625 Fti Sco *i.e.*, Marzo 1625 fatti scurolo.
[4] *Ibid.*, 31. [5] Anonymous monograph, 15.

therefore, entirely probable that the tradition that the church was erected by Matilda is correct, and we may consider the edifice an authentically dated monument of 1117.

S. PIETRO IN VALLE,[1] CHIESONE

(Plate 203, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The interesting church of S. Pietro in Valle has been published by Gerola, whose description of the edifice is illustrated with a plan, three photographs and two crude pen-and-ink sketches. An account of the edifice is also contained in Simeoni's guide.[2]

II. Of the history of the edifice nothing is known except that it depended upon S. Zeno. An inscription in the north absidiole with the date 1580 doubtless indicates the epoch in which the church was baroccoized.

III. The edifice consists of a single-aisled nave, widely projecting transepts (Plate 203, Fig. 1, 2), and three apses. The central apse is extremely irregular in plan, as appears even in the photograph (Plate 203, Fig. 1). The absidioles are at present rectangular internally, but it is evident that they were given this peculiar form only in the Renaissance. These absidioles are now covered with barrel vaults. The central apse has a half dome (Plate 203, Fig. 1), the transepts are covered with barrel vaults, the nave has a wooden roof. Over the crossing rises a dome carried on squinches (Plate 203, Fig. 1) and surmounted by a central tower (Plate 203, Fig. 2). The barrel vaults of the transepts are separated from the dome of the crossing by disappearing transverse ribs (Plate 203, Fig. 1). The dome is constructed of rubble carefully laid in circular courses. The walls of the interior are still covered with intonaco and whitewashed (Plate 203, Fig. 1), so that the masonry can not be seen. The exterior walls of the transept (Plate 203, Fig. 2) and apses are constructed of roughly finished bricks of various sizes and shapes, with many broken fragments and occasionally stones laid roughly in horizontal courses, with enormously thick mortar-beds. The masonry of the nave and of the tower, on the other hand, is much finer and evidently of the Gothic period (Plate 203. Fig. 2).

IV. The interior of the edifice is without decoration (Plate 203, Fig. 1). Gothic cornices of flat saw teeth and flat corbel-tables surmount the nave and the tower (Plate 203. Fig. 2). There is a similar cornice on the west side of the north transept. The cornices of all the apses were apparently also renewed in the Gothic epoch. The transept façades are, however, still ornamented with the original blind arches (Plate 203, Fig. 2), and similar

[1] (Verona). [2] 534.

arches existed and are in part still preserved on the exterior of the lantern, below the Gothic tower (Plate 203, Fig. 2). The central apse is still adorned with pilaster strips which undoubtedly supported precisely similar arches, but these have been destroyed.

In the façade is a biforum with a mutilated primitive colonnette. A slab of carved decoration is walled into the west wall.

V. The masonry and the blind arches show close analogies with those of S. Vincenzo at Galliano (Plate 99, Fig. 1), an authentically dated monument of 1007. The church may consequently be ascribed to c. 1005. The nave was rebuilt and the central tower added in the Gothic period.

S. PONZO CANAVESE,[1] BATTISTERO

(Plate 203, Fig. 4)

I. The plan of this interesting edifice has been published by Monneret de Villard. An account of the edifice, illustrated with several drawings, the originals of which are preserved in the Turin museum, is contained in the work of Boggio. A brief résumé of the history of the edifice and an engraving are contained in the geography of Strafforello.[2]

II. In the fabulous chronicle of Fruttuaria, which is generally assigned to the XV or XVI century, there occurs the following text: "In the year of Our Lord 1062, on the first day of April, the fifteenth indiction, St. Léger, bishop of Autun, was driven out from his diocese by Lothair, king of the Franks, because he had been accused of violating a certain nun. This accusation was not true, since the woman always remained a virgin. Nevertheless he was driven into exile, and he carried away with him the cloak of St. Hilaire, bishop of Poitiers. Passing through the city of Cimiez, he received the arm of St. Pons, the bishop and martyr, from St. Paul, bishop of that city. Coming thence into the Canavese, he established his residence at Valperga, near the town which is called Busano. There he built a church under the title of S. Ilario, and he placed in the altar half of the mantle of that saint together with relics of St. Pons, and when he learned that there was there a pieve of St. Pons, he gave the arm of St. Pons and the remaining part of the mantle of St. Hilaire, to Viberto, of the lords of Barbineta, at that time rector of the pieve, who received the precious gifts with the greatest joy, and returned to him heartfelt thanks. The glorious St. Léger had built for himself a hermitage near the church of St. Hilaire, which he himself had constructed, and there he led the life of a hermit and seven times a day visited the church of St. Pons, bare-footed, in every season of the year. . . . In the

[1] (Torino). [2] 517.

year of Our Lord 1064, on the eighth day of April, the second indiction, St. Léger died, and was buried in the above-mentioned pieve of St. Pons before the high altar."[3]

This text offers great difficulties. In the first place, St. Léger, bishop of Autun, lived not in the XI century, but in the VII century. He was exiled, it is true, but none of the legends of his life say anything of his having been accused of violating a nun.[4] No Lothair, king of the Franks, was living either at the time of the real St. Léger or in the XI century. On the other hand, it is known that St. Pons was indeed martyred at Cimiez, and the year 1062 corresponds with the fifteenth indiction, as does the year 1064 with the second. All things considered, however, the account in the chronicle appears to be a deliberate forgery, perpetrated probably with the purpose of authenticating the relics of S. Ponzo. The invention of the fiction that the great and famous St. Léger was buried in a little church of the Canavese is, however, so daring and preposterous that it is possible we have in the chronicle not a deliberate falsification, but the confusion of the St. Léger of the VII century with some other hermit who may really have constructed the church of S. Ponzo. If so, truth and fiction are so strangely mixed in the chronicle that it is impossible to disentangle them.

Nothing further is known of the history of the pieve or of its baptistery. On the campanile near the top is an inscription recording a restoration of 1532.

III. The plan of the baptistery is peculiar. A central octagonal area is surmounted by a dome which, by means of squinches and squeezing, is worked first to a many-sided polygon, and finally, in its upper part, to some-

[3] Anno Domini millesimo LXII die prima Aprilis, indictione XV sanctus Leodegarius Augustodunensis [Augustirdinensi] episcopus expulsus fuit a sede propria a Lothario rege Francorum, quia accusatus fuerat [extiterat] quod polluerat quandam sanctimonialem feminam et hoc non erat verum quia semper fuit virgo; tandem expulsus secum portavit mantonum sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis episcopi et pertransiens per civitatem Cimellam, accepit brachium Sancti Pontii episcopi et martyris a beato Paulo eiusdem civitatis episcopo, et pertransiens inde venit Canapitium et habitavit Valpergiam iuxta oppidum quod vocatur Buzanum, et inibi haedificavit Ecclesiam sub vocabulo sancti Hilarii et medietatem mantoni praescripti cum reliquiis Sancti Pontii in altare collocavit, et cognoscens ibidem esse plebem Sancti Pontii, brachium praefati Sancti Pontii et cum reliqua parte mantoni sancti Hilarii domino Viberto ex dominis Barbanetae, tunc plebano sancti Pontii, tradidit, qui cum magna lactitia pretiosa munera recepit, eique gratias immensas retulit. Qui gloriosus Leodegarius tugurium sibi construxerat, apud praefatam ecclesiam S. Hilarii quam ipse construxerat, et ibi habitabat heremiticam ducens vitam et dietem septies visitabat ecclesiam sancti Pontii discalceatis pedibus omni tempore anni. . . . Anno Domini MLXIV, die VIII Aprilis indictione secunda praefatus sanctus Leodegarius animam sanctissimam Creatori suo reddidit; cuius corpus sepultum iacet in plebe praedicta sancti Pontii ante altare maius dictae plebis. (*Chronicon Abbatiae Fructuariensis*, ed. Calligaris, 130-131).

[4] *Acta Sanctorum*, die 2 Octobris, I, 355.

thing like a circle. This central octagonal area is surrounded by niches alternately rectangular and semicircular, and expressed externally. In the western niche is the entrance; the eastern niche, rectangular and somewhat larger than the others, serves as an apse.

The interior is exceedingly plain and unadorned. The masonry consists of rubble; round stones from the river bed, bricks, and fragmentary material are laid helter-skelter, although a certain horizontality in the courses is maintained. The walls are of enormous thickness, about 1.41 metres. The traces of a solid centering are clearly to be seen in the dome. The whole structure is surmounted by a campanile, which appears to be contemporary with the lower part of the structure, but which has been much modernized.

IV. In the chapel of the adjoining church are preserved three capitals, which probably come from bifora of the campanile. The baptistery itself had simple widely splayed windows. Near these capitals are placed some Roman inscriptions and sculptures. All these fragments were found in excavations.

The baptistery itself is adorned externally in the lower story with crude arched corbel-tables grouped two and two (Plate 203, Fig. 4). The upper story and the campanile are plain.

Over the western portal is a lintel, consisting of a rough unsquared block, on which is scratched a graffito, barbaric in its crudity, representing a person—probably a woman—lying full length as if in death. In her left hand she holds a round object, perhaps a purse, which may represent a bequest she made to the church. Below is the inscription, which perhaps gives her name:

SECVND
A E BV . . . . .

Near by is a Roman tombstone of a certain L. Tutilus Secundarius.

V. The baptistery of S. Ponzo Canavese is evidently a monument of the early years of the XI century. Both the masonry and the arched corbel-tables are analogous to those of the Foresteria of Sagra S. Michele, an authentically dated monument of 1002. Our baptistery may consequently be ascribed to c. 1005.

S. RUFFILLO DI BOLOGNA, S. VITTORE

(Plate 203, Fig. 3, 5; Plate 204, Fig. 1, 2, 3)

I. The important church of S. Vittore has never been published. Faccioli has printed an account of the recent restoration.

II. The history of the church is complicated by a great number of false inscriptions in and about the building. Certain of these preserved in the

nave are really not inscriptions at all, but stones coated with plaster, upon which letters are painted so cleverly that at first sight they deceive the eye into believing them carved. They are all of similar style, and composed in exceedingly obscure Latin. Although recording personages many of whom are supposed to have lived as early as the XII or XIII century, the inscriptions are of a style which can not be earlier than the XVIII century. It is evident that some perverted genius amused himself by executing these strange memorials, which may, therefore, be passed by as of no historical value.

Even worse, and positively misleading, are other inscriptions placed upon various portions of the edifice, and presumably the work of the same hand. Thus, on one of the central capitals of the western gallery of the cloister (Plate 204, Fig. 3), which was erected at the end of the XII century, we read that it was restored in 920.[1] On the stone of the well (Plate 204, Fig. 3), which is certainly of the Renaissance, and dates exactly from 1525, if I read correctly the weathered inscription, is inscribed the false date, 1066.[2] On the choir-stalls of pseudo-Gothic style is inscribed the date, 1047,[3] and also the information that they were restored in 1836.[4] This last date, and the style of the stalls, lead to the inference that all these forgeries were not perpetrated earlier than the second quarter of the XIX century.

Fortunately, authentic documents in regard to the history of S. Vittore are not lacking. The earliest of these is an inedited parchment of 1102 in the Archivio dello Stato at Bologna. From this we learn that at that time S. Vittore was already in existence, was officiated by a prior and chapter of canons regular,[5] and was already united with S. Giovanni in Monte of Bologna.[6] The strange document of 1117, published by Savioli, either from a corrupt copy or else badly printed by him, can not, therefore, be the original act of the concession of S. Giovanni in Monte to S. Vittore, but must be the confirmation of another act executed at least fifteen years previously, and probably by Pietro, the father of the two brothers, Giovanni and Alberto, mentioned in the deed.[7] In this document the same Alberio is mentioned as

1 REST.
A : D :
D CCCC XX

2 A . D . MLXUI

3 MXLVII

4 R MDCCCXXXVI

5 S. Giovanni in Monte is mentioned as a monastery in a document of 1017 published by Savioli, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 75.

6 Archivio dello Stato, Bologna, MS. 1/1341, Cart. 24. The chronological notes of the indiction are erroneous.

7 In nomine Domini anno ab incarnatione ejusdem millesimo cent. octauo decimo—quarto Kal. Octobris. indic. undecima. Nos quidem Johannes bonus filius petri de Clarissimo & Albertus frater ejus etc. etc. . . . Nos omnes qui patroni dicimur refu-

prior who appears in a privilege of Gualterio, archbishop of Ravenna.[8] Other documents referring to the church are extant, dating from the years 1151,[9] 1154,[10] 1159,[11] 1161,[12] and 1162.[13] In 1162 the emperor Barbarossa took the canons under his protection, and confirmed their possessions.[14] This imperial protection perhaps so strengthened the economic condition of the chapter that the canons resolved to rebuild their church. At all events, it is certain that in 1164 a donation was made for the work of construction upon the *paradiso* of S. Vittore.[15] Precisely what is meant by *paradiso* it is difficult to determine. The word generally is used to indicate a sort of park or court before the principal entrances of churches, and is not infrequently applied to the atrium. At S. Vittore, however, at least as the monument has come down to us, there is no fore-court or atrium. The church, however, is peculiar, in that it is divided into two portions by a jubé, or screen. It is possible that in this text the word *paradiso* refers to the western portion of the church, outside of the screen reserved for the laity. The document mentions a *magister* Butiro and a *marmorarius* Ugolino, who may have been employed upon the work of constructing the edifice.

tamus atque renunciamus juri nostro quodcumque habere uidemur aliqua racione uel occasione de ecclesia Sancti Johannis in monte cum cimiterio ejus tibi domino petro uen. presbitero & priori ejusdem ecclesie & domino Alberio. quam refutationem & renunciationem suscepit predictus prior pro se suisque fratribus presentibus & futuris in perpetuum in honorem Dei & Sancti Johannis & Sancti Victoris. (Savioli, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 167).

[8] In nomine sancte & induidue. Gualterius Dei gracia Sancte Rauennatis Ecclesie Archiepiscopus seruus seruorum dei licêt indignus. dilectis filiis Alberio priori & fratribus in ecclesia Sancti Victoris que juxta bononiam sita est. . . . Proinde dilecti in domino filii uestris petitionibus clementer annuentes ecclesiam sancti uictoris & ecclesiam Sancti Johannis euangeliste positam in monte oliueti in quibus diuino uacatis officio sancte Rauennatis ecclesie matris nostre metropolitane uestro priuilegio decreuimus muniendas. ut igitur locorum uestrorum quies per dei gratiam tranquilla & tuta persistat statuimus ut predicte ecclesie cum suis rebus . . . sint libere ab omni . . . tributo tam monachorum & clericorum quam laicorum. . . . uita quoque canonice ordinem quem professi estis presentis priuilegii auctoritate roboramus. (Savioli, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 185-186).

[9] Savioli, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 227. [10] *Ibid.*, 234.

[11] *Ibid.*, 261. [12] *Ibid.*, 263. [13] *Ibid.*, 266. [14] *Ibid.*, 264.

[15] In nomine Sancte & indiuidue Trinitatis an. Domini millesimo cent. sexagesimo quarto imperante Domino Fetherico Romano Imperatore anno imperii ejus nono. Septimo decimo Kal. Julii indict. XII. Ego quidem Alberto de Monzoni preuenire cupiendo meas scilicet res ac possessiones pro anima mea. Primo quidem uolo & confirmo donaciones quas feci ad Ecclesiam Sancti Victoris. . . . uinum quem ego habeo a grizana & ad Ellum uendatur & ipsos denarios & alios denarios quos habet Ugolinus marmorarius de meis uolo ut expendantur in opera paradisi Sancti Uictoris. . . . Actum in domum de supradicta Ecclesia indict. predicta prenominatus Alberto . . . omnia . . . scribere rogauit. Hec acta sunt in presencia Domini Episcopi gierardi & Domini Alberti prepositi & aliorum fratrum. & magister butirus. (Savioli, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 270).

In 1178 the church was consecrated. This fact is known from two sources: the first is a privilege promulgated in favour of the church by the commune of Bologna, on the day of the consecration, and witnessed by the bishop Giovanni, who officiated at that consecration;[16] the second is an inscription of 1427, placed upon the south wall of the church.[17] There is a slight discrepancy between the two sources, in that the consecration of the church is referred in the inscription to March 5, whereas in the privilege, at least as published by Savioli, the word *tertio* is dropped out, and the date reads accordingly, March 7.

Above the inscription is the epitaph of the bishop Enrico, canon of S. Vittore, who died in 1203.[18] It is evident that at the epoch at which the false inscriptions were forged the church was officiated by Lateran canons. I know of no documents, however, to establish the date at which this clergy was installed.

An inscribed stone of 1842 records a restoration of the church, and possibly gives a clue to the authorship of the false inscriptions.[19]

[16] . . . Quibus itaque rationibus inducti & devotis precibus domini Ribaldi Prioris & domini Ramberti prepositi Ecclesiarum Sancti Victoris & Sancti Johannis in monte eorumque fratrum & Canonicorum . . . predictas Ecclesias . . . sub protectione Communis Bonn. suscipimus. . . . Actum apud Ecclesiam Sancti Victoris in die consecrationis ejusdem Ecclesie. Anno domini milles. centes. LXXVIII. Presidente Alexandro summo Pontifice Romane Ecclesie & domino Johanne Bononie Episcopo. Non. Martii. Indict. XI. presente supradicto domino Johanne Episcopo Bonn. qui ipsam Ecclesiam consecrabat. . . . Ego Petrus Pizolus Bolognoli domini Octonis Imperatoris . . . notarius . . . (Savioli, Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 87).

[17] ĀN. DŌI. M.C.LXXVIII. TERTIO. NONAS. MĀRTII. D. IOHES. EPS. BON'.
COSECRAVIT. ISTAM. ECCLESIA. ET. ĀLTĀRE. MAIVS. AD HONORE
BEATISSIMI. VICTORIS. MĀRTIRIS. . [ET] ĀLIVD. ĀLTĀRE. A SEPTĒTRIONE. AD.
HONORE. [BE]ATI. IOHIS. B. P. [ET] ĀLIVD. A MERIDIĀNO. AD HONORE. S[ANCTI]. LAVRETII.
QVE. DVO. ĀLTĀRIA. TRASLATA. IN ĀNTERIORI. PTE. ECCE. [CON]SECRATA. [ET] INTITŌLATA.
FVERVT. VT. S. P. D. BENEDICTU. EPM ASISII. M.CCCC.XXVII. DIE. XX. AVGVSTI:

The abbreviations of the last line are perhaps to be interpreted *supra per dominum.*

[18] HIC RECONDITVR. CORPVS
REVEREDISSIMI. PATRIS. [ET] DNI
DNI. HENRICI. BONONIE. EPI.
ET. CĀNONICI. HVI'. MONASTERII
Q. OBIIT. ĀNNO. DO. M.CC.III.

In 1899 an archæological restoration of the edifice was undertaken. The old roof was destroyed, and a new one erected; the upper part of the north wall was reconstructed, as was also the pavement and the western portico; the ancient windows on the north flank were reopened, and the barocco windows closed; the wooden portions of the jubé were remade. Remains of ancient frescos came to light, the most important of which were promptly ruined by restoration.[20]

III. The edifice consists at present of a western porch, a nave of a single aisle divided into two portions by the jubé, and cloisters (Plate 204, Fig. 3) to the south of the church (Plate 203, Fig. 3). Originally the nave was somewhat longer and ended in an apse, but the eastern portions of the edifice have been destroyed to make way for the neighbouring houses. The jubé (Plate 203, Fig. 5), like that of Vezzolano (Plate 237, Fig. 1), is a solid structure of masonry. Although a large crack intervenes between the screen and the southern wall, there is no doubt that the jubé is contemporary with the church itself. The character of the masonry is identical in both structures, and the jubé is adorned with frescos (Plate 203, Fig. 5) which can not be later than the XII century. To the west side of the jubé has been added a gallery with wooden rail. This gallery is supported on three vaults, of which the two side ones form chapels, the central one the entrance to the choir. The gallery was doubtless added in 1427, and occasioned the removal of the side altars, as mentioned in the inscription. In fact, over the northern altar, on the wooden rail of the gallery, is still preserved the following inscription, painted in characters of the XV century:

ALTARE. S. MARIE. ET. S. [I]OHANIS. BAPTISTA

In a symmetrical position on the other side is the legend:

ALTARE. S. LAURENTII. MARTIRIS

19 ANNO M DCCC XXXXII
SODALES. PHILIPPIANI. BONONIENS.
NE. PRAECLARVM. RELIGIONIS
ET. VETVSTATIS. MONVMENTVM. NVSQVAM. ESSET
AEDEM. HANC. VICTORIS. MART.
CVM. CONTINENTIB. PRAEDIIS. QVATVOR
QVAM. IOS. CEVOLANIVS. VALETVDINAR. CENTENS. TEST. ADDIXERAT
A. VII. VIRIS. VALEDVD. EID. ADCVRAND. PRETIO. EMPTAM
OPERIBVS. QVA. REFECTIS
QVA. AD. PRISTINVM. ANTIQVITATIS. EXEMPLAR. REVOCATIS
SQVALLORE. DETERSO. RESTITVERVNT
PAVCA. DE. MVLTIS. SERVANTES
ERVDITIONI. POSTERITATIS.

20 Faccioli, 22-23.

There is no evidence to determine whether the nave was shortened at this time or later. The western porch is obviously an addition of the Renaissance.

The jubé is pierced by a small door in the centre and by two arcades of four arches each above. The church has always had a wooden roof, and there are no traces of a system or of buttresses. The pavement of the choir is considerably higher than that of the narthex.

The masonry (Plate 204, Fig. 2) is formed of long and narrow bricks, skilfully laid in horizontal courses, which are never broken. The mortar-beds are thin and there is no herring-bone work. The bricks have not regular cross-hatching, but rough incisions tending towards the vertical, scratched upon the exposed surfaces.

The charming cloisters (Plate 204, Fig. 3), which are now unfortunately in bad condition, had L-shaped piers on each angle. In the central arcade of the eastern and western sides were doorways opening into the court. These arcades were supported on heavy single columns. All the other arcades were originally supported on slender coupled columns, but many of the ancient columns have been replaced by octagonal brick piers (Plate 204, Fig. 3; Plate 203, Fig. 3). There were eleven arcades on the northern and southern sides, and thirteen on the eastern and western sides. Many of the shafts were of Verona marble (Plate 204, Fig. 1).

It is hard to see the original masonry of the cloister, and almost impossible to obtain data sufficient to form the basis for a comparison between the masonry of the cloister and that of the church. The fact, however, that the wooden roof of the cloister does now, and always must have, cut across the pilaster strips of the south wall of the church, indicates that the cloister is later than the basilica.

IV. The decoration of the church is very simple. The arcade of the jubé is in two orders (Plate 203, Fig. 5), the capitals simply splayed (Plate 203, Fig. 5). The colonnettes, one of which is octagonal, are monoliths, the bases are like inverted capitals (Plate 203, Fig. 5). The western gable has pilaster strips and a Greek-cross window surmounting an oculus, but has been much modernized. The northern flank of the church is not visible, but the southern flank still retains in great measure its original and beautiful decoration (Plate 203, Fig. 3; Plate 204, Fig. 2, 3). Triangular arched corbel-tables are grouped, generally six and six, by flat pilaster strips. These pilaster strips rise from a podium about 1.80 metres above the ground, and are cut by a string-course resembling a horizontal pilaster strip about two thirds of the distance between podium and cornice. This string-course is broken by the windows (Plate 203, Fig. 3). The novel use of this horizontal line is a noteworthy step in the development of mediæval art, and a remarkable anticipation of the baptistery of Parma. The artist has heightened his effect

by using square-headed windows (Plate 203, Fig. 3), of which the lintels are stepped externally, the sills internally.

The capitals of the cloister (Plate 204, Fig. 1) are beautifully executed and all of the broad-leaved type. The bases are Attic (Plate 203, Fig. 3), and many are supplied with griffes.

The nave preserves remains of the ancient fresco decoration. The lower of the two layers of frescos is certainly contemporary with the original construction of the basilica. In the middle of the jubé the heraldic figure of SANCTVS VICTOR has unfortunately been restored (Plate 203, Fig. 5). The haloed saint, clothed in green and purple, holds a sceptre in his right hand. The stiff, bony hands, the staring eyes and the technique of the hair and beard vividly recall the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo. On the lower part of the jubé are painted oblongs of green, separated by white bands—a decorative motive evidently derived from stone joints. On the upper part of the jubé is a painted rinceau (Plate 203, Fig. 5). The colours are dull browns, pink and yellowish white, the background green. On the lintel of the westernmost window of the nave is frescoed a vine-pattern in similar colours, but there is a red border. On the lintel of the walled-up doorway in the south wall of the nave is another conventional ornament, derived from stone joints. On the north wall are remains of figure frescos which included two rows of prophets. In the upper row, beginning at the left, is a fine figure, well preserved, except for the head, which is missing. The garments are of a reddish pink, and the figure bears a scroll with two inscriptions, one of which is painted over the other. It is, therefore, evident that these frescos were restored during the Middle Ages. There follows another figure much more damaged, and also holding a scroll with a double inscription. Of the third figure in green and purple, only a few traces are left. Much farther along are remains of a fourth figure holding a scroll which begins with the words EGO| DIXI.[21] Below are still extant the heads of four of the second row of prophets, DANIHEL, OSEH, IONAS, NAVM.

To the second layer of frescos, and consequently to a later epoch, belong the two female heads in Gothic niches (an Annunciation?) painted on the south side of the jubé. Even later is the Madonna of the nave.

V. S. Vittore is an authentically dated monument. It was in construction in 1164, and was consecrated in 1178. Whether the cloister was finished before 1178 or not is open to question, but from the fact that it must be later than the church, I believe it probable that it was erected after the consecration of 1178. The style, however, is so similar to that of the basilica that it is obvious no great interval of time could have separated the construction of the two edifices. We may assume, therefore, that the cloister was erected immediately after the consecration of the church, or c. 1180.

[21] Isai., lxv, 1.?

S. VITALE DELLE CARPINETE,[1] S. VITALE

I. The pieve of S. Vitale has been published by Maestri.[2] A careful study of the history of the edifice has been made by Viganò.[3] In the museum at Canossa are several drawings of the church, which were probably made by Viganò. They are important because they show the condition of the monument before the restoration. This restoration has been described by Faccioli.[4] An important study of the capitals of the ambo has been contributed by Venturi.[5]

II. The pieve of S. Vitale delle Carpinete is first mentioned in 1038.[6] According to Maestri[7] another document of 1070 also speaks of the church. In 1105 Pope Paschal II confirmed the *Baptismalem Ecclesiam S. Vitalis* to the monastery of S. Benedetto Po.[8]

There is a tradition that the church was erected by the countess Matilda. This was recorded in an inscription in the façade, still extant in 1744,[9] but which has now disappeared.

Two inscriptions, which also have now disappeared, recorded two priests of the church, Ubaldo and Anselmo, who died in 1154 and 1184, respectively.[10] Parts of these inscriptions were still visible in the time of Viganò.

The canonica was rebuilt between 1701 and 1714 by Count Francesco Maria della Palude.[11] In 1753, however, the church is spoken of as being abandoned, and roofed in wood.[12] It was probably restored soon after, and Renaissance vaults erected. These vaults stood until comparatively recent times. When I visited the church in 1913 I talked with a contadino who assured me that he had seen the edifice when it was still vaulted, but that "molti ma molti anni fa" the vaults fell. The vaults fell before 1881, since Viganò in that year described the church as being open to the weather.

In 1895 the edifice was restored. A chapel was formed of the western portions of the ruins, and this was covered with a roof. Some excavations were made, and measures taken to prevent further damage to the ruins. The restorers found evidence that the nave was three bays long.[13] The edifice has been declared a national monument.

III. The church consisted originally of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, an apse and a narthex, but only the western portal and some portions of the foundations of the apse survive. The western portal has been built into a modern chapel. Opposite the church are remains of the fine XVIII century canonica, now transformed into a house for contadini. The

[1] Frazione di S. Caterina (Reggio). The church is an hour's walk up the mountain from Carpineti.

[2] *Frassinoro*, 22. [3] 213 f. [4] 73. [5] III, 264 f.
[6] Viganò, 213. [7] *Frassinoro*, 22. [8] Bacchini, Ap. 59. [9] Viganò, 218.
[10] *Ibid.*, 215. [11] *Ibid.*, 217. [12] *Ibid.*, 218. [13] Faccioli, 73.

canonica was evidently sumptuous, and supplied with large rooms, fine fireplaces and monumental windows. There are visible traces of a Renaissance vault attached to the modern walls along what was once the nave of the church. Traces preserved in the ancient masonry make it evident that the narthex of the ancient church extended only in front of the central nave, and corresponded to the present oratory.

Very little of the original masonry survives, but it appears to have been ashlar of fine quality.

IV. There are extant fragments of capitals which show that the piers of the church must have been cylindrical. These capitals are of Corinthianesque type, with well carved and classic acanthus leaves, somewhat thick at the top. The cellars on the west side of the ancient canonica contain four colonnettes, with capitals, which are used as second-hand material, and doubtless come from the church. The capitals are carved with grotesque heads and conventional patterns. Four arcuated lintels, preserved in the same place, show that the ancient windows must have been widely splayed and have served without glass.

The western portal is in four orders, moulded and shafted. One of its capitals has anthemion leaves which recall those of Rubbiano. The archivolts are carved with interlaces and anthemia, the outer jamb with fine mouldings.

Certain capitals which are said to come from the ambo of this church are scattered around in the museum of Modena, and in various country churches. They are evidently by the hand of the same sculptor who executed the pontile of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 145, Fig. 4). A detailed description of them is here omitted, partly because they fall in the XIII century, and hence outside the limits of this book, and partly because they have been excellently described and illustrated by Venturi.[14]

V. The style of the architecture confirms the tradition that the church was erected by Matilda. The fine mouldings of the portal, and certain of its capitals, it is true, might seem to indicate a later date, but both these features are paralleled in those portions of the cathedral of Modena erected between 1099 and 1106. It is evident that S. Vitale was much influenced by the work of Lanfranco. The pieve may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1110.

S. ZACCARIA DI ROCCA SUSELLA,[1] S. ZACCARIA

(Plate 205, Fig. 3)

I. S. Zaccaria has been published by Cavagna Sangiuliani. Historical notices of the church are contained in the work of Pollini.[2]

[14] III, 264 f. [1] (Pavia). [2] 72.

II. S. Zaccaria is the ancient pieve of Rocca Susella (*Rocha de Axixellae*) conceded by the emperor Barbarossa to Pavia in 1164.[3] According to a catalogue of the XIV century,[4] S. Zaccaria was head of fourteen parishes, but in 1598 the number had shrunk to eleven, and to ten in 1659. According to Pollini[5] there was a chapter of four canons which, however, was suppressed as early as 1449. In 1686 the western bays had already been desecrated, since the bishop of Tortona ordered that they should be put in decent condition.[6] The vault of the existing nave was erected in 1819.[7]

III. The church consisted originally of a nave seven bays long, two side aisles and three apses, but in the baroceo period the three western bays of the nave were walled off and desecrated, the eastern bay of the northern side aisle and its absidiole were converted into a sacristy, the northern absidiole was destroyed, both side aisles were in great part made over into houses, a new campanile was erected, and the four eastern bays of the nave and the apse were converted into a baroceo chapel. The latter is still open for worship. The ancient Lombard façade and other parts of the original structure still exist. The church stands upon vaulted substructures which are at present used as wine-cellars.

The nave was roofed in timber, with the exception of the eastern bay, which was vaulted. Above the existing modern vault may still be seen the amortizements of this ancient vault, but it is impossible to say whether it was barrel or groin. The side aisles were groin-vaulted. Two of these vaults still survive in the eastern and western bays of the northern side aisle. That of the western bay, which is not domed, is evidently modern. The eastern bay of the northern side aisle has a vigorous rectangular buttress. It is, therefore, probable that originally only the eastern bays of the side aisles were vaulted.

The piers probably were cruciform in section, two of the arms being rectangular and two semicircular. The responds included three members.

The edifice is constructed throughout of polychromatic masonry. Even the piers show bands of stone and brick. The masonry is of excellent quality, the joints fine, the stones well cut (Plate 205, Fig. 3), the bricks large and laid in horizontal courses. In the apse (Plate 205, Fig. 3) and eastern bay of the northern side aisle, stone predominates, but the saw tooth of the apse cornice is of brick. Stone predominates also in the upper part of the walls of the west end of the nave. Many traces of plaster on the interior face of these walls make it clear that, notwithstanding the excellent quality of the masonry, the surface was covered with frescos.

IV. The capitals of the eastern portion of the church are carved with rinceaux or acanthus leaves. One in the eastern bay of the northern side

[3] Cavagna Sangiuliani, 129. [4] *Ibid.*, 130.
[5] 72. [6] Cavagna Sangiuliani, 142. [7] *Ibid.*, 144.

aisle shows a siren and an animal devouring a man. Those of the principal portal are of a dry, uncarved Corinthianesque type; those of the western bays of the church of a hard, cubic type, with convex cushions. The bases are of flattened, Attic character.

The apse is adorned internally with three blind arches. The principal portal is in four unmoulded orders. The façade is divided into four divisions by shafts engaged upon pilaster strips, and is characterized by a biforum and moulded oculi. The former has coupled columns. The apse (Plate 205, Fig. 3) has a window in several orders, moulded, and simple arched corbel-tables, surmounted by a saw-tooth cornice, and supported by pilaster strips with engaged shafts.

V. The blind arches of the apse are an extraordinary feature which finds its closest analogy in the niches of the apse of S. Fedele at Como (Plate 61), an edifice which dates from c. 1115. The arched corbel-tables of the apse, and the pilaster strips with engaged shafts (Plate 205, Fig. 3), also recall the apse of S. Fedele. The masonry of S. Zaccaria (Plate 205, Fig. 3) is, however, somewhat more advanced than that of the church of Como (Plate 64, Fig. 4). We may, therefore, assume that the eastern portions of S. Zaccaria were erected c. 1120. The western portions are evidently somewhat later. The capitals and the masonry recall Montechiaro d'Asti (Plate 148, Fig. 3), an edifice which dates from c. 1140. It is probable, therefore, that S. Zaccaria was finished about this time.

S. ZENO DI CASTELLETTO,[1] S. ZENO

I. This church has been described in the guide of Simeoni.[2]

II. I know of no documents which illustrate the history of the edifice.

III. The church consists of a nave seven bays long, terminating in a central apse and a very small southern absidiole, and a northern side aisle ending in an apse. The arcades separating the two aisles are supported on columns and piers in regular alternation, except that the western bay is walled off to form a sort of chapel. The church is roofed in timber.

The masonry of the partition walls separating the two aisles is faced with fine ashlar, but the outside walls are built of rubble. The masonry of the southern wall is quite different in quality from that of the northern wall. Therefore, notwithstanding a Romanesque window, small and in several orders, I conclude that the northern wall was rebuilt probably in the time of the Renaissance, and in part with ancient materials. That the church has always possessed much the same plan as at present is proved by the traces

[1] Frazione di Castelletto di Brenzone (Verona). [2] 336.

of ancient frescos which still survive in the northern absidiole. A campanile rises over the chapel in the western bay of the side aisle. It is constructed of rubble similar to that of the side-aisle wall and façade. In the upper story of this campanile there is a simple biforum in each face, with a plain capital. The masonry throughout has square scaffolding holes.

IV. The piers of the interior are without capitals or bases. Of the columns, which are likewise without bases, two have pilfered Roman capitals. The third has a cubic capital, of a type which recalls Fontanella al Monte (Plate 92) and S. Giorgio at Almenno, but there is only one loop in each face, and above the necking is a deeply undercut scotia. The exterior of the church is without decoration of any kind.

V. The cubic capital of the interior is evidently more advanced in style than the capitals of S. Giorgio at Almenno (c. 1120) and Fontanella al Monte (c. 1130). S. Zeno in Castelletto may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1135.

SASSO,[1] PIEVE S. MARIA

(Plate 205, Fig. 1, 2, 4)

I, II. This church so far as I know has not been published, nor am I aware of any historical notices which refer to it.

III. The church consists of a nave five bays long (Plate 205, Fig. 1), two side aisles, a much raised choir of a single bay flanked by side aisles, and three apses. With the exception of the half domes of the apses, the edifice is entirely roofed in wood. The supports are all cylindrical piers (Plate 205, Fig. 1), but the east and west responds are pilasters.

The edifice is entirely constructed of ashlar masonry, so crude in character as almost to amount to rubble (Plate 205, Fig. 2). It is only seldom that the courses are horizontal, and this horizontality is never long maintained. The stones, only roughly squared, or sometimes not squared at all, are separated by very thick beds of mortar of poor quality. The pavement slopes sharply to the north. There is a diminutive clearstory placed very high (Plate 205, Fig. 2). The windows, very small, and in the side-aisle walls widely splayed (Plate 205, Fig. 2), were intended to serve without glass. The edifice is in perfect preservation except for a few reparations to the walls, and a coat of whitewash applied to the interior, spoiling the frescos, which, however, do not appear to have been of extraordinary value.

[1] Sasso is a frazione of Neviano degli Arduini (Parma). The church is situated on top of the mountain, ten minutes' walk from the carriage road.

IV. There are no capitals properly speaking, the archivolts in a single order being adjusted to the cylindrical piers merely by cutting off the edges (Plate 205, Fig. 1). Neither are there bases. The apse arches are in two orders. The exterior is adorned with simple arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips at the angles (Plate 205, Fig. 2). On the principal apse and façade extra pilaster strips are introduced. The north side-aisle wall and the absidiole have been made over, and have lost in great part their corbel-tables (Plate 205, Fig. 2).

In the sacristy are preserved some interesting fragments of sculpture which probably came from an ambo. The first of these contains the following inscription:

✠ EGO IV[LIANV]S
PB̄R MEO [D]E
MI [CVM] ORE FIE
RI IVSSI
QVI LEGE
ORE PRO
ME PECCA
TVRE

The Latin is so uncouth and barbarous that it is not easy to interpret, but I believe it should be translated as follows: "I, Giuliano the priest, with my own money (*meo de mi cvm ore* being equivalent to *meo cum auro*) ordered this to be made. Let him who reads pray for me a sinner." We have, therefore, the name of the donor, but unfortunately not the date. The second fragment is undoubtedly a portrait of the priest Giuliano (Plate 205, Fig. 4). It represents a priest with tonsured head, his right hand extended, with the fingers raised as if in benediction, and a purse, which he doubtless offers to the church, held in his left hand. Another fragment represents the Evangelist, Matthew, who holds a book with the usual inscription: LIBER| GENE|RACI|ONI'| IHV| X̄PI| FILII| AB . . . . .[2] A fourth fragment shows the Evangelist, Mark, winged, and holding a book. Other fragments represent a dove bearing a flower in its bill, and a curious object, possibly a gourd, in its claw. Below is a griffin with bird's head and wings, animal's body and feet, and a tail ending in foliage.

In style these sculptures are excellent, and are evidently the work of the same master who executed the capitals of the cathedral of Parma. The gourd-shaped object carried by the dove and the purse of the priest, the curious treatment of the draperies (which are represented like spiral-fluted columns), the convention used in the treatment of the hair, the pure ornament, the griffin, the faces, and the treatment of the eyes, all recall the Parma capitals.

[2] Matt., i, 1.

V. The extremely primitive architecture of the church, and its crude masonry suggest at once that it dates from the first half of the XI century. It should be observed, however, that the arched corbel-tables of a fully developed type can not be earlier than c. 1040, when this motive was first introduced. Furthermore, both the primitive architecture of Sasso, and the crude masonry of which it is constructed, may be due, in no small part, to the wild and remote situation of the edifice on top of a mountain, where building operations could only have been conducted under conditions of great difficulty and laboriousness. It is probable, therefore, that the style of Sasso is somewhat behind the times, and the building may be ascribed to c. 1050. The sculptures of the ambo, on the other hand, are evidently later, since they are by the hand of the same artist who executed the capitals of the cathedral of Parma in the fourth decade of the XII century. While absolute proof is lacking, I am inclined to think that these ambo sculptures, instead of being later, are earlier than those of the cathedral of Parma, and may hence be ascribed to c. 1125.

SERRAVALLE,[1] BATTISTERO

(Plate 206, Fig. 1)

I. The beautiful baptistery of Serravalle was first published by Lopez, who illustrated it with a plan, section and elevation.[2] It was subsequently described by Molossi[3] and Mothes.[4] A restoration of the edifice is recorded by Faccioli.[5]

II. Of the history of the baptistery absolutely nothing is known, but the pieve of Serravalle was probably founded at an early epoch, since two pieces of Carlovingian carving, probably of the IX century, are still preserved in the portal. The baptistery was desecrated and used as a storehouse in the XIX century. Between 1892 and 1897 it was restored. It is at present in bad static conditions.

III. The edifice consists of a single-aisled, octagonal structure roofed in wood (Plate 206, Fig. 1). There are two doorways and four windows, the latter widely splayed and intended to serve without glass (Plate 206, Fig. 1). One has a little moulding. In the angles of the interior are alternately half columns and pilasters, and the angles are reinforced externally by buttresses (Plate 206, Fig. 1).

The masonry internally and externally consists of ashlar of fine quality (Plate 206, Fig. 1). Well squared blocks of varying sizes are skilfully laid

[1] (Parma). [2] Tavola aggiunta. [3] 508. [4] I, 263. [5] 84.

in courses horizontal, though frequently broken. Arcuated lintels and elbow blocks are characteristic of the construction (Plate 206, Fig. 1).

IV. The ornament of the baptistery is remarkable above all for its classic character, and it is not surprising that it has frequently been taken for a Roman building. The half columns and pilasters, the restraint of the ornament, the fine masonry, and the purity of the mouldings, all combine to make it the most classic building of the Middle Ages in Lombardy. A cornice of very classic character crowns the wall internally, and is carried around the pilasters to form their capitals. It is also carried around the columns, but the upper band is made square like an abacus, and the resulting space between the angle and the round bell is filled by a sort of reversed griffe or, in one case, by a head and an eagle. The exterior cornice of similar character (Plate 206, Fig. 1) is carried around the buttresses, which are treated like pilasters, very classically. One of the doorways has an arch with raised extrados.

V. The style of the head of the capital, the classic character of the building, the great artistic restraint, the original conception, the exquisite detail, and the love of the horizontal line, all show that in the baptistery of Serravalle we have a work of the great Benedetto. It is remarkable, however, that in the building, with the exception of one very small head, there is no sculpture. Now, the inscription on the Parma Deposition implies that Benedetto had executed works of architecture before undertaking his first commission in sculpture, in 1178. It is probable that in the baptistery of Serravalle we have an early work of the master, executed before he went to Parma. The monument may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1175.

SETTIMO VITTONE,[1] BATTISTERO DI S. LORENZO

(Plate 206, Fig. 2)

I. The baptistery of Settimo Vittone has been published by Monneret de Villard. For the history of the edifice, the work of Boggio should be consulted. Drawings by the latter are preserved in the museum of Turin.

II. Over the portal is a modern inscription stating that Beata Ansgorda, queen of France, was here buried in 889.[2] This tradition has been rejected

[1] (Torino). The baptistery is ten minutes' walk up the mountain from the town.

[2] HIC
BEATA ANSGORDA
GALLICE REGINA
COND. AN. D CCCLXXXIX

by Monneret de Villard, but it seems to me that it merits belief. It is known that Ensgarda, sister of Anscario, Marchese of Ivrea (and hence a north Italian), married Lodovico il Balbo, the eldest son of Charles the Bald (†877), but was later repudiated by him, and died in the odour of sanctity.[3] A diploma which mentions that Anscario founded a church of S. Eligerio at Settimo appears to be apocryphal, but no historical facts, in so far as they can be ascertained, contradict the tradition commemorated in the inscription of the baptistery. In the absence of proof to the contrary, the facts recorded in the inscription, in themselves probable enough, merit belief. We may even go farther and conjecture that Ensgarda founded the church in which she was buried.

Of the subsequent history of the edifice nothing is known.

III, IV. The baptistery is connected with the neighbouring church of S. Lorenzo[4] by a passage-way. The baptistery itself consists of a simple octagonal structure, with a square eastern apse (Plate 206, Fig. 2). In the northern face is the main entrance, in the southern, the passage-way leading to the church. In each of the other faces, with the exception of the eastern occupied by the apse, there is a rectangular niche. These niches are covered by an arch.

The central area is covered by a dome rather than by a cloistered vault. The eastern apse is covered by a groin vault, considerably domed and supplied with highly loaded wall ribs. The eastern responds comprise three rectangular members. Externally the edifice is surmounted by a little bell-turret in two stories (Plate 206, Fig. 2), with bifora and arched corbel-tables grouped two and two.

The masonry consists of rubble of the roughest description (Plate 206, Fig. 2). Bits of brick, round stones from the river-bed, rough blocks, and other materials are laid helter-skelter. No attempt is made to maintain the courses horizontal. The walls are of enormous thickness. The windows are narrow, but not particularly splayed. The bell-turret is constructed with bricks, better laid than in the main body of the structure.

V. The style of the masonry fully confirms the documentary evidence that the baptistery was built in 889. The bell-turret is evidently a later addition. Because of the masonry, analogous to that of Lomello (Plate 109, Fig. 4), it may be assigned to c. 1025.

[3] Boggio, 12-13.

[4] This barrel-vaulted edifice, although constructed of rubble, is not earlier than the XIV or XV century. It contains good frescos of the XVI century, with traces of earlier ones underneath.

SEZZÈ,[1] S. GIUSTINA

(Plate 206, Fig. 3, 4)

I. The abbey of S. Giustina of Sezzè has had the singular and, among the minor edifices of northern Italy, almost unique, honour of having been the object of an entirely adequate monograph. The work of Francesco Gasparolo is not only a complete illustration of Sezzè, but a valuable contribution to the history of Piemonte.

II. The abbey of S. Giustina of Sezzè was founded by Luitprando (712-743). This is expressly stated in the charter of foundation of the monastery, which will be cited below, and is the constant local tradition. It is, for example, recounted by Fra Jacopo da Acqui, and embellished with the picturesque details which that author so loved.[2]

In the year 1030 the marchese Oberto endowed a monastery to be established in the church of S. Giustina at Sezzè, which basilica, he tells us, had been founded by Luitprando.[3] It is notable that in the charter of

[1] (Alessandria).

[2] Ut autem novit rex Aliudprandi XXVIII rex Longobardorum tempore Anastaxii secundi primo ossa sancti episcopi transtulit de Sardinia Papiam. anno Iesu Christi DCCXXII. sub alio imperatore romano Theodosio IIII et Leone sequente imperatore tercio istius nominis. Et ibidem transiens Liudprandus rex qui modo dicitur Aliprandus bonus et devotus christianus. voluit sub quadam arbore in meridie quiescere in loco ubi nunc est monasterium sancte Iustine. Iste enim Liudprandus semper secum equitando portabat reliquias de illis sancte Iustine in quadam piscide alba eburnea, et cum dormire vellet ibi. piscidem cum sacris reliquiis deposuit ad ramum unius arboris. et post quietem volens pissidem accipere. saltavit ad alium ramum et de ramo in ramum. Ex predictis rex cognoscens Dei voluntatem. ibi ecclesiam edificavit in honorem sancte Iustine. et sacras reliquias ibidem ordinavit. Postmodum vero. tempore procedente marchionum quidam de predicto Sezadio nomine Oberto devotus in Christo. capellam predictam sancte Iustine amplificavit. et monasterium magnum construxit ordinis sancti Benedicti monachorum nigrorum. et magnifice magnis possessionibus dotavit. et ibi extra in ipso introitu ecclesie in parte dextra apud terram est sepultura predicti marchionis Oberti. et annuatim perpetuo in anno ipsius debet a monasterio magna de pane elymosina dari omnibus pauperibus ibi elymosinam venientium. (Frate Jacopo da Acqui, *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi*, ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, V, 1412).

[3] The charter of foundation, incorrectly edited by Moriondo (I, 25), has been accurately printed and reproduced in facsimile by Gasparolo. The most important phrases are: In nomine domini dei et saluatoris nostrj ihesu xristi Chunradus gratia dei imperator augustus anno imperii eius domino propitio tertio Ii sumus nos ipsi pater et filii ex natione nostra lege uiuere salicha. . . . confirmamus ut petia una de terra posita in loco et fundo seciadi cum basilica una que ibidem est edifficata in honore sancte iustine . . . permaneant . . . domino et sancte iustine. . . . Omnia que super leguntur ueniant et sint in potestate monasterii que est fundatum iuxta prefata basilica sancte instine in predicto loco seciadi comitatu aquense. et fuit ipsa basilica constructa ad bone memorie dominus liuprandus excellentissimo rege cuius regni langobardorum et ad nos institutum est monasterium. . . . (Gasparolo, II, 5).

foundation Oberto is very careful not to say that he built the church. He takes to himself the credit of having founded the monastery, but the church, he says, was built by Luitprando. Similarly, in the mosaic pavement of the crypt, there is an inscription which merely calls Oberto the restorer and decorator of this church.[4] A study of the architecture of the church, however, reveals the fact that the existing structure is a homogeneous edifice that must have been erected c. 1030. The conclusion, therefore, is forced upon us that Oberto, in a pious desire not to obscure the glory of the Lombard king who had founded the church, declined to record to posterity the fact that he had not only restored and adorned it, but completely reconstructed it. If he had called himself the builder of the church, he would have deprived Luitprando of the credit to which he was entitled for the first foundation.

When Oberto died, he was buried in the church as became the founder.[5]

In 1192 the monastery was taken under the protection of the see of St. Peter by the pope, Celestine III.[6]

At the end of the XIV century the monastery fell into a decline which, in the XV century, became precipitate. So far did the decay advance that there were no longer any monks who lived in the monastery. Sezzè was consequently made a priory of the congregation of S. Gerolamo della Cervara in the year 1434.[7] The restoration of the church begun in consequence was finished only in 1447.[8] In 1478 the abbey was given in commendam,[9] and in 1582 was entrusted to the Oblati.[10] In 1810 the Oblati were suppressed.[11] In 1863 the property was acquired by the Frascara family, who still continue to reside in the adjoining villa.[12]

III. The church consisted originally of a nave five bays long, two side aisles, projecting transepts, three apses and a crypt, but these dispositions have been radically altered. In the XV century the original wooden roof was replaced by Gothic rib vaults, in consequence of which the clearstory of the nave and the piers were rebuilt. Perhaps somewhat earlier a tower had been erected over the western bay of the nave (Plate 206, Fig. 3). In recent times the northern transept, which is still used as a chapel, has been walled off from the rest of the edifice, which has been desecrated and subdivided into various rooms.

The XV century alterations make it exceedingly difficult to determine

[4] OTBERTVS MARCHIO HVIVS
DOMVS DNI REPARATOR ET ORNATOR

[5] Gasparolo, I, 17.

[6] *Codice della Croce*, MS. Amb., D. S. IV, 11/I, 11; Moriondo, I, 97; Gasparolo, II, 12.

[7] Gasparolo, I, 41. [8] *Ibid.*, 49. [9] *Ibid.*, 51. [10] *Ibid.*, 62. [11] *Ibid.*, 99.

[12] To the same family also belongs the neighbouring church of S. Stefano, which contains some fragments of architecture of c. 1100—an archivolt carved with rinceaux and two capitals.

the section of the ancient piers. Near the west end, however, are some remains which give the impression that the XII century piers were square and the archivolts of a single order. The clearstory was well raised above the side aisles, as is evident from the remains of the ancient rake of the gable and the cornice of the clearstory walls still in place in the west tower (Plate 206, Fig. 3). There were probably galleries over the side aisles.

The masonry (Plate 206, Fig. 4) consists of a mixture of rough stones, more or less brick-shaped, and brick. The mortar-beds are thick. The courses, for the most part horizontal, are frequently irregular, and there is some herring-bone work.

IV. The existing cubic capitals evidently belong to the XV century reconstruction, and none of the original capitals are extant. Of the ancient ornament there survives only the arched corbel-tables which were applied to all the exterior walls (Plate 206, Fig. 3, 4) and grouped by pilaster strips two and two, except that on the east façade of the transepts is one group of three and in the central gable of the west façade (Plate 206, Fig. 3) one group of five.

In the crypt is a well preserved mosaic with ornamental patterns in black and white. The design consists of interlaced circles with quatrefoils and leaf patterns. There are no figures.

The church still retains exquisite XIV century frescos, some of which show close analogy with the school of Verona. In the transepts certain of these frescos have been cut across by the vaults, but may be seen under the roof.

V. S. Giustina of Sezzè dates from 1030. The vaults were added 1434-1447.

SIRMIONE,[1] S. PIETRO IN MAVINO

(Plate 207, Fig. 5)

I. Drawings of this church have been published by Orti Manara.

II. To recall the importance of the lovely peninsula of Sirmione in the Longobard and Carlovingian periods, there is extant only the little church of S. Pietro in Mavino, since practically nothing remains of S. Salvatore, the famous dependence of the monastery of the same name at Brescia. S. Pietro in Mavino existed as early as the year 765, since it is mentioned in a document of Cunimondo.[2]

[1] (Verona).

[2] In nomine domini regnantibus dominis nostris desiderio et adelchis viris excellentissimis regibus. anno pietatis regni eorum in dei nomine nono et sexto die ter-

Over the western portal is the inscription:

A. D. M CCC XX

which doubtless indicates the date of an important restoration. This must have included not only the reconstruction of the walls in great part, but also adorning the edifice with frescos, since one of the latter bears the inscription:

ANNO DNI M
CCC XXI
I
INDICCT[IO]E
QUARTA

The church was not, however, entirely reconstructed at this period, since there are other older layers of fresco beneath the one which bears the date. These frescos are covered with graffiti, many of the XVI and XVII centuries.

Another layer of frescos bears the date 1524. According to Orti Manara, the church underwent a restoration in 1827.[3]

III. The edifice consists of a single-aisled nave roofed in wood and three apses. The masonry (Plate 207, Fig. 5) consists of rubble, very roughly laid. Uncut stones, and odd pieces of brick—which seem to have been, for the most part, pilfered from the neighbouring Roman ruins—are very roughly laid in mortar of good quality, which recalls Roman mortar, in that it contains pebbles, often of considerable size. The walls, especially at the west end of the church, have evidently been much restored, doubtless in 1320. The campanile is also constructed of rubble (Plate 207, Fig. 5), but of much better quality than that of the nave. The upper story of the campanile and the cornice of the nave are modern. The original windows of the church have all been walled up. They seem to have been small, widely splayed, and supplied with brick archivolts.

IV. The church is absolutely destitute of ornament of all kinds, except frescos, which were applied to the wall externally as well as internally. The campanile has arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips.

Two fragments of Carlovingian carving are used as second-hand material in the façade. In the archway of the town is another fine slab of Carlovingian carving. There is nothing to show, however, whether the latter comes from the church of S. Pietro or from S. Salvatore.

V. The masonry of the main body of the church is analogous to that of the basilica of Agliate (Plate 5, Fig. 7), a monument of c. 875. S. Pietro

tiodecimo de mense iunio Indicione tercia. Ego in dei nomine Cunimund filius quondam bonæ memoriæ Cunimundi propter salutem dixi. . . . Dono atque cedo ego Cunimund . . . in ecclesia sci Petri in Mavinas . . . mea domo cultile quam habere visus sum in Gosenagio . . . (Odorici, III, 42).

[3] 100.

in Mavino may, consequently, be ascribed to the same epoch. The campanile, however, is evidently later, and may be ascribed to c. 1070, notwithstanding the crudity of the masonry.

SOMMACAMPAGNA,[1] S. ANDREA

(Plate 207, Fig. 1, 3)

I. The church of S. Andrea at Sommacampagna has been published by Carletti in the *Adige,* a local newspaper of Verona. The history of Da Persico contains a description of the building as it was in 1820.[2] In the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona are preserved drawings of the church, made c. 1800, by Cristofori.[3] The portfolio is labelled *Antica Chiesa di S. Andrea di Soma Campagna fu Tempio di Diana.* The drawings include a plan and two perspectives, one of the interior, the other of the exterior, of the church. It is evident that at the time of Cristofori there were two towers, one over either absidiole. Moreover, the façade is shown as supplied with two oculi and two round-headed windows, instead of with the single round-headed window which at present exists (Plate 207, Fig. 1).

II. According to Carletti, the church is mentioned in a document of 1035. In 1145 Pope Eugenius III speaks of the church as being a pieve with dependent chapels and separate revenues. Two frescos of the interior bear the date 1384. In 1540 the new parish church of S. Maria was erected, and S. Andrea became the chapel of the cemetery, as which it still continues to serve. As late as the time of Biancolini, however, the archpriest of Sommacampagna still made his solemn entry into the church of S. Andrea.

III. The edifice consists of a nave five bays long, two side aisles and three apses, but the absidioles which originally existed have been replaced by square chapels. With the exception of the central apse the church is entirely roofed in wood (Plate 207, Fig. 3). The nave and side aisles are divided by cylindrical piers, except in the case of the eastern piers, which are square, and the western pier in the southern arcade, which is formed of two Roman pedestals. There is a little clearstory with small, widely splayed windows (Plate 207, Fig. 3). The eastern arches of the arcade have been in part walled up (Plate 207, Fig. 3), doubtless at the epoch when the

[1] (Verona).

[2] Sommacampagna ancora ha in piedi l'antica sua parrocchiale a tre navi, intitolata a S. Andrea. Restavi parte del muricciuolo, che vi separava gli uomini dalle donne, ed alcuna delle vecchie pitture a fresco; ma sta per rovinare pur essa, minacciando rovina il primo suo campanile. (Da Persico, II, 237).

[3] MS. 1002, XLVII, Fasc. 2.

absidioles were made over. Since the masonry is covered with frescos of the XV century, this alteration must have been made before that date.

The walls are built of unhewn stones of roundish shape, laid approximately in horizontal courses (Plate 207, Fig. 1). Some bricks are used, and these are occasionally placed in herring-bone courses.

IV. The central apse is characterized by an oculus and a cornice of developed arched corbel-tables. The square piers of the interior are without capitals and bases, but the cylindrical piers are merged into the square section of the load as simply as possible (Plate 207, Fig. 3). The archivolts are in a single unmoulded order.

V. The piers of Sommacampagna, with their indeterminate shifting from cylindrical support to rectangular load, are closely analogous to those of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 1). The apse of Sommacampagna is also adorned with developed arched corbel-tables like those of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 2). On the other hand, the masonry of Sommacampagna (Plate 207, Fig. 1) is rougher and more primitive than that of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 2), and approaches the character of that of Oleggio (Plate 160, Fig. 1). Sommacampagna is, however, more advanced than Oleggio, in that the corbel-tables are fully developed, and the piers cylindrical instead of rectanglar (Plate 160, Fig. 2). Our church, therefore, seems to fall between Sasso, which dates from c. 1050, and Oleggio, which dates from c. 1030, and may consequently be ascribed to c. 1040.

SPARONE,[1] S. CROCE

I. To the extent of my knowledge, this monument has never been published.

II. An inscription over the western portal records restorations to the edifice carried out in 1730, 1858 and 1882.

III. The chapel consisted originally of a nave of a single aisle and an apse, but a large southern chapel and a western portico have been added. About the edifice are remains of many other buildings, but it is not clear for what purpose these served. The northern wall of the church and part of the southern wall, are masked. The campanile is modern.

The widely splayed windows were intended to serve without glass. The masonry is formed of rubble. Large, small and medium sized stones, unsquared, are laid at haphazard in thick beds of mortar.

[1] (Torino). The chapel is situated on top of the hill, ten minutes' walk from the village.

IV. The apse and exterior walls, wherever the latter are visible, are adorned externally with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two. The exterior still bears abundant traces of the intonaco with which it was covered, but the interior has been entirely modernized and is covered by modern vaults.

The church of Sparone is of interest chiefly for the remarkable traces of the original fresco decorations of the exterior, which are still extant. This decoration is executed in red and white, and consists of conventional patterns, obviously suggested by brickwork. The windows, the arched corbel-tables and the cornice were especially picked out for coloured ornament. Anything more dainty or effective than this simple design it would be difficult to conceive. The remains of the church of Sparone are of the greatest importance, as preserving to us some idea of the skill of the Lombard masters in colour decoration.

V. The masonry of Sparone is analogous to that of Cavriana, an edifice which dates from 1025. The arched corbel-tables grouped two and two are similar to those of Cavriana and of Lomello (Plate 110, Fig. 2), another edifice which dates from the same time. Sparone may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1025.

SPIGNO MONFERRATO,[1] S. QUINTINO

(Plate 207, Fig. 2, 4)

I. The church of S. Quintino at Spigno has never been published.

II. The charter of foundation was long known only from the edition of Moriondo,[2] which was derived from a late transcription. The original, however, has recently been found and published in facsimile by Poggi. A modern transcription is contained in the *Codice della Croce* of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, and from this we quote, since it is inedited, and in the main exact. "In the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord, 991, on the fourth day of May, the fourth Indiction. . . . We, Anselmo, marchese, son of Aledramo, likewise marchese, and Gisla, countess, daughter of Adalberti, . . . declare that the late Oddo, who was our ancestor, desired to construct a monastery in the place of Spigno, and at the spot which is called Monte S. Quintino, and that this monastery was to be dedicated in honour of the Lord God our Saviour and of St. Thomas, the Apostle, and of the blessed martyr of Christ, Quintino. Therefore we, husband and wife . . . descendants of the above-mentioned Oddo, now construct that monastery and also give a hospital for the reception of pilgrims."[3]

[1] (Alessandria). [2] I, 9.

[3] In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis anno incarnationis domini nostri iesu christi nongentesimo nonagesimo primo quarto die mensis madii indicione quarta . . .

Among the goods given to the new monastery is included everything which had belonged to the abbey of S. Salvatore, built at Giusvalla (Visiovallis), but destroyed by the "perfidious race of the Saracens." The latter, according to Fra Jacopo da Acqui, had been founded by the widow of that Oberto who founded the monastery of Sezzè.[4]

The list of donations made to the abbey in 991 is so ample that it has raised unfounded doubts as to the authenticity of the charter.[5] The document is, however, in every way worthy of faith.

The extraordinary wealth of the abbey appears also in an inedited privilege granted by Galdino, archbishop of Milan, in 1170.[6]

The monastery appears in a deed of sale of 1328.[7] After this date the documents, so far as I have been able to discover, are silent in regard to the edifice.

The church is now converted into a private villa belonging to a gentleman of Genoa.

III. The church (Plate 207, Fig. 4) consisted originally of a single-

prouidimus nos anselmus marchio filius bone memorie aledrami itemque marchio et gisla cometissa iugalibus filia adalberti . . . manifesti sumus nos . . . quod predictus quondam oddo qui fuit genitor et germanus noster desiderauit construere monasterium in loco et fundo spignum ad locum hubi monte sancti quintini dicitur in onore domni dei saluatoris sanctique thome apostoli, et beati martiris christi quintini. Quapropter nos qui supra iugales et nos germani filii iam dicti oddoni nunc ipsum monasterium . . . construimus . . . nec non et ospitium atque peregrinorum susceptionem donamus . . . ordinamus ecciam ut sit ipsum monasterium in consecratione episcopi sancte uadensis ecclesie ad consecrationem faciendam et crisma dandum quod si presul illius ecclesie abati aut monachis de consecratione et crismatis donacione ex consuetudine aliqua dona quesierit uel si contradicere uoluerit tunc sanctam apostolicam adgrediant sedem et cum auctoritate summi pontificis eligant aba et monachi qualiscumque uolucrint episcopum ad consecrationem faciendam etc. (*Codice della Croce*, MS. Amb., D. S. IV, 2, I, 2, f. 151. Ex schedis MSS. in Bibl. Am. & Don Brunonis Bononi Monachi Cartusiensis, qui ex authentico existente apud D. Aloyssum Belloro Savenesem Avem extraxit).

[4] Post mortem autem predicti Oberti uxor illius relicta nomine Villa aliud fecit monasterium ordinis predicti apud Spignum super Burmidam, que erat sui tunc marchionatus, et illud vocat monasterium sancti Salvatoris, in cuius latere est etiam constructa ecclesia in honore sancti martiris Quintini, quod etiam predicta domina Villa magnifice dotavit et de possessionibus et de aliis bonis. (Frate Jacobo da Acqui, *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi*, ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, V, 1412).

[5] Biorci, 164.

[6] Galdinus dei gratia sancte mediolanensis ecclesie Archiepiscopus Apostolice Sedis legatus Venerabili Fratri Rolando Abbati Monasterii quod in honore Sancti Saluatoris et beati Quintini in loco Spigno edificatum consistit etc. . . . Actum est hoc anno dominice natiuitatis millesimo centesimo septuagesimo XV. Kal. Aprilis Indictione tertia . . . (*Codice della Croce*, MS. Amb., D. S. IV, 9/I, 9, f. 101. Ex schedis MSS. in Bibl. Ambr. Don Brunonis Bononi Monachi Cartusiensis, qui extraxit ex autografo existente penes D. Aloysium Belloro Savonensem Avem).

[7] Savio, *Indice*, 235.

aisled nave, transepts and an apse. Under the apse was a crypt covered with groin vaults, but only faint traces of this part of the edifice survive. The upper portion of the nave walls has been destroyed. The façade still appears to stand to its full height (Plate 207, Fig. 2), but the upper part has been much repaired, and the original dispositions have been changed.

The masonry consists of rubble of the roughest character (Plate 207, Fig. 4). Uncut stones, of all sizes and shapes, are laid with little regard for horizontal courses, and in thick beds of mortar.

IV. The façade and flanks of the church are ornamented with pilaster strips placed at frequent intervals (Plate 207, Fig. 2, 4). It is evident that these pilaster strips originally supported either blind arches or arched corbel-tables grouped two and two—more probably the former.

The upper part of the nave walls on the interior still retains the original frescoed decoration.

V. S. Quintino of Spigno is an authentically dated monument of 991.

SPINAIRANO DI CIRIÉ,[1] S. MARIA

I. So far as I know, this monument has never been published.

II. I have found no documents to illustrate the history of the edifice.

III. The church consists of a modern nave of a single aisle and a Romanesque apse and campanile. The campanile has a pyramidal roof, the apse, small slit-like windows. Both are constructed of rubble.

IV. The apse has arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, the campanile similar corbel-tables grouped two and two or three and three. Internally the apse has fine frescos of c. 1500.

V. The character of the masonry and the arched corbel-tables give sufficient reason for assigning the edifice to c. 1030.

STRADELLA,[1] S. MARCELLO DI MONTALINO

(Plate 208; Plate 209; Plate 210; Plate 211, Fig. 1, 2, 3)

I. The church of S. Marcello di Montalino was first published in 1893, in a monograph by Cavagna Sangiuliani. This work is illustrated with a

[1] (Torino).

[1] The church of S. Marcello di Montalino is now desecrated, but is maintained as a national monument. The church lies on top of a hill, several hundred metres to the south of the city of Stradella (Pavia).

plan, a section and two photogravures. In 1909 a monograph upon one of the frescos was published by Cerioli. For historical notices, the work of Saglio should be consulted. The monument has also been described and illustrated by Rivoira.[2]

II. There is a tradition that the church of Montalino was built in 733 by Luitprando.[3] This notice appears to have been derived from a *scheda* of Riccardi, from which it was taken by Giuletti and Saglio. If it be supported by authentic documents, these are unknown. It is not, however, intrinsically improbable that the pieve Montalino which, in later times, enjoyed considerable importance,[4] may have been founded by the famous Lombard king.

In the X century, Montalino and Stradella were different towns, of which Montalino was the more important.[5] The castle of Montalino is mentioned as separate from Stradella in a document of 1029.[6]

In 1038 Ugo, marchese of Este, ceded Montalino and the rock of Stradella to the bishop of Pavia.[7] This may well have occasioned the reconstruction of the church, which undoubtedly took place about this time. In 1216 Stradella was burned by the Milanesi and Piacentini, but there is no evidence that the pieve of Montalino was injured.

In 1576 the church was ruinous, and a restoration was ordered.[8] Accordingly, a campanile was erected, and the church smeared with intonaco.

In 1880 the edifice was transformed into a pest-house, in which were sequestered the victims of the epidemic of cholera of that year. The bones of those who died and were buried in or near the church at this epoch may still frequently be found in its vicinity. In 1902 a restoration of the edifice was commenced, and part of the intonaco was stripped from the walls and piers. Work, however, was soon suspended, and has not since been resumed.

III. The edifice (Plate 208) consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, a northern absidiole and a Renaissance campanile which, without doubt, replaces the original southern absidiole. With the exception of the apses, the church is now covered with a single gable roof of continuous slope (Plate 209). It was however the intention of the builders to erect groin vaults, although such were never executed, doubtless owing to the settlement of walls. The piers are all compound (Plate 208), having the section of a square core on which are engaged four semicircular columns. The system of three members is continued to the roof in the nave (Plate 210), and the responds of the side aisles, which also consist of three members, are likewise carried up to the top of the outside walls (Plate 209). Neither the system nor the responds is supplied with capitals (Plate 209; Plate 210). Moreover,

[2] 214. [3] Saglio, 84. [4] Saglio, 154. [5] Saglio, 84-85; 151 f.

[6] Castro de Montealoin, qui vocatur Montaino, cum muris, & turre circondatum, quamq. & foris eodem Castro in eodem loco, & in Stradella cum omnibus eorum pertinentijs etc. (Campi, I, 505).

[7] Saglio, 75. [8] Cerioli.

the arched corbel-tables on the exterior of the south wall (Plate 211, Fig. 2) prove that the latter has been finished. It is therefore evident that the builders abandoned their intention of erecting vaults before the walls had been raised to their present height. The reason for this change of plan must have been the settlement which occurred in the masonry. All the walls are much out of plumb (Plate 209). The bases are at widely different levels, and, in fact, the entire edifice shows signs of insecurity and of the subsidence of the foundations. An effort was made to arrest the movement of the south wall by erecting a triangular buttress (Plate 211, Fig. 2). This buttress was added after the wall had moved, since it leans less from the perpendicular than the wall itself. However, the masonry of the buttress is identical in character with that of the wall, and this feature must, therefore, have been added a very short time after the wall was constructed, and in all probability before the edifice was completed.

The church is entirely constructed of bricks in which are occasionally inserted blocks of stone. The capitals and bases are executed in terra-cotta. The bricks are cross-hatched, and are of very large size—the exposed surfaces generally vary from 7-5 x 15-26 centimetres. Occasionally bricks of fairly colossal size are used. One measures 27 x 7 x 30 centimetres. The courses in general are horizontal, but herring-bone work occurs.

IV. The capitals, of cubic variety without abaci and with prismatic cushions, are frequently decorated with incised zigzags (Plate 209; Plate 210). The bases are of unusual profile, the lower torus being a quarter instead of a half round. The scotiæ are in some cases decorated with a rope-moulding. The archivolts are in a single unmoulded order (Plate 209; Plate 210). The apse, absidiole (Plate 211, Fig. 1) and southern wall (Plate 211, Fig. 2) are decorated with arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips. The apse cornice, formed of saw-tooth mouldings, separated by a rope-moulding, is at present surmounted by a low attic added in the barocco period. The widely splayed windows served without glass (Plate 211, Fig. 1).

The church still contains frescos said to be of the Quattrocento.

V. The masonry of Stradella is more advanced than that of Lomello (c. 1025)—Plate 111, Fig. 3—since the bricks are laid more skilfully, and the courses preserve more accurately the horizontal line. On the other hand, the construction is less advanced than that of Sannazzaro Sesia (1040). The section of the system makes it evident that groin, not rib vaults, were projected. Moreover, the capitals are more angular and consequently earlier than those of Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 202, Fig. 2), and even those of Calvenzano (c. 1040). The building may consequently be assigned to c. 1035. With this date accord well the arched corbel-tables of the apses (Plate 211, Fig. 1), grouped four and four or five and five, and hence more advanced than those of S. Sepolcro of Milan (1030)—Plate 133, Fig. 2.

SUSA,[1] CATHEDRAL

(Plate 211, Fig. 7)

I. The only archæological study of the architecture of the cathedral of Susa that has been made is that of Rivoira.[2] In the geography of Strafforello,[3] and in the guide of Cenin, may be found brief descriptions of the edifice. Millin wrote an account of his visit to the church in 1816.[4] For historical notices, the work of Sacchetti should be consulted.

II. According to Sacchetti,[5] the relics of S. Giusto were translated from Monastero di Ulcio to Susa, in the year 1021. This event doubtless inspired Alrico, bishop of Asti, Manfredo, his brother, marchese of Susa, and Berta, wife of the latter, to found a monastery. According to the catalogue of the bishops of Asti, this event took place in 1027,[6] but the charter of foundation, which is still extant, dates from 1029.[7]

This charter was subsequently confirmed by a diploma of Corrado, still extant.[8] The church was undoubtedly erected or rebuilt at about the time the monastery was founded.

But little is known of the subsequent history of the abbey. About the year 1582, the Benedictine monks were supplanted by canons of the order

[1] (Torino). [2] 228. [3] *Torino*, 645.

[4] He says, among other things: Je vis, dans la chapelle de la Vierge, une figure de bois doré agenouillé, placée dans une niche, au dessus de laquelle on lit:

QUESTA E L'ADELAÏDE CUI LA STESSA ROMA
COLÈ, E PRIMO D'AUSONIA ONOR LA NOMA

(Millin, I, 116).

[5] 59.

[6] See text cited above under S. Anastasio of Asti, Vol. II, p. 70.

[7] . . . Nos Alricus gratiâ Dei sanctae Astensis Ecclesiae Episcopus, & Odelricus, qui & Magnifredus, annuente Deo Marchio germanus, & filii bone memorie itemque Magnifredi similiter Marchionis, & Berta Christi misericordia Comitissa, jugales, filia quondam Antherti itemque Marchionis . . . dicere volumus, quomodo per Testamentum nostrum jure quasdam res nostras ordinare desideramus. . . . Monasterium construere volumus. . . . Et ideo notum omnibus sit, quia habemus & detinemus ad nostram proprietatem petiam unam de terra intra Segusiensem Civitatem positam, ubi Basilica una in honore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, & Sanctae Trinitatis, Sanctaeque Mariae Virginis, seu Sancti Michaëlis Archangeli, seu Sanctorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum Principis, etiam Sanctorum Joannis Baptistae, & item Joannis Evangelistae, atque Sancti Justi Christi Martyris, ubi ejus Sanctum quiescit Corpus, nec non & omnium Sanctorum est constructa: quae est per mensuram justam jugeras duo, cui cohaeret ab Aquilone & Occidente murus ipsius Civitatis. Et in ea Basilica volumus & judicamus, ut nunc & in perpetuum permaneat Congregatio Monachorum, qui secundùm Regulam Sancti Benedicti . . . vitam feliciter ducant beatam. . . . Anno Imperii Domini Chunradi, Deo propitio, Tertio, IX. die Mensis Julii, Indictione duodecima. (Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., I, 581-586).

[8] *Ibid.*, 587.

of St. Augustine. In 1772 the church became a cathedral. In 1803 the episcopal dignity was suppressed, but was re-established in 1817.[9]

III. The church consists of a nave (Plate 211, Fig. 7) five bays long, of which the western is much longer than the others, two side aisles, a sort of western interior narthex, a number of Renaissance chapels, transepts, a choir of one bay flanked by side aisles ending in absidioles, a five-sided apse and a southern campanile. The nave and side aisles are covered with groin vaults with transverse ribs; those of the nave are distinctly oblong in plan (Plate 211, Fig. 7). The transepts are barrel-vaulted, the crossing and choir have Gothic rib vaults. The entire edifice has been rebuilt in the Gothic period, and has been covered with stucco and plastered decorations at a subsequent epoch. The four eastern bays appear to contain no portions earlier than the Gothic period, but the core of the remainder of the edifice is Romanesque, and it is probable that an intelligent restoration would bring to light considerable fragments of the original building. In the present state of the monument it is impossible to determine with certainty what were the dispositions of the Romanesque basilica. It is probable, however, that the nave was roofed with timber, and was lower than it is at present. The arched corbel-tables which may be seen in the exterior, at about the middle of the clearstory wall, doubtless formed the cornice. Below this are still preserved the round-headed clearstory windows. The groin vaults of the side aisles are probably also original. They are not domed, and the transverse arches are depressed and loaded. The piers of the nave seem to have had a T-shaped section. The barrel vaults of the transepts appear also to have been part of the Romanesque church.

IV. There are extant no capitals which can be assigned with confidence to the XI century, though certain capitals of the Gothic portions of the edifice show Lombard characteristics. The bases also appear to have been worked over, but it is possible that the coupled columns of the transepts which recall those of Ste.-Croix at Quimperlé (Plate 50, Fig. 3) may be original. The arched corbel-tables of the three lower stories of the campanile, of the transept façade, and of the clearstory wall of the nave, are separated at intervals by pilaster strips. Those of the three upper stories of the campanile, on the other hand, are supplied with pilaster strips only at the angles of the tower, and the capitals of the colonnettes which divide the windows of these upper stories are of an advanced style.

V. As nearly as it is possible to determine in the present condition of the edifice, the Romanesque portions of S. Giusto at Susa appear to be in the style of the fourth rather than the third decade of the XII century. The fully developed arched corbel-tables are more advanced than those of

[9] Cappelletti, XIV, 328-343.

S. Sepolcro at Milan (1030)—Plate 133, Fig. 2—and resemble rather those of Stradella (c. 1035)—Plate 211, Fig. 2—and Sannazzaro Sesia (1040). The T-shaped piers, it is true, recall those of Sagra S. Michele (1002), Bagnacavallo (c. 1000)—Plate 18, Fig. 4—and S. Eustorgio of Milan (c. 1000). However, it is not certain that the piers at Susa had this section, and in any case, they are associated with groin vaults in the side aisles. Now, the earliest example of groin-vaulted side aisles in Lombardy is at Lomello c. 1025. The style of S. Giusto therefore is that of c. 1035. We may, consequently, assume that the foundation of the monastery in 1029 was soon followed by the construction or reconstruction of the basilica.

TIGLIETO,[1] S. MARIA

I. The history of the abbey of Tiglieto has been studied by Maceiò. The architecture has never been published.

II. According to Manrique,[2] the abbey of Tiglieto was founded in 1120, and was the first Cistercian abbey to be founded in Italy, as it was, with one exception, the first to be founded outside of France. The earliest extant document referring to the abbey dates from 1127. This has been published by Ferretto.[3] A bull of Innocent II, of 1132, mentions that the abbey was founded by the marchese Anselmo.[4] Moriondo has also published a deed in which the marchese Anselmo gives to the church of S. Maria of Tiglieto the wood which is called Tiglieto and all the mountains which slope towards the monastery. This deed is dated 1136, but the ninth indiction corresponds with the year 1131.[5]

[1] Provincia di Genoa. Spelled also Tiglietto. The church lies a two hours' climb on foot above Olba, but a carriage-road is in construction.

[2] I, 123. [3] I, 22.

[4] Innocentius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei. Dilecto filio Opizzoni Abbati monasterii B. Mariæ Virginis, & S. Crucis de Civitacula . . . venerabilis fratris nostri Azonis Aquensis Episcopi, & fratris ejus illustris viri Anselmi Marchionis precibus inclinati, ejus justis postulationibus clementer annuimus, & monasterium B. Mariae matris Domini, & S. Crucis, quod nimirum ab eodem Marchione, & matre sua, nec non fratribus, filiis, & uxoribus suis in Aquensi episcopatu constat esse fundatum . . . Apostolicæ Sedis patrocinio communimus. Inprimis siquidem statuentes, ut ordo monasticus secundum B. Benedicti regulam, & formam religionis fratrum Cisterciensis monasterii futuris temporibus, ibidem inviolabiliter perseveret. . . . Dat Brixiæ . . . cal. aug. indictione X., Incarnationis Domini anno millesimo etc. Pontificatus vero Domini Innocentii P. P. secundi anno tercio. (Moriondo, 48-50).

[5] In anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi 1136. 6 kalend. septembris indictione nona Ecclesia S. Mariæ, & S. Crucis, idest monasterium situm loco Tilleti. Nos Anselmus Marchio filius b. m. Hugonis Marchionis, & Adalasia comitissa filia Ubaldi cum Villelmo, & Manfredo ipsorum filiis . . . offertores, & donatores in eadem Ecclesia . . . donamus . . . Eccle [*sic*] S. Mariæ, & S. Crucis, idest monasterio sito in

The possessions of the abbey were confirmed in 1187 by Henry IV,[6] in 1210 by Otto IV,[7] and in 1310 by Henry VII.[8] In 1442 the monastery was suppressed.[9] In 1577 the *visita apostolica* ordered that the roof of the church be repaired, the walls whitewashed, and the windows enlarged.[10] Nevertheless, another *visita* in 1633 reported that the church was in a pitiable condition, apparently hardly fit for the celebration of the divine offices.[11] In 1634 the church was made a parish, but this was soon after suppressed. In the second half of the XVII century, the church was rebuilt by the Raggi, as is recorded in an inscription still extant on the north wall.[12]

The tomb of Giovanni Antonio Raggio, who died in 1695, may still be seen in the church.

loco Tilieti . . . boscum unum cum area sua, quæ vocatur Teletum, & omnes montes sicut vergunt aquam versus monasterium. . . . (Ed. Moriondo, 47).

[6] Moriondo, 88. [7] *Ibid.*, 158. [8] *Ibid.*, 275. [9] Macciò.

[10] Document published by Macciò. [11] *Ibid.*

[12] QUISQUIS AMAT ANTIQUITATIS EXUVIAS, HAS VIDEAT
QUOD NON PERIERINT DEBETUR RAGGIE GENTI
QUE AURO SUO A FERREA ĘVI VORACITATE VINDICAVIT
VETUSTISSIMA HEC ABBATIA S. MARIA DE TYLIETTO OCTINGENTIS
AB HINC ANNIS SACRA
DIVOQUE BERNARDO OLIM DICATA
STATIM AC AB INNOCENTIO Xmo PONTIFICE MAXIMO
PURPURA ĘQUE, AC MERITIS EMINENTISSIMUS D. D. LAURENTIUS
RAGGIUS IMPETRAVIT
EIUSQUE GERMANUS FRATER EXCMUS IŌĒS BAPTISTA EIUSQUE
POSTERI
APOSTOLICO DIPLOMATE DATO APUD S. M. MAIOREM DIE XXIV
IANUARII 1648 IN EMPHITEUSIM OBTINUERE
ITA REFLORAVIT UT ANNORUM RUBIGINEM LIBERALITATIS SPLENDOR
ABOLEVERIT
SACRAS HASCE ĘDES REFECIT SENATOR AMPLISSIMUS
RATUS QUĘSTUOSISSIMUM FENUS
IMMINUERE ĘRARIUM, UT ERGA DEIPARAM AUGERETUR POPULORUM
CULTUS.
TANTI PATRIS NON FORTUNARUM MODO, SED VIRTUTUM HERES
ILLMUS D. IOES ANTONIUS
UT EGREGIO OPERI SUPREMAM MANUM IMPONERET ADDIDIT SUAM
ARTEM OMNEM EXCUSSIT, UT ARAM PRINCIPEM ORNARET
DICERES VIRGINEM, CUI SIMULACRUM EREXIT
NON TAM IN COELUM ASCENDERE, QUAM E COELO DESCENDERE.
NĒ PUTES TAMEN NEGLEXISSE MORTALES, DUM ADEO STUDENT
SUPERIS.
AERE SUO GEMINAM MOLEM POSUIT . . . PONTEM etc.
TOT BENEFICIJS CUMULATI ORBE INQUILINI OPTIME DE SE MERITIS
HOC GRATI
OBSEQUENTISQUE ANIMI MONUMENTUM
STATUERE
ANNO M DCLXXIV

III. The church unfortunately lost almost entirely its original character in the restoration of the Raggi, when the building was thoroughly baroccoized. The edifice now consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles ending in rectangular absidioles, and a rectangular choir. The campanile is modern. The nave is covered with a barrel vault of the Renaissance, but was perhaps originally roofed in wood. The side aisles are covered with undomed groin vaults, with transverse arches. These are perhaps original. The piers have a T-shaped section and simple imposts for capitals. The whole edifice is severely plain. In the nave only round arches are employed, but in the west façade is a dainty Gothic portal.

The old Romanesque façade, which is very plain, now forms the exterior of the choir. The form of the old portal and the windows can still be clearly traced. It is probable that, contrary to the rule in Cistercian churches, the edifice was begun at the west end, and it was planned to make the church much larger than it actually is. In the XIII century this more ambitious project was abandoned, and a façade was erected where the choir should have been.

The masonry is formed of bricks laid in perfectly horizontal courses. These bricks are large and separated by wide mortar-beds.

IV. If the edifice contained any decoration, none has come down. It is a severely plain, barn-like building. The exterior walls are relieved only by the old clearstory windows, three of which survive on each flank.

V. It is not altogether easy to fit the architecture of Tiglieto into the chain of Cistercian edifices of the XII century. This series begins with the abbey of Chiaravalle, commenced in 1135, and characterized by round arches and an alternate system. The dispositions of Chiaravalle were reproduced at Cereto, c. 1140, and Chiaravalle della Colomba, c. 1145. The great abbey of Staffarda,[13] begun c. 1160, marks the transition from this type of edifice

[13] The abbey of Staffarda, situated near Saluzzo, in the province of Torino, unfortunately falls without the geographical limits of this work, but is an important example of the Cistercian style in northern Italy. It was founded by Manfredo (*Cronaca di Saluzzo*, ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, V, 872) before 1138. (Gabotto, Roberti, Chiattone, 11, 13, 15). The edifice, which is well preserved, consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, non-projecting transepts, a choir of a single bay flanked by side aisles, and three apses, each preceded by a barrel-vaulted bay. The transepts are barrel-vaulted, the nave and side aisles are covered with rib vaults erected on a uniform system. The diagonals are rectangular or of torus section. Pointed arches are used very sparingly. Important remains of the monastic buildings are extant, including the exquisite cloisters, which have capitals of purely Gothic type. The capitals of the church itself are cubic or of a block Corinthian type. The apse was originally adorned with an arcade of free-standing colonnettes, the capitals of which were entirely Gothic in character. The exterior is adorned with arched and flat corbel-tables. To the west of the edifice is an exterior narthex entirely Gothic in style, and the windows of the façade are pointed. The church appears to have been begun c. 1160, and not to have been completed until the middle of the XIII century.

to the second type characterized by the use of a uniform system and pointed arches. The most conspicuous example of this second type of church is the abbey of Morimondo, begun in 1186. The church of Tiglieto has few points of contact with this line of Cistercian development.[14] In its simple unadorned character it recalls Abbazia di Albino (Plate 1, Fig. 1, 2), and especially those parts of that edifice erected between 1134 and 1136. It is, therefore, probable that the church was erected c. 1135.

TOANO,[1] MADONNA DEL CASTELLO

I. Inaccurate drawings of the church of Toano are preserved in the museum at Canossa.

II. I know of no documents which illustrate the history of the edifice.

III. The church consists of a nave two bays long, two side aisles, a long choir and an apse, but the choir replaces the ancient eastern bay of the nave, and there must have been originally two absidioles, since some traces of the northern absidiole are still preserved in the sacristy. The choir is barrel-vaulted, and the nave and side aisles are roofed in wood. Originally, however, the church was entirely roofed in wood, since the supports are cylindrical piers. The bays are very long. The apse has been entirely remade, as have the outside walls in great part. The original masonry consisted of ashlar of fine quality.

IV. Three capitals are covered with leaf and string patterns of Romanesque type, but of a peculiar coarseness of execution that betrays the

[14] The abbey of Acquafredda, on the mountain above Lenno, on the shores of the Lake of Como, appears to have been another exception to the usual type of Cistercian edifice in Lombardy. This building has recently been the object of an excellent critical analysis by Monneret de Villard. (*Isola Comacina*, 138). This study has supplanted that of Barelli (*Not. Arch., 22*) and other previous authors. See, however, *Arch. Stor. Lom.*, Anno 23, 1895, 336. The monastery, which depended upon Morimondo, was founded in 1142. (Monneret de Villard, 138-139; Rusca, *Il Rusco*, Lib. IV, 31 f.). Donations and other documents referring to the church are extant of the years 1143, 1150, 1154, 1156, 1167, 1168, 1169, etc. (Monneret de Villard, 139). Tatti (I, 602) says that the church was begun in 1147, but Monneret de Villard (139) has published the original document, which shows that it was not commenced until 1153, although it is not certain that no church or chapel pre-existed on the site. The church was finished probably in 1193. (Monneret de Villard, 140). The Cistercian monks were suppressed in 1502. (Rusca, *loc. cit.*). In 1527 the monastery was burned (*ibid.*), but was rebuilt. In 1568 the abbey of Chiaravalle expended considerable sums, presumably on the restoration of the church. (Original sources published by Ratti). In 1595 the church was desecrated. (Rusca, *loc. cit.*). Of the ancient structure nothing remains but part of one of the semicircular absidioles.

[1] (Reggio Emilia). The church is situated on top of the mountain, fifteen minutes' climb above the town.

XIII century. The abaeus of one has grotesques; those of the other two, interlaees. A fourth eapital, whieh is figured, has a naturalistie leaf pattern on its abaeus. The fifth eapital is of a deeorated eubie type that reealls the capitals of Chiaravalle della Colomba (Plate 53, Fig. 2).

The façade retains some traees of narrow pilaster strips. The arehivolts are of a single unmoulded order. The bases are not visible. The figured capital represents the Dance of David. At one angle stands David, with beard and long hair, playing the harp. On the main face, David is represented again, this time with a eurious eloth on his head. He holds in his arms a figure, the head of which is broken, but whieh undoubtedly represents Bath-sheba, the wife of Uriah. A background of incised holes is perhaps intended to represent the embroidered bed-eloth. On another angle is seen a man with beard and long hair, probably David again, wearing a short skirt, and engaged in dancing. His hands are on his knees. On the north-east angle, another male figure, much broken but apparently also bearded, and also wearing a short skirt, is seated and playing upon some sort of reed instrument. On the north-west angle is seen a bearded, long-haired man, doubtless still David, riding on a caparisoned horse. His head is bare, but he carries shield and broadsword. On the intermediate faces are grotesques; an eagle bearing in his claws a fish, another eagle carrying in his claws what is perhaps a calf—although the head suggests rather a hippopotamus—and a third eagle carrying in his claws some sort of a bird.

The style of the sculpture is very crude, but the influence of Benedetto is evident in many details, such as, for example, the perforations used to indicate embroidery on garments. The draperies and arms are peculiarly bunchy. The eyes are very crudely indicated by two parallel incised circles or oblongs. The grotesques of the abaens of one of the other capitals, the treatment of the wings of the eagles, and the poor proportions, recall the sculptures of Fornovo (Plate 94, Fig. 2).

V. The church of Toano is undoubtedly a monument of the first quarter of the XIII century.

TORINO, S. SALUTORE

I. The only publication of the mosaics of S. Salutore, discovered in March, 1909, and now stored in the dark cellar of the Museo Civico di Arte Applicata all'Industria, Via Gaudenzio Ferrari, 1, Torino, as well as of the important fragments of the architecture which at that time came to light, but were again buried, is the official account of Toesca.

II. But very little is known of the history of S. Salutore. A charter of the bishop Gezo, without chronological notes, but ascribed to the year 1006, tells us that the bishop, having found the places of the martyr Salutore

entirely destroyed, made a donation for founding there a monastery.[1] Just what the bishop means by places—*loca*—is not altogether clear, but he probably wishes to imply that not only the church but the dependent edifices, such as the houses of the clergy, were destroyed almost to the ground. The church was undoubtedly rebuilt at this epoch.

Of the subsequent history of S. Salutore surprisingly little is known. In 1490 the three ancient churches which stood together on the area destined for the construction of the new cathedral were demolished, and among these the collegiate church of S. Salutore. It is entirely probable that it was the remains of this edifice that were discovered by Toesca in 1909, but there is no positive proof that such is the case.

III. For knowledge of the important remains of ancient architecture discovered in 1909, and then buried again, we are entirely dependent upon the account of Toesca, which I therefore quote verbatim.[2] From this emerge,

[1] Quo circa comperiat omnium fidelium industria. quod dolore tabescimus quia loca sanctorum martyrum solutoris aduentoris et octauii pene usque ad solum destructa uidemus . . . igitur . . . aliqua bona sunt largituri cenobium ibi constituimus. quod ad honorem dei et istorum gloriosorum martyrum dedicamus et construimus et omnem terram que ibi aspicit. . . . . hac igitur fidutia freti hoc monasterium coepimus cui ecclesiam sancti martiniani que quondam monasterium fuit . . . damus . . . eo uidelicet tenore. ut cella heremitarum usibus. qui in monte caprio degunt in eodem loco paretur. . . . Gezo sancte taurinatis ecclesie indigne uocatus episcopus. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, VI, 95).

[2] La chiesa aveva forma di basilica, con tre navate divise da pilastri di pianta quadrangolare e probabilmente coperte a tetto. La navatella di sinistra terminava in un' absidiola; vi si vedevano traccie di antiche pitture decorative. Al termine della navata maggiore si elevava il presbiterio: vi dava accesso una scalea che, un tempo, era di sette gradini. A sinistra della scala stava l'ambone sorretto da sei colonne; ne furono ritrovate, ancor al lor posto le basi, ricavate alcune da marmi che già avevano servito ad altro scopo, altre, eseguite appositamente, con sagome gotiche così da potersi ritenere che l'ambone fosse stato rifatto nel XIV secolo. Ascesa la scalea, tutto il tratto dinnanzi all'altare appariva coperto di un pavimento di mosaico. . . . Rimosso il pavimento, e sterrata l'area che esso copriva, apparve chiaramente che il presbiterio non era dell'epoca stessa dei pilastri della chiesa. A costruirlo erano stati chiuse con bassi muriccioli le ultime arcate della navata maggiore, riempiendo poi di terriccio tutto lo spazio interno così da formare un piano assai più alto del primitivo. . . . Fra la sesta e la settima campata furono ritrovati nel mezzo della nave maggiore i ruderi informi di una scala. Essa doveva dare accesso a un presbiterio, certamente meno ampio e meno elevato di quello adorno del mosaico. Una vasta cripta si stendeva sotto quell'antico presbiterio. Al sotterraneo si scendeva per una scala della quale furono trovati gli ultimi gradini, rivolti verso la navatella di destra. Ancora venne trovata infissa presso la scala, nel suolo coperto di lastroni di pietra, una antica colonna miliare: e altri fusti di colonne atterrate e capitelli trovati nel medesimo luogo danno motivo a pensare che la copertura del sotterraneo fosse formata da una serie di volte sostenute da colonne secondo la struttura consueta nelle cripte. Nei ruderi della cripta si scorgeva chiaramente il nascimento di una volta a botte lungo il muro iniziale; forse essa, nel suo svolgersi, si trasformava in volta a crociera così da poter essere sostenuta con colonne.

with sufficient clearness, the following facts: (1) The church of 1006 had square piers and a crypt. (2) The mosaic was added long after 1006, when the crypt was rebuilt. (3) Below the church of 1006 were found the traces of another basilica, also with rectangular piers, but placed nearer together. This was undoubtedly the church which the bishop Gezo speaks of as being destroyed almost to the ground in 1006. In this lower church Toesca found the tombstone of the bishop Ursicino (562-609), and therefore conjectured that it was not later than the VI century, but the proof is not conclusive. Toesca also found the remains of ancient cloisters which he ascribed to c. 1050.

IV. The fragments of the pavement are best studied in the light of the description of Toesca, who saw them before they had been moved. At the entrance to the choir was placed this inscription:

QVISQV[I]S ES IN E . . . . .
GRADIENS SVP[ER] RI . . . . .
EX HINC VESTITOS N . . . . .
. . . . . DE . . . . . RREPAT . . . . .

It is evidently an invocation of some sort addressed to all who enter the choir.

The centre of the composition was occupied by a representation of the Wheel of Fortune, now, unfortunately, in great part destroyed. Fortune—FOR[TVNA]—wearing a diadem, turns her wheel, raising the part on her right, lowering that on her left. To the right of Fortune is a crown, the prize of those who are on the favoured side of her wheel. The medallions, which are not circular in shape, are placed inside, not outside, the wheel. On the top is a king, crowned, and carrying the sceptre—EFFE[RETVR]—"He shall be exalted." On the right of Fortune is a person rising with the turn of the wheel, but the figure unfortunately is much destroyed. The falling figure to Fortune's left has entirely disappeared, but the nude prostrate figure, lying on his crown, at the extreme lowest point of the wheel, is still preserved in part, as well as one letter of the inscription . . . . . M. About the Wheel of Fortune are disks with grotesques—two griffins, two lions, two cranes, an elephant bearing a castle,[3] and a bull with a ring in his nose. Between the medallions are a siren and other grotesques. About the entire composition are seen the waves of the sea. The inscriptions:

BRITANIA
INSVLA INTER
FVSA MARIS

SCOCIA INSV
LA PXIMA BRI
TANIE VBI
NVLLA ANGVI[S]

ORCADES INSVLE
TILE VLTIMA INSVLA

refer to islands in the extreme north of the world, in one of which, Ireland, the artist tells us there are no serpents. The idea of an island without

[3] Compare the coat of arms of the city of Padua.

serpents is a familiar one in mediæval legend, and is told, for example, of Isola S. Giulio, in the Lago di Orta, as well as of Ireland. In the angles between the circle of the ocean were represented the winds, but unfortunately only two of the angles are in part preserved. In the north-west angle the wind is depicted as blowing his horn. The first inscription, CIRCIVS FACIT NIVES ET GRANDINGES, recalls the characteristics of Circius as described by Honorius of Autun,[4] and by Isidore of Seville.[5] The second inscription:

CIR[CIVS] [D]ICT'
EO QD CORO
IVNCT'
. C

refers to the position of Circius, the west-north-west wind, next to Corus, the north-west wind. It will be remembered that the mediæval writers on nature took from Pliny their conception of the winds, which they elaborated, but always retained in essentially the same form. According to this, there were four principal winds, the east, west, north and south, between which were placed a varying number of intermediate winds. According to Isidore of Seville,[6] between each two of the four principal winds, Subsolanus, east, Auster, south, Favonius, west, and Septentrio, north, there were two intermediate winds. Between the west and the north, these were Corus and Circius.

After Circius is placed, as might be expected, the north wind, Septentrio, with the inscription: CIRCVLO SEPTEM STELLAR SVRGIT SEPTEMTRIO FRIG[IDV]S ET NIVAL[IS]. This again recalls what is said of this wind by Honorius of Autun,[7] and Isidore of Seville.[8] As is fitting for a cardinal wind, Septentrio is placed in a larger medallion. It is evident that in each of the four corners of the mosaic there was a cardinal wind, in a large medallion, flanked by two of the subsidiary winds in smaller medallions.

The second wind subsidiary to Septentrio is Aquilo, also called Boreas, the north-east wind. This is the first of the two inserted by Isidore of Seville between the two cardinal winds, Septentrio the north and Subsolanus the east. The inscription: DAT. NVBES AEQVAS . . . . . [AQV]ILO VENT' Q[VI] ET BOREAS again recalls the accounts of this wind given by Isidore

[4] Circius, qui et Thracius, faciens nives et grandinem. (Honorii Augustodunensis, *De Imagine Mundi*, I, 55, ed. Migne, CLXXII, 136).

[5] Circius, qui et Thrascias, hic a dextris Septentrionis intonans facit nives, et grandinum coagulationes. (Isidore of Seville, *De Natura Rerum*, Cap. XXXVII, ed. Migne, LXXXIV, 1006).

[6] *De Natura Rerum*, Cap. XXXVII, ed. Migne, LXXXIV, 1106.

[7] Primus cardinalis [ventus] septentrio qui et Aparctias, faciens frigora, et nubes. (*Loc. cit.*).

[8] Primus ventorum cardinalis, Septentrio, frigidus et nivalis, fiat rectus ab axe et facit arida frigora et siccas nubes. Hic et Aparctias. (*Loc. cit.*).

of Seville[9] and Honorius of Autun.[10] The wind genius bears the label GITO, which I am unable to explain.

In the south-west angle only the large central disk is preserved, and that is much broken and damaged. The naked winged genius who blows a trumpet is labelled CLAVDA . . . . . About the medallion is the inscription A. . . . . CHOR' NVBES SA . . . . . The fact that the medallion is large shows that this must have been one of the cardinal winds. Hence Toesca's reconstruction of the inscription as referring to Africus, the south-west wind, is obviously erroneous. Moreover, it is evident that the winds were disposed rationally and in order about the mosaic. After Circius, Septentrio and Aquilo must therefore have followed Volturnus, Subsolanus and Eurus. Volturnus and Eurus have disappeared, and it must be Subsolanus, the cardinal east wind, which remains. The initial A, of the inscription, may be the first letter of the alternate name of this wind, Apeliotes.

To comprehend the symbolism of this mosaic, it is necessary to bear in mind the mediæval conception of the dispositions of the continents of Africa and Europe. According to Honorius of Autun[11] the two continents had the form of semicircles separated by the Mediterranean, and completely surrounded by the ocean, which flowed around the circle formed by the two bodies of land. This ocean flowed from the Mediterranean, north and south, at either end. The two currents met at the extreme northern and southern points, and their concussion produced the tides. Not only the tides, but the winds were produced by these ocean currents. Zephyrus, the west wind, is born from the gap left by the two receding currents at the west end of the Mediterranean. The east wind is produced by the similar gap at the east end of the Mediterranean. The north wind is produced by the meeting of the two opposing currents at the north, and the south wind from the similar meeting at the south. The various intermediate winds are produced by two of the cardinal winds meeting. Thus our pavement contains a representation of the natural phenomena which were believed to surround the world—the ocean, its farthermost islands, and the winds produced by its currents. However, the circular world which this ocean encompasses is in the pavement not represented by a cycle of the Labours of Man as at S. Savino of Piacenza, S. Michele of Pavia, or S. Tommaso of Reggio, but by a representation of the Wheel of Fortune. The thought of the artist is clear. This world of ours, surrounded by the ocean, which is symbolical of the Church, is but the revolving Wheel of Fortune raising men up to the acme of power, or casting them down to the extreme of misery.

[9] Aquilo ventus qui et Boreas vocatur, ex alto flans, gelidus atque siccus, et sine pluvia, qui non discutit nubes, sed stringit; unde et non immerito diaboli formam induit, qui iniquitatis frigore gentilium corda constringit. (*Loc. cit.*).

[10] Ejus sinister Aquilo, qui et Borcas, constringens nubes. (*Loc. cit.*).

[11] *De Philosophia Mundi Libri Quatuor*, Lib. III, cap. 14, ed. Migne, *loc. cit.*

V. Although the mosaic of S. Salutore is in some ways technically cruder than that of the cathedral of Acqui (1067), placed alongside of it in the museum, there can be no doubt that it belongs to a later epoch. The subject, of deep iconographic significance, recalls the mosaics of S. Savino at Piacenza (1107) and of S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100). With the latter it possesses also numerous points of close technical resemblance. It may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1105. The church itself, we have seen, dates from 1006. The remains of the older church discovered beneath can not be determined on the basis of the evidence available.

TORTONA,[1] S. MARIA CANALE

(Plate 211, Fig. 4, 5, 6)

I. S. Maria Canale has never been published.

II. According to Carnevale[2] the chapter of S. Maria Canale was transferred to that church from S. Maria ai Fonti, where it was founded as early as the XI century. In 1155 the city of Tortona was pillaged and burned,[3] but there is no evidence that the churches were destroyed at this time. Rebuilt with the help of the Milanesi, the city was again devastated by Barbarossa in 1163.

The earliest document which refers to S. Maria Canale dates from October 14, 1196, and mentions a certain *obertus prepositus sante marie de canali.*[4] It is evident, therefore, that at this time the church was collegiate. In a will of April 11, 1218,[5] mention is made of *ecclesie sancte Marie de canali.* Land belonging to the church is mentioned in a deed of November 28, 1233.[6] From a deed of December 16, 1234, of which a summary has been published by Trucco, we learn that the church possessed a cloister.[7] In the XV century the church must have fallen into decline since, according to Carnevale,[8] it was at that time the smallest of the twelve parish churches of the city. In 1595 there were three canons.[9]

[1] (Alessandria). [2] 30. [3] Morena, M. G. H., *Script.*, XVIII, 594.
[4] Trucco, I, 70. [5] Gabotto e Legé, 340. [6] Trucco, II, 7.

[7] Anno dominice natiuitatis. Millesimo. CC. vigesimoprimo. Jndicione. nona. Dic mercurii. XV. aprilis. Jn Terdona in clauſtro sancte marie de canalibus dominus Obertus prepositus illius ecclesie consensu et affirmatione suorum fratrum. silicet domini presbiteri petri. etc. albericelli. et Oberti nomine suprascripte ecclesie . . . etc. (*Ibid.*, II, 23).

[8] 34, 37.

[9] In Tortona si trovava: *Eccla. Collegiata Parlis sub tit. S. Mariae Canalium in qua adsunt Praepositura et canonicatus tres: Cappellani Beneficiati numuro decem* (Sin. 1595). Però il Sin. di Mons. Aresio lo chiamo *Praeposituralis* soltanto *in qua adsunt Canonicatus tres sine titulo.* (Pollini, 70).

The church was restored in 1853, as is recorded by an inscription still extant in the southern aisles.[10]

III. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 211, Fig. 5) five bays long—of which the easternmost is much longer than the others,—two side aisles, four lateral chapels, non-projecting transepts, and a Renaissance choir. There are rib vaults throughout. In the four eastern bays of the nave the compartments are oblong (Plate 211, Fig. 5), but in that adjoining the transepts, the compartment is about square. The aisle vaults are conversely square or oblong. All the vaults are highly domed (Plate 211, Fig. 5). In section the piers consist of a rectangular core, upon which are engaged two semi-columns (Plate 211, Fig. 5). The pilaster strips towards the side aisle support the transverse arches of the side-aisle vaults. In the north aisle, these arches are received in the outer wall on responds of rectangular section, without capitals or bases. In the southern aisle, however, there are no responds, and the transverse arches merely fade away. The pilaster strips towards the nave support merely the second order of the archivolts of the main arcade. The vaults are all without wall ribs. The diagonal and transverse ribs of the nave fade away, being furnished with no supports (Plate 211, Fig. 5). The ribs are all of rectangular section (Plate 211, Fig. 5). It is obvious that some of the vaults have been made over. Thus, the western vault of the nave is higher than the others, and appears to have been raised to make way for a Gothic window. That of the fourth bay from the west of the southern side aisle has lighter diagonals, and was probably rebuilt when the chapel was added. It is clear that the piers of the crossing

[10] D. O. M.
VETUSTISSIMUM. CURIALE. TEMPLUM.
SANCTÆ. MARIÆ. A. CANALIBUS. NUNCUPATUM
QUOD. ET. ANTE. ANNOS. MINIMUM. CCCC
INSIGNITUM. CANONICORUM. COLLEGIO.
CUM. PRAEPOSITI. DIGNITATE.
INDUBIÆ. FIDEI. MONUMENTIS. CONSTAT.
QUUM. PER. SERIEM. LABENTEM. TEMPORUM.
SQUALLERET. FATISCERET.
SS. SACRAMENTI. SOCIETAS. MAXIMO. SUO. SUMPTU.
ET. PIORUM. OPE. PRIMOQ. PRÆPOSITI. CURIONIS.
INSTAURATIS. TECTO. LAQUEARIBUS. PAVIMENTO.
TECTORIO. RENOVATO. CUM. PICTILI. ORNATU.
FRONTE. QUOQUE. DETERSA. EXPOLITA.
PRISTINO. DECENTIORIQ. CULTUI. REDDENDUM. CURAVIT.
ANNO. REPAR. SAL. MDCCCLIII.
DOMENICA. VERO. IV. SEPTEMBRIS. ANNI. EJUSD.
IOHANNES. NEGRI. DERTHONEN. ANTIST. CONSECRAVIT.

have been rebuilt, and that the vault of the crossing has been reconstructed with pointed arches.

There is no clearstory. The edifice has suffered much internally (Plate 211, Fig. 5) and externally from baroccoization. The exterior has lost almost entirely its original character. The entire structure has been covered with intonaco and stucco, so that the ancient walls and masonry can be seen only in spots. The masonry of the piers appears to be exceptionally fine. The bricks are laid in perfectly horizontal courses, separated by extremely thin mortar-beds. The masonry of the clearstory wall, in the spots where it is visible, appears to have been much remade in the barocco period.

IV. But little of the original decoration of the church is extant. The capitals clearly belong to two distinct epochs. The more ancient ones are of an extraordinary and interesting type (Plate 211, Fig. 4). They are evidently of the XI century, and are characterized by surface scratching in geometrical patterns and crudely blocked leaves. The intonaco with which they are covered makes it impossible to study the technique. Evidently later are two capitals of the choir, of elongated cubic type, and the capitals of the two western free-standing piers, which are Corinthianesque, well executed and considerably undercut (Plate 211, Fig. 6). Of the same epoch are the capitals of the principal portal and those of the two responds of the west wall, the latter Corinthianesque, deeply undercut, with free-standing volutes and a necking introduced below the abacus. Only one base is visible. That has a plinth, two tori, and griffes.

The upper part of the façade has lost its character. The portal is characterized by a roll-moulding and polygonal shafts.

V. The XI century capitals of S. Maria Canale are less advanced than those of Lodi Vecchio (Plate 105, Fig. 1, 2, 4), a monument which dates from c. 1050. They may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1040. It is evident that they were incorporated as second-hand material when the church was rebuilt in the XII century. The vaults of the reconstructed edifice are analogous to those of S. Bernardo at Vercelli (Plate 215, Fig. 2), an authentically dated monument of 1164. The capitals also show analogy with certain ones of S. Bernardo (Plate 215, Fig. 2), and the Gothic character of one of the capitals of S. Maria Canale (Plate 211, Fig. 6) recalls the strong Gothic influence noticeable at S. Bernardo of Vercelli. We may conclude, therefore, that, in consequence of the destruction of Tortona in 1163, the church of S. Maria Canale was rebuilt. It is likely that at this date the chapter was transferred thither from S. Maria ai Fonti. The edifice as it has come down to us may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1165.

TRONZANO VERCELLESE,[1] S. PIETRO AL CIMITERO

(Plate 212, Fig. 3, 6)

I. The church of Tronzano has been published by Stiehl,[2] who has given of it several illustrations, including a plan and section.

II. In 999 the emperor Otto III confirmed to the church of Vercelli *Troncianum et alterum Troncianum*. These two towns of Tronzano were in later times known as Tronzano Superiore and Tronzano Inferiore. Our church of S. Pietro was the parish church of Tronzano Superiore, and is recorded as such in a document of 1188.[3] In the existing parish church of Tronzano, which corresponds neither to Tronzano Superiore nor to Tronzano Inferiore, but to a third town, known as Tronzano de Medio, is a list of the priests of Tronzano from the year 1201. In the façade of S. Pietro is a modern inscription which implies that the author had knowledge of a document of 1201, referring to S. Pietro.[4]

About the year 1245 both towns of Tronzano were destroyed in the war between the Ghibellines and Avogadro. The two towns were after this consolidated and rebuilt together at Tronzano de Medio.[5] The old parish church of S. Pietro thus came to be abandoned, but the edifice continued to be officiated as a chapel. The churches of all three Tronzani are mentioned in a catalogue of the churches of the diocese of Vercelli of 1440.[6] The church now serves as the chapel of the cemetery. It has also been converted into a sort of shrine for the late priest, Giacomo Abbondo, whose canonization is pending. The interior of the edifice is entirely covered with votive offerings and records of miracles, brought thither by the people.

Some years ago the pavement of the church was raised.

III. The edifice consists of a nave three double bays long (Plate 212, Fig. 3), two side aisles, a short choir, an apse, and a northern absidiole. The southern absidiole has been destroyed to make way for the XIII century campanile (Plate 212, Fig. 6).

[1] (Novara). [2] 29. [3] Orsenigo, 339 f.

[4]

TRONSANI SUPERIORIS
BELLORUM VI DELATI
PAROCHIALIS ECCLESIA
USQUE AD ANNUM
1201.

[5] Orsenigo, 340.

[6]

Ecclesia Tronzani inferioris
Ecclesia Tronzani de medio
Ecclesia Tronzani superioris
(Ed. Orsenigo, 406).

The church is vaulted throughout—the apses with half domes, the choir with a barrel vault, the nave and side aisles with groin vaults (Plate 212, Fig. 3). These groin vaults are not domed. The transverse ribs and wall ribs are so depressed in elevation that even the curve of the groins is depressed. The wall ribs are loaded at the crown. It is probable that they have been rebuilt, but the edifice must always have had vaults of similar character.

The system of the nave consists of three rectangular members (Plate 212, Fig. 3), which are carried through the capitals placed at the main impost level. The side-aisle responds comprise three members of which the central one is semicircular. The intermediate piers are square; the alternate piers have numerous rectangular members.

No attempt is made at buttressing the vaults externally (Plate 212, Fig. 6).

The masonry is formed of bricks, all of which were originally cross-hatched. These bricks are of regular size, measuring about 24 x 14 x 7 centimetres; they are laid in perfectly horizontal courses, and separated by mortar-beds about 1 centimetre in thickness (Plate 212, Fig. 6). Both the side-aisle walls and the façade have been in great part remade, but the southern side-aisle wall still retains in part its old windows. These were intended to serve without glass, and some are moulded. They are not very widely splayed.

IV. The capitals of the alternate piers are for the most part uncarved, and formed merely of two torical mouldings, one representing the abacus, the other the necking. Those of the vaulting shafts have a line of stiff, flat leaves below and conventional ornament above. A few of the capitals of the intermediate piers and of the responds are carved, but they are so covered with intonaco that their character can not be made out. The archivolts of the main arcade are in two unmoulded orders.

The exterior is ornamented with arched corbel-tables, supported at intervals by pilaster strips (Plate 212, Fig. 6). These pilaster strips are placed absolutely without relationship to the interior bays. The apse cornice has a saw tooth.

V. The masonry and the arched corbel-tables of Tronzano (Plate 212, Fig. 6) are closely analogous to those of Cerreto (Plate 52, Fig. 1), an edifice begun in 1140. Our monument may, therefore, be ascribed to that date, with the exception of the campanile, which is obviously of about the middle of the XIII century.

VAPRIO D'ADDA,[1] S. COLOMBANO

(Plate 212, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5; Plate 213, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. The interesting church of S. Colombano at Vaprio d'Adda was known to Clericetti,[2] and has been described and sumptuously illustrated by De Dartein.[3]

II. Of the early history of the edifice nothing is known. When S. Carlo visited the church in 1570, it was ruinous and open to the weather. Subsequently it was restored, and at present serves as a chapel for one of the parish churches of Vaprio d'Adda.

III. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 213, Fig. 2) of a single aisle spanned by a single transverse arch, a barrel-vaulted choir flanked by two groin-vaulted side aisles, and a semicircular apse. The choir is much narrower than the nave, so that the outer walls of its aisles form a continuation of the walls of the nave (Plate 212, Fig. 4). The nave is covered with a timber roof that has evidently been remade in modern times (Plate 213, Fig. 2). The piers of the choir are rectangular with semicircular colonnettes engaged on each face (Plate 213, Fig. 2, 3, 4). The shafts carrying the triumphal arch are continued through the impost level, and receive capitals only at the springing (Plate 213, Fig. 2). The shafts on the faces towards the nave, on the other hand, are crowned by capitals at the impost level (Plate 213, Fig. 2). From the abaci rise octagonal shafts, which are continued to the roof in an inconsequential manner that recalls the system of northern Romanesque churches (Plate 213, Fig. 2). From each of these shafts project two sculptured lions, and near the top are reliefs.

The groin vaults of the side aisles of the choir (Plate 213, Fig. 1) are square in plan and highly domed, since the groins are semicircular in elevation. The wall ribs are of rectangular profile. Salient external buttresses of rectangular section (Plate 212, Fig. 4) reinforce the transverse arches and the vaults of the choir side aisles. Certain of the windows have rounded bottoms as well as tops. The apse arch is not semicircular but elliptical in elevation.

The interior of the apse and the east gable are constructed of large bricks well laid in horizontal courses, but the exterior of the edifice and the interior of the nave (at least where the masonry can be seen) are of fine ashlar. Large and accurately squared blocks are laid in horizontal courses separated by mortar-beds of moderate thickness (Plate 213, Fig. 2; Plate 212, Fig. 4, 5). The stone of the apse is of different colour from that of the rest of the edifice, but this is probably due to a change of quarry during the building, and does not indicate any interruption in the construction. One stone is cross-hatched.

[1] (Milano). [2] VI. [3] 380.

IV. The capitals (Plate 213, Fig. 3, 4) are of varied and interesting type. Some are carved with dry crinkled acanthus leaves. Others are figured with subjects either entirely grotesque, such as dragons or two monsters with a single head which forms a volute, sirens, etc., or with subjects which suggest iconographical content. Among the latter may be mentioned the capital on which is sculptured a person holding two devils by the hair (Plate 213, Fig. 3). The Attic bases have griffes (Plate 213, Fig. 3, 4, 5). Certain plinths are round—perhaps this is the result of a later alteration—and others are like inverted capitals.

The transverse arch is in two orders, as are the arches that open from the nave and the choir into the side aisles. The apse arch is moulded (Plate 213, Fig. 2). Moulded also is the principal portal in four orders (Plate 213, Fig. 5). The ancient windows have continuous mouldings (Plate 212, Fig. 4, 5), but those of the western portions of the edifice were remade in the barocco period, when the upper parts of the western bay of the nave and the façade were entirely rebuilt (Plate 212, Fig. 2, 4). These barocco additions, constructed of rubble, may be distinguished at a glance from the original portions of the church, which are of ashlar.

The side walls and the apse (Plate 212, Fig. 4, 5) are ornamented externally with arched corbel-tables, and those of the apse are supported on pilaster strips or shafts (Plate 212, Fig. 5). Above the corbel-tables is a cornice consisting of a saw tooth and a curious moulding formed by the incision of a number of parallel crinkly acanthus leaves or S-shaped lines (Plate 212, Fig. 4, 5). Below the windows of the apse are circular oculi, moulded and filled with a crude sort of tracery (Plate 212, Fig. 5).

On one of the jambs of the principal portal (Plate 213, Fig. 5) is sculptured an angel, perhaps Michael, holding between his knees a soul. Below Samson and the lion, and standing on another lion which serves as support, is a seated figure holding a book in his lap (Plate 213, Fig. 5). This, perhaps, represents Daniel. Of the figures on the capitals of this western portal, one, evidently a female saint, standing between two palm trees, one of which she holds with either hand, may be S. Giulia. This same female saint also appears standing between two male figures, to whom she seems to be in the act of giving some object. There is also represented another figure standing alone.

The figure sculptures of the tympanum of the north portal (Plate 212, Fig. 1) perhaps depict S. Colombano and his monks, one of whom holds what appears to be a fish. Another lunette, now in the sacristy, and half hidden, shows S. Colombano holding in either hand a dove. On each side of him are two animals.

On the shafts of the choir (Plate 213, Fig. 2) are two sculptures. The figure on the north shaft holds a scroll; that on the south shaft holds up both

hands in a sort of caryatid position. Both figures are nude to the waist. The one to the south has about his waist a rope-like girdle.

The grotesque figure at the south-east angle of the exterior appears to have been indecent, but is much broken.

In the apse and chapels are preserved frescos of the XV and XVI centuries (Plate 213, Fig. 1). There are also distinct traces extant of the frescos which formerly adorned the façade (Plate 212, Fig. 2).

V. The curious form of certain windows, rounded at the bottom, recalls the similar windows of S. Michele at Pavia, an edifice which dates from c. 1100. Nevertheless the moulded windows and doorways, and the moulded apse arch, indicate a date at least as late as the first quarter of the XII century. In the sculptures, crude as they are, there is noticeable a more serious iconographical content than in those of the atrium of S. Ambrogio at Milan, a monument which was completed before 1098. The masonry is of excellent quality, quite as good as that of S. Giorgio of Almenno (Plate 11, Fig. 7), a monument of c. 1120. The edifice may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1115.

VARALLO POMBIA,[1] S. ANNA

I. To the extent of my knowledge this monument has never been published.

II. According to an inscription in the south wall, the pieve was rebuilt in 1755.

III. In the existing baroque edifice there are preserved a portion of the southern side-aisle wall, the campanile and the façade of the ancient Romanesque basilica. The campanile is older than the fragments of the church. This is proved by a sharp break in the masonry, and by the fact that the basilica was built around the campanile, as it were, and that the two axes do not correspond. Moreover, the campanile is constructed of rubble, consisting of unsquared stones laid at haphazard, while the church is built of masonry, rough, it is true, but in which many square stones are used and the courses are frequently horizontal.

IV. The campanile is adorned with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, three and three, or five and five. Those of the church are of fully developed type and supported at intervals on pilaster strips. The windows of the church are widely splayed and served without glass. The archivolts are in two orders externally, and are surmounted by a diamond-like pattern in brick.

[1] (Novara).

V. The masonry and corbel-tables of the church are analogous to those of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 2), an edifice of c. 1050. The fact that the archivolts are in two orders shows, however, that Varallo Pombia can not be earlier than c. 1070. The campanile, evidently older, may be ascribed to c. 1050.

VARESE,[1] S. GIOVANNI

(Plate 214, Fig. 1, 3, 4)

I. The baptistery of Varese was known to Barelli[2] and to De Dartein. In 1880 it was discussed at some length by Peluso. A brief description has been published in the geography of Strafforello.[3] Historical notices of importance have been contributed by Brambilla.

II. The origin of the church is attributed by tradition somewhat vaguely to the queen Teodolinda, who is credited with so many fabulous constructions. However this may be, the church of S. Vittore, and in consequence in all probability also the baptistery of S. Giovanni, existed at least as early as 1036, since it is mentioned in a donation of that year.[4] Brambilla[5] states, on the authority of a manuscript of Castiglione, that the church was restored by Uberto I, archbishop of Milan (1185-1187). This notice is, in a measure, confirmed by the sculptures on the font, on which S. Ambrogio is represented, doubtless with reference to the donor, his successor (Plate 214, Fig. 3).

Of the subsequent history of the building practically nothing is known. The date 1806 in the eastern chapel, probably has reference to the frescos of the vault. A restoration was carried out in 1880.

III. The edifice consists of a square main hall, and a low, rectangular eastern chapel, surmounted by a sacristy. The eastern chapel in part is a portion of an earlier octagonal structure built of rubble, to which arched corbel-tables were added when the edifice was rebuilt in the XII century.

The square part of the baptistery is covered by a domed rib vault, with light diagonals of rectangular section, but no wall ribs. The eastern chapel is surmounted by a similar vault, of which, however, the diagonals are circular in section. This chapel is surmounted by a second story, covered with a precisely similar vault, now used as a store-room. Originally, however, it opened on the nave by a great arch. The building is constructed of ashlar of the finest quality (Plate 214, Fig. 1, 4), in which are many scaffolding holes (Plate 214, Fig. 1).

IV. The capitals throughout are of the crude, crocketed variety familiar in transitional edifices of Piemonte (Plate 214, Fig. 4). The cornice

[1] (Como). [2] *Not. Arch.*, 25. [3] *Como*, 258.
[4] *Codice della Croce*, MS. Amb., D. S. IV, 11, f. 142. [5] 149.

is formed of simple arched corbel-tables (Plate 214, Fig. 1). The principal portal, in many orders, is finely moulded (Plate 214, Fig. 1), and the southern portal is pointed (Plate 214, Fig. 4).

The octagonal font is of especial interest because of its sculptures (Plate 214, Fig. 3), which are not only interesting in themselves, but acquire double importance from the circumstance that they have been left unfinished, so that it is here possible to study the technique of mediæval methods of carving. On the principal or western face, Christ is depicted between John the Baptist and a haloed archbishop, doubtless S. Ambrogio. Then, proceeding to the right, are shown the twelve apostles. Peter is distinguished by keys, Paul by a sword and book, Bartholomew by a knife. The other apostles carry either books or scrolls, and are not individualized by special attributes. Moreover, the inscriptions with which it was intended to supply each figure have only in part been executed. Those which have been carved read: S. THOMAXIVS. S. SIMON. S. PHILPPVS (*sic*), S. MATHEVS. The south and south-east faces, merely blocked out in the rough, were possibly intended to be adorned with emblems of the four Evangelists.

In style these sculptures, as may be seen from the reproduction (Plate 214, Fig. 3), still belong to the school of Guglielmo da Modena. The figure of John, in the scene of the baptism, is closely akin in spirit to the works of that master. The treatment of the draperies, especially of the loin-cloth of Christ, are of the type inaugurated by Guglielmo in the Elijah of Modena, and constantly repeated by his followers, as, for example, in the ambo fragments of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 4). The attitude of John recalls that of God in the Creation of Adam at Modena (Plate 143, Fig. 1), as does also the treatment of the feet. The eighty years which had rolled by since the works of Guglielmo were executed, however, have brought many changes. The faces, while frequently of more or less the same type, are far more realistic and better executed. New and better methods of representing the hair had been discovered. The nude is rendered with something almost like charm. The anatomy, however, is still defective. The upper part of the figure of Christ, and especially His arms and hands, are disproportionately large. In the rigidity of the figure of the bishop there is perhaps a reminiscence of such works of the school of Milan and Pavia as the bishop at S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (Plate 167, Fig. 2).

The large statue of the gable of the west façade (Plate 214, Fig. 1) is of late date. The church is adorned with numerous frescos of the XV century and later epochs, some of high merit.

V. The remains of the older octagonal edifice probably belong to the Carlovingian epoch, but are so fragmentary that it is impossible to determine their date with precision.

The style of the capitals is identical with that of the capitals of the oldest

portion of Ranverso, an edifice begun in 1188. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the existing edifice is the one built by Uberto between 1185 and 1187. The sculptures of the font are contemporary.

VERCELLI,[1] S. BERNARDO

(Plate 214, Fig. 2; Plate 215, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The church of S. Bernardo was first published by Stichl.[2] Several excellent illustrations are contained in the handbook of Picco.

II. The priory of S. Bernardo was built in 1164. This fact is recorded in a manuscript of the XVII century, preserved in the archives of Vercelli, and written by Giovanni Battista Modena.[3] In the history of Cusano, written in 1676, the same notice is repeated, and it is added that the church was ceded to the bishop of Ivrea in 1170.[4] The statement of these XVII century historians is confirmed by a deed of October 2, 1164, still extant, which records the sale of certain lands to S. Bernardo by the bishop Uguccione.[5] From this contemporary document it appears probable that the priory was founded, not by Uguccione, as Modena states, but by Ardicio. Modena is, however, undoubtedly correct in stating that the foundation of the priory was inspired by the canonization of S. Bernardo di Mentone, from whom it was named. It was dependent upon the famous monastery of Monte Giovio, better known

[1] (Novara). [2] 27.

[3] 1164. . . . Uguzio vescovo fece fabbricare la chiesa e Monastero di S. Bernardo Arcidiacono d'Aosta, e gli diede i beni che ancor possedono i priori di detta Chiesa, che al presente . . . . . Sigr. Cristoforo Bergetti de' Signori di Buronzo mio affezionato. (nel 1623 parle delli beni cioè quelli della Comenda sono stati dati alli Monaci Cistercensi riformati detti Bernardoni) Era poco prima morto questo Santo e dal Vescovo di Novara dove morì e dal Vescovo di Vercelli dove era molto tempo stato, e predicato, fu Cannonizato l'anno 1123 etc. (Giovanni Battista Modena, *Dell'Antichità e Nobilità della Città di Vercelli,* MS. (codice), Archivio Civico di Vercelli, No. 8).

[4] Procurò similmente [Ugutione], che si fabricasse la Chiesa, & Monastero di San Bernardo di Montone, ceduta poscia a Grimano Vescono d'Iurea l'anno mille cento, e settanta. (Cusano, 175).

[5] Anno dominice Jncarnacionis millesimo centesimo LXIIIJ. secondo die mensis octubris. Jndictione. XIIJ.a . . . Placuit atque conuenit inter dominum Vgucioncm dei gratia vercellensis ecclesie sancti Eusebij sacratum episcopum neenon et Guidonem presbiterum et ministrum ecclesie sancti bernardi site iuxta hanc Ciuitatem que est sub regimine et potestate Montis Jouis [et] ardicionem alçatum ut in dei nomine debeat dare sicut a presenti dedit ipse dominus V[gucio] . . . presbitero Guidoni ad partem suprascripte ecclesie sancti Bernardi atque ardicioni idest omnes terras etc. . . . Et manifestauit idem episcopus pro suprascriptis terris et rebus accepisse a suprascriptis ardichione et parte suprascripte ecclesie argenti bonorum denariorum papiensium libras, LXXXXV. . . . (Arnoldi, etc., I, 223).

as the Great St. Bernard. According to Mandelli,[6] the church of S. Bernardo is mentioned in a document of 1169. It appears that in addition to being a priory, the church was also a parish.[7] Cusano states that about the year 1200 the church was enlarged, but the style of the architecture gives reason to suppose that the alteration of which he speaks was actually carried out sometime later. A document of 1263 mentions *Frater Hugo prior ecclesiae S. Bernardi montis Iovis et prior et sacerdos ecclesiae S. Bernardi de Vercellis pertinentis dietae ecclesiae montis Iovis.* The *Prioratus S. Bernardi* and a *priorem S. Bernardi* are mentioned in a catalogue of the churches of Vercelli of 1440.[8] In 1522 the church passed to the Agostiniani, and in 1803 became a simple parish. In 1835 the choir was enlarged *ex voto* because the city escaped from the cholera.[9] At this period, the Gothic cupola was destroyed, and a barocco apse erected.[10] Between 1891 and 1896 the eastern part of the church was entirely rebuilt.

III. The edifice consists of two distinct parts, dating evidently from different times. To the first, or Romanesque, period belong a nave of three bays flanked by side aisles, transepts and a crossing. The chapels flanking the side aisles are obviously of much later date, and to afford space for them the transept has been in great part destroyed. To the second period, which is almost entirely modern and of very little interest, belongs the loftier eastern portion of the edifice, consisting of a second set of transepts adjoining the first, a choir of two bays flanked by side aisles, and an apse.

The Romanesque portions of the church (Plate 215, Fig. 2) are entirely vaulted, the nave and south transept with rib vaults about square in plan, the northern transept by a modern vault, the side aisles by oblong groin vaults (but the vault of the eastern bay of the northern side aisle is modern), and the crossing by a dome. The square plan of the crossing is worked to a circle by squinches placed, one above, the other below, the high drum. This dome has been much restored, and it is impossible to say how faithfully the original dispositions have been preserved.

The side aisles and nave are of about equal height (Plate 215, Fig. 2). There is, consequently, no gallery nor clearstory. The vaults of the nave and transepts are considerably domed (Plate 215, Fig. 2). The diagonals are of rectangular section, but are light. They are segmental in elevation. The groin vaults of the side aisles are also domed (Plate 215, Fig. 2), but more in the direction of their length than of their breadth. Most of the piers are in section square, with a semi-column engaged upon each face (Plate 215, Fig. 2), but the two easternmost, which were probably not originally free-standing, contained entirely rectangular members (Plate 215, Fig. 2).

[6] III, 130-131. [7] Orsenigo, 88-90. [8] Orsenigo, 402.
[9] Dionisotti, I, 227. [10] Mandelli, III, 130-131.

The ancient masonry is completely covered with intonaco, and can not be studied.

IV. The capitals show that the builders of this church drew their inspiration from many different sources. Certain ones are notable for the presence of distinctly Lombard elements. One, with a siren, might well have been executed for S. Ambrogio. Only slightly less Lombard are several others, carved with two birds, or with two grotesque animals, having a single head which forms the volute (Plate 214, Fig. 2; Plate 215, Fig. 1). A grotesque Atlas recalls the sculptures of Emilia, and certain Corinthianesque capitals, with sprouting anthemia substituted for acanthus leaves, call to mind the churches of the Appennini Modenesi. Some of the ornament—especially of the string patterns—is of a coarseness almost unparalleled in northern Italy. Distinctively French, on the other hand, are certain broad-leaved capitals of early Gothic type (Plate 215, Fig. 1). One capital is of a correct and very classical Corinthian order (Plate 215, Fig. 2). A cubic capital recalls the school of Como.

The bases have been hidden from sight by the raising of the pavement. The façade is adorned with a cornice of single arched corbel-tables interrupted by shafts and buttresses. These corbel-tables are about to be incorrectly restored as double.

V. S. Bernardo of Vercelli is an authentically dated monument of 1164.

VERCELLI,[1] S. MARIA MAGGIORE

(Plate 215, Fig. 3, 4)

I. Of the once important church of S. Maria Maggiore there remain only a few fragments, so that to study the church as a whole it is necessary to have recourse to old drawings and descriptions. One of the most important of these is the water-colour preserved in the Palazzo Gattinara, Via S. Anna, 21. It shows that the central part of the nave was considerably raised above the side aisles. Before the central portal was a portico flanked on either side by simple doorways. The side wings of the façade corresponding to the side aisles had bifora in the lower story and triforia in the upper story, the latter doubtless corresponding to the gallery. The upper part of the central gable had oculi and bifora. The cornices were formed of double arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips. Over the crossing rose a Lombard cupola, surmounted by a lantern.

Other drawings have recently been published by Orsenigo. These are said to have belonged to the conte Edoardo Mella, but it is peculiar that the

[1] (Novara).

conte himself, writing in 1842, does not seem to know these drawings, said to have been preserved in his family. The drawings consist of an elevation of the façade, a sort of perspective view of the section, and a side elevation. It is evident that the edifice consisted of a narthex, a nave probably four bays long, two side aisles, galleries, projecting transepts, a choir and an apse. The church has already been baroccoized, and this is probably the explanation of the barrel vaults which the drawing shows in the galleries. The nave was covered with rib vaults like those of S. Bernardo, except that the transverse arches are shown in the drawing as distinctly pointed. This last detail is probably due to an inaccuracy on the part of the draughtsman. The drawings show no buttresses of any kind. The vaults were protected by wooden roofs. The exterior was ornamented with arched corbel-tables simple or double, supported on shafts, and the apse had a gallery.

In the history of De Gregory, published in 1819, is contained a view of the façade and a detail of the portal. The drawing of the façade is extremely similar to the water-colour drawing described above, except that the cupola is distinctly shown as a Renaissance construction. This is probably an inaccuracy. The work of De Gregory also contains a detail of the portal made before it had been moved, as well as valuable notices in regard to the church, and especially the mosaic. In 1784 Ranza published a monograph on the mosaic of the Duel, in misunderstanding which he displayed much typical XVIII century erudition. He also published a drawing of this panel, but, since the original is extant, the reproduction is of no great importance. The same author also prepared a careful drawing of another fragment of the mosaic which showed the Dance of David. This was never published, but was preserved with his manuscript in the library of Turin. It was here destroyed in the famous fire, but fortunately the drawing had previously been reproduced by Durand and Aus'm Weerth, both of whom have contributed important studies upon the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore. Fileppi's manuscript *Storia di Vercelli*[2] contains important historical notices upon the church, as do also the discourses of Cusano, printed in 1676. Good half-tones are contained in Picco's little book on Vercelli in the Bonomi Series.

II. There is the usual tradition that the church of S. Maria Maggiore was erected on the site of a pagan temple which in this case is said to have been dedicated to Venus. More worthy of faith is the tradition that the church was founded by Constantine. Orsenigo quotes a passage from a sermon of the bishop Attone (924-950) to prove that as early as the X century the church was believed to have been founded by the first Christian emperor. The ancient descriptions tell us that on the apse was a fresco showing the emperor Constantine the Great and his mother S. Elena, accompanied by the disks of the sun and the moon, and in the presence of the Saviour and the

[2] MS., Codice No. 10, Archivio Civico di Vercelli.

symbols of the four Evangelists. In the sacristy, Constantine and S. Elena were represented in other frescos, which, at the time of their destruction, were judged to be of the XIV or XV century. It is evident, therefore, that Constantine was peculiarly associated with the church.

That the church is really as ancient as the IV century is confirmed by the fact that it was undoubtedly at one time the co-cathedral of Vercelli with S. Eusebio. The two churches are coupled together, and referred to as the dual cathedral in diplomas of 913, 1153, etc.[3] To this circumstance, undoubtedly, it owes the title of *Maggiore* with which it is qualified in the life of S. Eusebio, written, according to Ughelli, before the year 1000 and according to Orsenigo in the VIII or IX century.[4] It is also called *Maggiore* by the bishop S. Alberto in 1185. Even to this day the bishops of Vercelli take possession of their seat in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore before proceding to S. Eusebio. As late as 1573 the episcopal throne was preserved in the church.

One of the fragments of the pavement that is still preserved shows a priest holding a napkin on his hands, and the fragmentary inscription: . . . . . INFREDVS| CVSTOS. De Gregory tells us that the inscription originally read MANFREDVS CVSTOS, and that near the priest was the figure of CONSTANCIVS MONACVS. The first vowel in the name of the *custode* is now indubitably an I, but it is probable that this is the result of a careless restoration. De Gregory also tells us that Manfredo held in his right hand a scroll on which were the following words: *Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo quad . . . . . mo.* This inscription has now entirely disappeared, and has been replaced by unmeaning letters. It has been conjectured rightly that the two figures represent the donors of the pavement, and that the inscription refers to the year in which it was executed. This was long understood to be 1040, but the style of the pavement makes it certain that the inscription must have been damaged even before the copies were made, and that the word *centesimo* must have been dropped out.[5]

In addition to the style, further proof that such was the case is afforded by the fact that the church indubitably was consecrated by Pope Eugenius III

[3] Fileppi, *Storia di Vercelli,* MS., Codice, No. 10, Archivio Civico di Vercelli, Document No. 194, f. 125, 379.

[4] Quintum vero cognovimus miraculum, qui dum Vercellas in initio suæ sacrationis deveniret [Eusebius], Auxentio tunc Mediolanensi Episcopo faciente, ac cæteris Arrianis, qui in hac Vercellensi urbe commanebant fautoribus ipsius Auxentii cuncta ostia Ecclesiæ obicibus obstructa sunt, ut nullus cuiquam pateret accesus. B. Eusebius ubi tanta comperit malevolentiam atque sacrilegam temeritatem, ante ostia majoris Ecclesiæ quæ in honore B. Dei Genitricis Virginis Mariæ constructa est, poplitibus flexis pro obviatione populi Dominum deprecatus est; moxque oratorium ingressus pro ereptione populi sacrificium Domino obtulit: sicque diebus singulis laboraudo ipsam urbem ad veram adduxit, & Catholicam fidem. (Ughelli, IV, 753).

[5] Possibly also an *octavo* after the *quadragesimo.*

in 1148. This was recorded in a document seen by Cusano[6] and Fileppi in the archives of the chapter of S. Maria, and a copy of which has been preserved for us by Fileppi.[7] This document offers some difficulties, probably due principally to the inaccurate copying of Fileppi, although Cusano, in his Italian version, seems to have fallen into the same errors.[8] The bishop of Albano in 1148 was not Pietro but Nicolas Breakspeare, afterwards pope under the title of Hadrian IV. There is no such see as S. Rufina. None the less the document appears to have been entirely authentic, and fully to merit faith.

In 1741 there was begun—probably on the site of the ancient baptistery—a new church. This was finished in 1773, and in 1776 (or, according to others, in 1777) the old basilica was razed to the ground. Nothing remained but the portico (transferred to the garden of the Palazzo Gattinara) and fragments of the mosaic pavement. Some of these were transported to the vestibule of the Casa Treves, Via S. Cristoforo, 33, where they are still extant. Others were removed to the hospital where they existed until a few years ago, when they were given to the Museo Lapidario established in the cloisters of S. Andrea. One fine day the intelligent director of this collection allowed them to be broken up into small pieces and piled them into sarcophagi, where what is left of them may still be seen.

IV. The portal is notable especially for the roll-moulding of the soffit—a feature which is entirely French—and for the engaged gable resting on two columns, a motive which recalls the portal of another destroyed church, S. Giovanni in Borgo, of Pavia. The sculptures between the two arches are for the most part grotesques, but include a Lamb of God and a representation of Samson and the lion. The purely classical Corinthian capitals seem to

[6] 170.

[7] Noverint universi Christi Fideles, quod anno Dominicae Nativitatis MCXLVII. indict. XI. XV. Kal. julii D. Eugenius Papa III. Basilicam dulcissimae Virginis Mariae, Coeli, et Terrae Reginae, Matrisque Domini nostri jesu Christi, Protectricis hujus almae Civitatis Vercellarum, personaliter consecravit, assistentibus ibi RR. Patribus DD. Conrado Episcopo Sabiensi, D. Theodoro Episcopo S. Rufinae, D. Petro Episcopo Albanensi, D. Gerardo tit. S. Callixti Presbytero Cardinali, D. Guidoni tit. S. Crucis in Hierusalem, D. Villano tit. S. Stephani in Coelio Monte, Presbyteris Cardinalibus et B. Georgio SS. Sergii, et Bacchi, et D. Guidoni SS. Cosmae, et Damiani, D. Octaviano S. Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano, D. Joanne Stae Mariae Novae, B. Odone S. Georgii ad velum Aureum, D. Joanne S. Adriani, Diaconis Cardinalibus, nec non D. Hibaldo tit. SS. Joannis, et Pauli, D. Jordano tit. S. Susannae, Presbyteris Cardinalibus, ac assistentibus ibi glorioso Confessore Beatissimo Bernardo Claravallensi abbate, ac Reverendissimis Archiepiscopo Mediolanensi[,] Gisulpho Vercellensi Episcopo et multis aliis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis, et Abraham Archipresbytero, Hugerio Majore, praesente Anrico Praeposito et coeteris Canonicis Eccl[esi]æ Vercellensis. (Fileppi, *Storia di Vercelli,* MS., Codice, No. 10, Archivio Civico di Vercelli, Document No. 149, f. 372).

[8] The principal variants in Cusano's version are *Geraldo* for *Gerardo, Vuliano* for *Villano,* and *Mazzaro* for *Majore.*

show Provençal influence (Plate 215, Fig. 3). Very classical are the egg-and-dart and heart-leaf ornaments, and the double cymation moulding of the gable.

In the pavement of the church was represented, among other subjects, the story of Judith and Holofernes. This is referred to by Mabillon[9] and Cusano.[10] Several fragments belonging to this cycle—which evidently included numerous scenes—are still extant. One fragment shows the Assyrians departing, leaving Achior tied to a tree.[11] Below is the inscription A|CH[I]|OR. Another fragmentary inscription which has been interpreted as referring to a psychomachia is, with the exception of the first two words, an exact quotation from Judith, xi, 1, from which the lacunæ can easily be supplied:

. . . . . ET MENDAC[ITER] . . . . .
AEQVO ANIM[O ESTO ET NOLI]
PAVERE IN CO[RDE TVO QVONIAM]
EGO NVM[QVAM NO]
CVI VIRV

The other fragments of this cycle seen by Durand at the hospital have unfortunately perished.[12]

Another important panel, unfortunately destroyed, but of which we have Ranza's engraving, showed the Dance of David. David, crowned and bearing a sceptre, not in his hand, but upright in his lap, was seated in the middle of the upper of the two rows of figures: DAVID REX. To his right, were [A]SAPH, dancing and playing a viol, and IDITHVN, dancing and playing

9 Vercellis, quæ urbs ad Seriam fluvium sita est, insigniores sunt ecclesiæ, Episcopalis sancti Eusebii, primitus Theonesti, sancti Andreæ canonicorum regularium congregationis Lateranensis; & beatæ Mariæ Majoris, cujus pavimentum ex opere musivo historiam Judithæ & Holofernis repræsentat. (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, I, 9).

10 Si vede particolarmente il Pauimento della medesima Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore lastricato con lauori operati à Musaico, che con diuersità di Figure rappresentano l'Armamento, e formal accampamento d'Holoferne, che seruì poscia di Trofeo alla Pudica Giudit.

11 Judit., vi, 9.

12 En visitant l'hôpital de Verceil, j'y ai vu des fragments de la mosaique. L'un représentait Holopherne accompagné de son nom . . . . . LOFERNES, coiffé de son casque, debout sous une arcature à plein centre figurant sans doute la porte d'une maison ou d'une ville; l'autre Judith nu-tête, les cheveux flottant sur ses épaules, vêtue d'une robe qui lui serre la taille, tenant de la droite une épée et de la gauche, par les cheveux, la tête du chef des Assyriens. Divers fragments, qui se trouvent au même endroit et dans une maison particulière, appelée Palazzo-Campo, indiquent que cette istoire de Judith était représentée avec détails. Ainsi on y voit plusieurs guerriers plus ou moins entiers, les uns à pied, armés de lances et de boucliers, les autres à cheval, armés de lance, portant boucliers et casques pointus, avec nasal; on y voit le nom d'Achior et celui des Ammonites auxquels Achior commandait, etc. (Durand).

a ten-stringed harp; to his left were [HE]MAN, playing a similar harp (which is broken) and dancing, and HETHAN, playing a viol and dancing. Below was the inscription, FI[LI]I CHORE. In the second row were represented six figures, the two in the centre seated, the other four dancing. The two seated ones held between them a single bass viol. The two at the ends blew trumpets. The second from the left was entirely defaced. The second from the right played some sort of wood instrument. The inscription *omnes gentes plaudite manibus: jubilate Deo in voce exsul[tationis]* was taken from Psalm, xlvi, 1. In the upper border was the inscription in leonine hexametres:

[IN]FERIOR TACT' TERENOS INDICAT ACTVS
A . . . . . IPSOS TOLLERE SVRSVM
SALMI' INSISTAT Q[VI] VULI (*sic*) VITARE
MALIGNVM. NAM TANGENTE DD NABLI VOX EXPVLIT [MALV]M

It is therefore evident that the lower band of figures represents mortals who, when they sing the Psalms of David, are raised up towards Heaven and enabled to avoid evil.

Other fragments of the mosaic belong to what I believe must have been a cycle of scenes taken from some Carlovingian romance. The first of these shows a number of heroes gathered together under a tree, on which sit two ravens. One knight with a beard appears to be the same man whom I identify with Roland in the scene of the Duel (to be described further on). He blows a horn. Near him stands a youth, naked to the waist, pointing one way in excitement, then a negro pointing another way. There are so many points of contact with various episodes in the *Chanson de Roland* that I think it probable this mosaic illustrates some story in which the same elements occur, although in a very different form. Thus it might bear to the *Chanson* the same relationship that the sculptures of the Porta della Pescheria at Modena do to the extant poems of the Arthurian cycle. Roland, who blows a horn, at once calls to mind the famous scene of the blowing of the olifant at the battle of Roncevaux. The negro recalls the Ethiopians of the *Chanson* "who are blacker than ink and have white only their teeth,"[13] and whose noses were flat and ears protruding.[14] The youth naked to the waist might be Oliver.[15] Throughout the *Chanson* the kings hold their councils under trees. It is under a pine that Charlemagne takes counsel with his barons in regard to the embassy of Marsile, and it is under a pine that Marsile receives at Saragossa the traitor Ganelon. The ravens, it is true, do not appear in the *Chanson*, but as birds of ill omen they are familiar features in other mediæval romances.

The second fragment, belonging to the Carlovingian cycle, is the much discussed scene of the Duel (Plate 215, Fig. 4). A Moor—or more probably

[13] *Chanson de Roland*, 1932.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1917. [15] Ki tint la marche tresqu'à Gennes et' rivier (2209).

an Ethiopian—represented with round shield and bare feet, beardless and naked to the waist, is fighting a duel with broadswords against a bearded white hero. The Christian is now labelled FOL, but the final "L" is crossed with a sign of abbreviation so as to resemble somewhat an "A". I suspect that the F is the result of a careless restoration and that originally there stood inscribed ROL̄, which may well have been an abbreviation for ROLAND. That this interpretation is correct, I am convinced from an examination of the strange object which hangs at the hero's left side. At first sight this appears to be the scabbard of his sword, but its curved form (compare, for example, the scabbard of the Moor) seems to indicate that this is really the olifant, and distinct from the scabbard, which is seen hanging below the skirt. The extraordinary elaboration with which the blades of the sword are treated in the mosiac is probably intended to indicate that these were particularly important and significant weapons. There is no lettering, as Durand and others have tried to make out, but simply pure ornamentation intended to represent the gleam of the fine weapons. Everyone will recall the importance attached to swords in the *Chanson*. The Moor is given the name FEL in letters which seem to be much better preserved than those on the other side. This name might be explained in various ways. In the *Chanson* are mentioned several Moors whose name might easily be corrupted into FEL, such as Falsarun,[16] Bovel,[17] and Jurfalen.[18] I think it is more likely, however, that FEL is connected with the adjective *felun*, the epithet of opprobrium constantly applied to the Saracens throughout the *Chanson*.

Another fragment which may possibly be connected with the Carlovingian cycle is a medallion showing winged and legged monsters labelled DRAGONE͡S. It will be recalled that in the *Chanson* the emir went into battle preceded by his dragon.[19]

Another fragment of the pavement shows a man blowing a horn from the top of a tower or castle, on which hangs a shield. The letters . . . . . IVDE͡ . . . . . are still legible. Another fragment shows the same man, IVD . . . . . lying prostrate at the foot of a tower. It will be remembered that in the *Chanson* the defeat of the emir is observed by Bramimonde, "surrounded by the clerks and canons of the idols," from the top of a tower. The Saracen queen announces the bad news to Marsile, who dies of grief.[20]

Cusano tells us that in the pavement were represented two scenes from the fable of the chickens and the fox who pretended he was dead. This was inscribed with the legend *ad ridendum*.[21]

[16] 1216. [17] 1389. [18] 1905. [19] 3266, 3550. [20] 3635 f.

[21] Immediatamente doppo l'ingresso si vede vaga processione di Galline, che à due à due funeralmente accompagnano, col portarsi la Volpe fintamente morta, depositata in vna Barra, precedendoui vn Gallo, che porta la Croce, altro l'Incensiere, altro

Other fragments show a building with doors and windows, men, horses, bits of battle-scenes, decorative fragments, a fish, warriors, parts of animals and architecture.

V. The mosaic and the portal are authentically dated monuments of 1148.

VERONA, CATHEDRAL

(Plate 216, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; Plate 217, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

I. The cathedral of Verona, although it contains notable portions of Romanesque architecture, and is called prominently to the attention of tourists by the guide-books (of which the best is that of Simeoni), has been the subject of comparatively little archæological study. In 1767 Dionisi published a little monograph upon the sculptures now in the museum, which contains several notices of the greatest importance. The drawings of Knight[1] show the portal as it was in 1843. Cattaneo has applied his genius to the study of the remains of the earlier church discovered in the cloister, and the sculptures of the cathedral have been admirably analyzed by Zimmermann.

In the *Biblioteca Comunale* of Verona are two manuscripts which are important sources for the history of the edifice. One[2] contains three drawings of Cristofori (1748-1824); the other is a history of Canobbio, written 1587-1597.[3]

The main facts of the history of the cathedral are repeated by all the historians of Verona. Of these the most important for the early history of the edifice is Biancolini.[4] For the later history the article of Vignola should be consulted.

II. The origins of the church are exceedingly obscure. According to Canobbio the church of S. Maria Matricolare was a small chapel until the year 780, when it was rebuilt on a larger scale and was subsequently chosen by the bishop Rotaldo as a cathedral.[5] Canobbio goes on to state that the

l'Aspersorio & altri simili ordigni, indi seguendoui vn miscuglio di Galline, che formando moltitudine di Cantori, & hauendovi vn Libro di Musicali Note, vi celebrano l'vltime memorie della giacente Volpe: Vedendosi, in oltre, che fuori d'ogni aspettatione, e dubbio si risueglia la Volpe, & vscendo d'improuiso dalla Barra, assalendo le dette galline ne fa ogni stratio, e crudel scempio: & nel mezzo di tal circolo si vedeuano già e si leggeuano in vn ristretto tali parole: *Ad ridendum*, hoggidì mancanti per l'antichità dell'Opra, e frequenza del Popolo.

[1] II, Plate XII. [2] MS. 1002, fasc. XV. [3] No. 1968/Storia/90.5. [4] I, 148-149.

[5] Visse Verona in assai pacifico stato sotto i Regi Longobardi, massimamente nel tempo, che regnarono i christiani catolici, i quali fecero edificare diuerse chiese, e diuersi Monasteri à monaci, et à monache: e nella Città, e nel territorio, à quali concessero anco di molti beni per loro uiuere et furono queste Chiese edificate per la

bishop Loterio, to whom he gives the credit of having reconstructed the church in 780, was aided in this work by Bertarda, wife of Pepin and mother of Charlemagne, and by two other queens, one of whom was the wife of Charlemagne and the other the wife of Desiderio. He claims as authority for this statement privileges granted to the canons.[6] All this rests entirely upon the word of Canobbio. The credibility of his statements was questioned by Leruti, who excluded the bishop Loterio from his series of bishops of Verona, but Leruti also excluded the bishop Zufeto, whom documents subsequently discovered have demonstrated really existed. Cappelletti[7] reinstates Loterio in his series of bishops of Verona, and places him between Annone, who died in 760, and Aldone, bishop in 780. The account of Canobbio acquires increased credibility from the fact that in 813 secular clergy were indubitably established in the cathedral by the bishop Rotaldo.[8] This fact confirms the statement of Canobbio that the cathedral was established in S. Maria Matricolare by Rotaldo, and lends intrinsic probability to his statement that the church had been rebuilt and enlarged shortly before this.[9] The church soon after 780 was adorned with church-furniture, executed by the archdeacon Pacifico. This is proved by an authentic and contemporaneous monument, the epitaph of Pacifico, who died in 847, at the age of 68 years.[10] The epitaph states that he was the founder and restorer of the churches of S. Zeno, S. Procolo, S. Vito,

maggior parte in uita di Paterno e di Sto Annone Vescoui. Di questo tempo, che è l'anno 780, e che uiuea Loterio, Vescouo successore di Sto Annone, era la Chiesa di Sta Maria Matricolare di non molta grandezza, la quale in questi tempi in miglior forma ridotta fu poi eletta da Rotaldo Vescouo per la Cathedrale, come anco è di presente in maggior grandezza, et in più elegante forma accommodata. (*Historia di Alessandro Canobbio intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona,* MS. of 1587-1597 in Biblioteca Comunale, Verona, No. 1968/Storia/90.5 sotto anno 780, Lib. 5).

[6] Fù aiutato Loterio Vescouo in questa fabrica da Bertarda, che fu moglie di Pipino, e madre di Carlo Magno; che fu in Verona, come si è detto in tempo, che si riedificaua questa Chiesa. Fù similmente aiutato dalle due altre Reine, l'una consorte di Carlo mano, l'altra di desiderio, come si uede ne i priuilegij de essi Canonici. (*Ibid.*).

[7] X, 752.

[8] Document published by Ughelli, V, 707, and *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XIII, 166.

[9] This is doubtless why Biancolini (I, 148) conjectured that the cathedral was transferred to S. Maria Matricolare about 780.

[10] The text tells us that Pacifico lived thirteen *lustra* plus three years. A *lustrum* ordinarily and strictly is a period of four years, but in the early Middle Ages was frequently interpreted as a period of five years. Cf., for example, Isidore of Seville: "Lustrum vero est πεντετηρίς, id est, quinquennium, quod quinto anno dicitur condi propter olympiadas a Romanis; adhuc enim consules, adhuc æra nondum erant. Est enim quinquennale tempus. Ideo vero sic vocatur eo quod censu per quinquennium in republica peracto, urbs Roma lustrabatur. (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* V, 37, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 222). Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.,* VII, 48 (157).

Since Pacifico became archdeacon in 804, it must be that in the epitaph the word *lustrum* signifies a period not of four, but of five years, for it is inconceivable that he should have risen to this rank at the age of twelve years, whereas it is entirely natural that he should have done so at twenty-five.

S. Lorenzo, S. Giorgio, and of the Mother of God, that is, of the cathedral. "None was ever so skilled in so many works of gold, silver, of other metals, of woods of different kinds and of white marble."[11]

In 912 the church was burned by the Hungarians, according to a diploma of Berenger, known to Sigonio.[12] The economic exhaustion of northern Italy which followed the invasion of these barbarians was probably the reason that the cathedral was very roughly patched up after this disaster. In the third quarter of the X century the bishop Roterio undertook to restore the basilica in more worthy form. This we learn from a letter written by Roterio to Ambrogio, the chancellor of the emperor Otto I, after Roterio's return from the council of Ravenna. It is known that this council was held about the middle of April in the year 967.[13] The bishop called a council of his diocese in June or July, but certain of the *majorum nostrae matris ecclesiae* refused to come. Others did come, but flatly declined either to leave their wives or to desist from celebrating offices. The bishop goes on to state: "I took the greatest satisfaction in restoring or, more exactly, decorating the cathedral at the expense of these clerics in this hope, namely, that since these priests, being wholly dissipated, refused to save their souls by repentance, the intercession of the Mother of our Lord might at least obtain pardon for them who

[11] ARCHIDIAC QVIESCIT. HIC VERO PACIFICVS.
SAPIENTIA PRECLARVS ET FORMA PREFVLGIDA.-|
NVLLVS TALIS EST INVENTVS NRIS IN TEP[OR]IB'
Q[V]O[D] NEC VLLV ADVENIRE VMQA TALE CREDIMVS.-
ECCL[ESI]ARV| FVNDATOR RENOVATOR OPTIMVS.
ZENONIS. P[RO]CVLI. VITI. PETRI. & LAVRENTII.-
DI QVOQ:- GENITRICIS| NECN ET GEORGII.
QVICQ[VI]D AVRO V[E]L ARGENTO ET METALLIS CETERIS.
Q[VI]CQ[VI]D LIGNIS EX DIVERSIS ET MAR|MORE CANDIDO.
NVLLVS VMQVAM SIC PERITVS IN TANTIS OP[ER]IB' . . .|
TRES ET DECI| VIXIT LUSTRA TRINOS ANNOS AMPLIVS
.XL. ET TRES ANNOS FVIT ARCHIDIAC.-
SEPTI MO VICESIMO ETATIS ANNO CESARIS LOTHARII.
MOLE CARNIS EST SOLVTVS| P[E]REX AD DNM.|
NONO SANE KAL[EN]DARV OBIIT DECEBRIV.
NOCTE SCA QVE VOCAT A NOB DNICA.-| . . .
ANNO DOMINICE INCARNACIONIS DCCCXLVI INDIC X.

In the year 847 the twenty-third of November fell on a Wednesday.

[12] Berengarius IX Kalend. Aprilis Veronæ a Sibicone episcopo Patauino edoctus, basilica sua ab Vngaris inflammata antiqua tabularu monumeta omnia esse cosumpta, vetera omnia regum priuilegia instauranit, anno, vt ipse scribit, regni sui vicesimo quinto (247).

[13] *Ratherii episcopi Veronensis Epistola XII ad Ambrosium Ottonis I imperatoris cancellarium*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXVI, 679.

of their own accord would not make amends."[14] Another letter, written to the empress Adelaide by the same bishop, perhaps not long after, contains the phrase "until I have finished the church of the blessed Mother of God."[15]

It is evident from these letters of Rotherio that the cathedral in 967 was officiated by a body of secular priests corresponding to what would later be called a chapter of canons. This chapter in 847 is called a *schola sacerdotum* and had been, as we have seen, established in 813 by the bishop Rotaldo.

Canobbio records that in 1097 there was a great flood of the Adige which caused much damage to the episcopal palace and to the church of the oratory of S. Zeno.[16] Since internal evidence shows that the vaulted passage-way known as S. Maria Matricolare dates from precisely this time, I conjecture that S. Maria Matricolare is in reality part of the crypt of the old cathedral, which was so damaged by the flood of 1097 that it had to be rebuilt.

In 1139 a new reconstruction of the cathedral was undertaken.[17] This rebuilding must have proceeded with rapidity, since Canobbio, in speaking of a flood which occurred in 1153, and evidently following textually an old document, mentions the high altar of the Duomo.[18] In 1160 the sacristy was rebuilt by Ognibene.[19] The church itself must have been well along at this time, or building activity would hardly have been diverted to a subsidiary structure. In 1187 the edifice was consecrated by the pope Urban III, on Sunday, the thirteenth of September, as is recorded in a document published by Dionisi and Ughelli.[20] This consecration took place in the presence of a large gathering of notable persons, enumerated in this order: the two cardinals Tabaldo of Ostia (1184-1189) and Enrico of Albano (1179-1188); the *laborerio* or *fabbrica* of the cathedral of Verona (that is, the building committee), the head of which was Pietro of Bologna, and the other four members, Adelardo, Graziano, Pietro of Piacenza and Rodolfo; two bishops,

[14] quos comprehendi et custodiæ mancipari usque ad satisfactionem præcipi. Satisfactionis vero summam in restauranda, sive, quod verius est, decoranda beatæ Dei Genitricis ecclesia spe hujusmodi contuli, ut, quia illi in agenda pœnitentia inefficacissimi, utpote ebriosissimi erant, Matris intercessio Domini illis saltem obtinere dignaretur veniam, qui ex se emendationem aliam facerent nullam. (*Ibid.*).

[15] Sed si pro episcopatu hoc agitis, satagite meam tantillam servare vestra potentia vitam, usque dum beatæ Dei Genitricis habeam perfectam ecclesiam. (*Epistola XIII ad Adelaidem Imperatricem, ibid.*, 686).

[16] L'anno 1097 fu un altra escrecenza grandissima dell'Adige. . . . fece grandissimo danno nel Vescouato e nella Chiesa dell'Oratorio di S. Zeno. . . . (*Historia di Alessandro Canobbio,* MS. of 1587-1597, No. 1968/Storia/90.5 of the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona, Libro Sesto, f. 4, sotto anno 941).

[17] L'anno 1139 furono principiati i fondamenti del Domo nel modello, che di presente si uede. (*Ibid.*, Libro Sesto, sotto anno 1139).

[18] L'anno 1153 il giorno dell'Ascensione del Signe fù una estraordinaria, et improuisa escrescenza dell'Adige, che fece grandissimi danni nella Città, et fuori, si che ruppe il ponte sotto di S. Faustino e screscette fin' all'altezza dell'Altar grande del Domo. (*Ibid.*, 24-25, sotto l'anno 1153).

[19] Biancolini, *loc. cit.* [20] V, 809.

Riprando of Verona (1185-1188) and some bishop of Ireland or Scotland—probably Arnold of Ross (1161-1195)—whose name has been incorrectly transcribed De Vol; the chapter of Verona, of which five members, Adriano, *archipresbyter,* Ugueeio, *presbyter,* Adelardi, *presbyter cantoris,* Viviano and Marchesio, are called *magistri presbyteri,* and three, Loterio, Clarimbaldi and Andrea, simply *presbyteri canonicorum.* After the consecration the pope delivered a sermon from the pulpit and published important indulgences.[21]

At first glance it would seem that it is from an ill digested knowledge of the document we have cited above that comes a notice repeated in three old chronicles to the effect that the cathedral of Verona was built in 1187 by Pope Urban.[22] There is reason to believe, however, that fourteen years later the cathedral was consecrated again with even greater pomp. The question therefore arises whether the reconstruction, or at least the enlargement, of the edifice may not really have been begun by the pope Urban III; and

[21] Die Dominico XIII. intrante Septembri in Verona ante Majorem Veronæ Ecclesiam. in præsentia Dominorum Cardinalium Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, scilicet Thabaldi Ostiensis Episcopi, D. Henrici Albanensis Episcopi, D. Petri de Bona, Magistri Laborantis, D. Adhelardi, & Magistri Gratiani, Magistri Petri de Placentia, & Magistri Rodulphi, D. Riprandi Veronensis Episcopi, D. Episcopi de Vol, Scotensis Episcopi, D. Adriani Archipresbiteri Majoris Veron. Ecclesiæ, D. Presbiteri Ugucioni, D. Presbiteri Adhelardi Cantoris, D. Presbiteri Viviani, D. Marchesiii [*sic*], Magistri Presbiteri, D. Loterii, D. Clarimbaldi, Andreæ, Presbiteri Canonicorum hujus Veronensis Ecclesiæ et aliorum quamplurium [*sic*] Clericorum, & Laicorum, atque mulierum.

Ibique, cum maxima multitudo Clericorum, & Laicorum, atque mulierum esset Congregata ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, & Beatissimæ Mariæ semper Virginis & omnium Sanctorum, atque Sanctarum ad videndum Consecrationem prænominatæ Majoris Veronensis Ecclesiæ, Beatisimæ semperque Virginis Mariæ, & ad audiendam prædicationem, & admonitionem Domini Urbani Summi Pontificis, qui ibi in Pulpito erat, & populum docebat, & admonebat, atque prædicabat; qui etiam præfatam Ecclesiam consecrabat in fine suæ prædicationis talem remissionem peccatorum fecit, sic dicens idem Dominus Urbanus Summus Pontifex, ex parte Dei Omnipotentis, & Beatum [*sic*] Apostolorum Petri, & Pauli, & nostra omnibus hominibus, & mulieribus, qui ad istam consecrationem hujus Sanctæ Veronensis Ecclesiæ de hinc quadraginta dies venerint, & de suis peccatis veraciter pœnitentiam susceperint vel suscipient, duos annos indulgemus: & omni anno in Anniversario hujus Sacræ Consecrationis, omnibus qui infra quindecim dies ad hanc prænominatam Majorem Veronensem Ecclesiam venerint, & de suis peccatis veraciter pœnitentiam susceperint, & de suis bonis ad Fabricam ejusdem dederint, seu miserint tam infra prædictos XL dies, quam omni anno infra XV. dies Anniversarii illius Consecrationis XL. dies indulgemus, atque remittimus. . . . Anno a Nativitate Domini Millesimo Centesimo LXXXVII. Indictione V. (Ed. Dionisi, *Sculture,* XXXVI).

[22] 1187 Edificata fuit Ecclesia major Verone a Papa Urbano (nisi forte dicat reedificata).—(Anonimi Auctoris, *Cronica Veronensis,* ed. Verci, VII, 149).

1187. Edificata fuit ecclesia maior Verone a pape Urbano. (*Chronica illorum de la Scala,* ed. Cipolla, *Chronica quaedam veronensia,* 498).

In 1187 et 1188 et 1189 dominus Atto Pagani de Pergamo fuit potestas Mantue . . . et [r]ededicata est ecclesia maior Verone a papa Urbano. (*Breve Chronicon Mantuanum,* ed. Carlo d'Arco, *Archivio storico italiano,* Serie II, Vol. I, Anno 1855, 28).

whether the consecration of 1187 may not have had reference merely to some small part of the cathedral already completed. It seems as if the building begun in 1139 must have been substantially finished long before, if, in 1153, we find mention of the principal altar and in 1160 a sacristy was built. It may well be, therefore, that in 1187 an enlargement was begun, and advantage was taken of the presence of the pope at Verona to consecrate the very small portion of the new edifice that had been constructed.

It is certain that on Sunday, the fifteenth of August, 1193, a pompous and important function—in all probability a consecration—was celebrated in the church. The ceremony was performed by the apostolic legate Fidentino, cardinal of S. Marcello. There were present no less than fourteen bishops, to wit: Adelardo of Verona (1188-1214), who was also a cardinal; Pistor of Vicenza (1184-1204); Corrado of Treviso (1181-1197); Gerardo of Padua (1169-1213); Guglielmo of Ravenna (1190-1201); Ardizone of Modena (1179-1194); Odo of Novara (1192-1196); Enrico, bishop-elect of Mantova (1193-1225); Leonardo of Torcello (1177-1197); Giovanni, patriarch of Venice (1190-1201); Aldegerio of Capo d'Istria (1186-1213); Romolo of Concordia (1188-1196); Gerardo of Belluno (1183-1197), and Bernardo of Faenza (1192-1198); three abbots, to wit: of Nonantola, Rosacis, and S. Lucia; the prevosto of Concordia; the chapter of Verona, which included the same Adriano, *archipresbiter,* and Adelardo, *presbiter cantor,* Loterio, Andrea and Viviano, who had appeared at the consecration of 1187, but in place of two members mentioned in 1187, and who do not appear here, there appear seven new members; Senico, *archipresbiter* of Cologne; Guglielmo, Pellegrini and Siginolfo, chaplains of the apostolic legate;[23] Jacopo, canon of Pavia, Cerudi, canon of Pavia, and Bartolomeo, canon of Treviso.[24] While

[23] The Latin text absolutely excludes Dionisi's identification of this Pellegrini with the Pellegrini who sculptured the fragment of church-furniture now in the museum.

[24] Die Dominico XV. intrante Augusto. In Adsumptione Beatæ semperque Virginis Mariæ. In Verona, in Pulpito Sanctæ Mariæ Veronensis Ecclesiae. Dns. Fidentius Tituli Sancti Marcelli Presbiter Cardinalis, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus: in præsentia Dni Adhelardi Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis Veronensis Episcopi, Dni Pistoris Vicentini Episcopi, Dni Conradi Tarvisiensis Episcopi, Dni Gerardi Padnani Episcopi, Dni W. Ravennensis Archiepiscopi, Dni Ardizoni Modenensis Episcopi, Dni O. Novarisis [*sic*] Episcopi, Dni Henrici Mantuanensis Electi Episcopi, Dni Leonardi Episcopi Turselli, Dni Johannis Patriarchæ Venetiarum, Dni Aldegerii Capitis Istriæ Episcopi; Domini Romuli Concordiensis Episcopi, Dni G. Bellunensis Episcopi, Dni Bernardi Facntini Episcopi, Dni Walconis Abbatis Nonantulæ, Abbatis Rosaci, Abbatis Sanctæ Luciæ, Dni Gabrielis Prepositi Concordiæ, Dni Adriani Veronensis Ecclesiæ Archipresbiteri, Dni Presbiteri, Adhelardi Cantoris, Dni Presbiteri Henrici, Dni Loterii, Wilielmi, Magistri Martini, Andree, Perboconi, Alemanni, Dni Viviani, Conti, Dni Alberti Canonicorum Veronensis Ecclesiæ, Senichi Archipresbiteri Colognæ, Magistri Wilielmi, Pelegrini, Siginulfi, Capellanorum suprascripti Dni F. Cardinalis: Magistri Jacobi Canonici Papiæ, Magistri Cerudi Canonici Paduæ, Magistri Bartholomæi Canonici Tarvisii, & aliorum. In corum præsentia fecit remissionem unius anni omnibus hominibus, & mulieribus habentibus pœnitentiam, vel infra octo dies

the document concludes with the notable indulgences imparted, it does not state that the church was consecrated. It is difficult, however, to explain the presence of so many bishops, abbots, and other clergy if a new consecration was not performed, or to explain the numerous indulgences promulgated. It is probable, therefore, that the reconstruction of the cathedral was really finished in 1193 rather than in 1187. In the former year, however, the formal consecration was performed rather prematurely to take advantage of the presence of the pope at Verona. It frequently happened in the Middle Ages that churches were consecrated before being finished if a pope happened to be present. In 1197 the edifice was finished and the occasion was celebrated by a formal function which fourteen bishops attended. Since the church itself, however, had been consecrated by the pope six years before, only the new portions and the minor altars, not the edifice itself, could be consecrated in 1193.

In the XV century a complete reconstruction of the main body of the edifice was undertaken. As early as 1402 the vaults of the southern side aisle had been completed. In 1444-1445 the vaults of the choir were erected, and in 1524 the remaining vaults had been finished. About ten years later further alterations, which included the removal of the choir-screen, were carried out.[25]

III. The existing cathedral of Verona comprises portions belonging to several distinct eras of construction.

Beneath the cloisters of the cathedral itself have been discovered the remains of a vast mosaic which, from the inscriptions which could formerly be read there,[26] must have belonged to a Christian church. These inscriptions, entirely similar to the inscriptions in mosaic pavements of the Duomo Vecchio at Brescia, and SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza, record the number of feet of the pavement donated by various individuals. This mosaic must be of the V century. To a later church belonged two capitals which, with their columns,

suscipientibus venientibus ad præfatam Ecclesiam Matricularem, in præfato die Sanctæ Mariæ, vel infra octavam ob reverentiam Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, & perpetualem illam fecit remissionem, auctoritate Dei, & gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ, ejus Genetricis, & Beatorum Apostolorum Petri, & Pauli, & Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ & Episcoporum, & Archiepiscoporum, Patriarcharum, Abbatum ibi adstantium & auctoritate qua fungebatur fecit annualiter jam dictam remissionem unius anni omnibus venientibus ad jam dictam Ecclesiam, ut dictum est.

Anno a nativitate Domini Millesimo Centesimo nonagesimo tertio Indictione undecima.

Ego Marcius Hostiarius Dni Frederici Imperatoris Notarius Rogatus interfui, & scripsi.

[25] Biancolini, *loc. cit.;* Dalla Corte, II, 573.

[26] MARIN . . . . . EVSEBIA IIIMERIA
COL. CVM CVM SVIS CVM SVIS
SVIS P. X. TESSELLA P. CXX
VIT. P. CXX

have been re-erected in the cloister (Plate 216, Fig. 2). There is extant a drawing by Cristofori of one of these or possibly of a third.[27] To this building may also have belonged some of the fragments found in the neighbourhood of the cathedral, and believed in the XVI century to be remains of a Roman temple.[28]

Between the cloister and the cathedral is a sort of passage-way which has been called S. Maria Matricolare since the XVI century,[29] and has been believed to be the remains of the church erected by Loterio in 780. It is true this passage-way looks as though it might be a part of the crypt of a destroyed church, and it is evident that it is earlier than the existing cathedral, since the latter cuts across its vaults. According to Canobbio, in the XVI century the door leading from the cathedral to the passage-way of S. Maria Matricolare was surmounted by sculptures of the Annunciation.[30] This doorway still exists, but has been walled up. On its inner face may still be read the inscription:

HINC DEVS INTRANTES AD TE BENEDIC PROPERANTES.

The interior of the cathedral as it exists to-day appears at first glance to have the character of a late Gothic edifice, but on close inspection it is evident that the building was merely made over in the XV century, and that considerable fragments of the old Romanesque core still survive. In the easternmost bay on the south side the arch separating the nave from the side aisles is semicircular, and the archivolt is less adorned than the archivolts of the other arches. Furthermore the diagonal vaulting ribs of this bay are unornamented, although the vault itself is completely Gothic in character.

[27] The drawing bears the legend: Antico Capitello era nei chiostri della S. casa di Pietà al domo; ora è nel giardino della nuova Fabbrica.

[28] Alcuni hanno scritto che in questo luogo era un nobilissimo tempio, dedicato à Minerua, et con qualche fondata congiettura, imperciò che quiui d'ogni intorno si sono ritronati molti quadri grandi di marmore finissimo, colonne, capitelli, base et altri antichi et nobili frammenti, et fondamenti grossissimi, inditio chiaro, che prima ui douea essere edificio meranigliosissimo, di che anco ne fanno amplissima fede i due gran pezzi di colonne quadre, ò come si dice pillastri, di marmore intagliati con mirabile artificio che si ueggono appoggiati, à questa Chiesa del domo, posti sopra due leoni, nell'nscire dalla porta, per entrare alla Canonica: si uede anco uicino à questi un sepolcro grande che ha il coperto di marmore della qualità delle colonne dette, nel qual si uede intagliato una meduca antica et altri intagli, che sono quasi del tutto leuati hauendosi seruito di questo marmore per coprire la sepoltura, nella quale sono intagliate, et lettere et l'arma della famiglia Zancana, nobile Veneta. . . . (Canobbio, *MS. cit.*).

[29] Moscardo, 77; Dionisi, VII; *et als.*

[30] . . . della quale si uede una delle sue porte antiche uerso S. Giouanni in Fonte, sopra la quale ui è una figura della Madonna, salutata dall'Angelo, che è di finissimo marmore, fatta con poco dissegno, portando così que' tempi. Era questa Chiesa tutta a uolte, sostentata da Colonne di marmore greco, parte della quale, uerso S.ta Helena è Vestibulo alla chiesa presente. (Canobbio, *MS. cit.*).

being supplied with pointed arches. The barrel vault of the choir is much lower than that of the nave, and is also Romanesque, as is the semicircular apse itself (Plate 216, Fig. 4), although the pointed Gothic windows were added at a subsequent epoch.[31] The Romanesque cloisters (Plate 216, Fig. 3), in part in two stories, are formed by a series of semicircular archivolts rising from coupled columns.

The Romanesque portions of the cathedral are constructed of ashlar of the finest quality, and are distinguished from later portions of the church by the absence of polychromatic striping.

IV. The capitals of the earlier church discovered in the cloister are skilfully executed, and of Corinthian type. The Carlovingian manner is evident in the crude drawing of the volutes, in the rigid treatment of the unearved acanthus leaves which suggest projecting bumps, and in the absence of undercutting (Plate 216, Fig. 2).

The capitals of S. Maria Matricolare are of Corinthian type, with Byzantinesque acanthus leaves. Two are pilfered. One of these has undercut volutes and the other animals substituted for volutes. These two capitals appear to be works of the extreme Roman decadence, and probably date from the late V century, since they show no traces of having been influenced by the Byzantine style of the Ravenna Renaissance. The other capitals, the volutes of which are not undercut, are Lombard imitations of the two pilfered capitals, and are so skilfully executed as to deceive at first glance a casual inspection. They must, however, be works of the early years of the XII century.

The cornice of the façade and the side-aisle walls is formed of simple arched corbel-tables surmounted by a saw tooth. The apse (Plate 216, Fig. 4) is supplied with a series of pilaster strips supporting a flat cornice. The *cuba magna,* remains of which still exist over the crossing, was characterized by simple arched corbel-tables, bifora and windows in the form of a Greek cross. The exterior is ornamented in places with bands of grotesque figures (Plate 216, Fig. 1).

Undoubtedly the most interesting portion of the edifice is the portal with its Lombard porch in two stories (Plate 217, Fig. 5). This is the work of the sculptor Nicolò, as we learn from the inscription, which we may translate: "The people who assemble here during the centuries praise Nicolò the skilful artificer who sculptured these things."[32] On either side of the lower spandrel of the portal are the two Johns. The Baptist is placed to the south near the inscription ECCE AGNVS DEI: the Evangelist carries a closed book.

[31] For Canobbio's description of the ancient northern portal, see text cited above, p. 473.

[32] ARTIFICEM GNARVM QVI SCVLPSERIT HEC NICOLAVM
HVNC CONCVRRENTES LAVDANT PER SECVLA GENTES.

In the tympanum is a relief of the Madonna, the Shepherds and the Magi, two of whom are on horse-back. Around the lunette is the inscription: ✣HIC DOMINVS. MAGNVS. LEO CRISTVS CERNITVR AGNVS. Below are medallions containing reliefs of three crowned queens labelled FIDES, CA[RIT]AS, SPES. Canobbio[33] has stated that these sculptures really represent the three queens who, according to him, collaborated with Loterio to reconstruct the cathedral in 780, and that they were subsequently erroneously labelled with the names of the three Theological Virtues. The character of the letters, however, makes it evident that the inscriptions are contemporary with the sculptures.

On the jambs of the portal (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3) are sculptured majestic figures the style of which is identical with that of the similar figures of the cathedral of Ferrara, and is not without points of contact with the styles of the southern French school of Languedoc and Provence. The faces are somewhat expressionless and the clinging garments fall in archaic folds. The arms are plastered to the sides and are not undercut. There is noticeable a certain fondness for minute ornament in the decoration of the shields of Oliver and Roland. These two statues are placed on the outer jamb. Roland stands on an aspic and on his sword is inscribed DVRIDARDA.[34] On the

[33] Queste tre reine furono intagliate nel trauicello della porta maggiore di questa chiesa à perpetua loro memoria; benchè dopo fossero con lettere dissignate per le tre uirtù Theologale; Vi posero anco dopo nella medesima porta due figure grandi di uomini armati, l'una alla destra, l'altra alla sinistra; quella alla destra nell'entrare nella Chiesa è il Paladino Oliuero figliuolo di Reniero, e di Ildruda sorella di Carlo magno; l'altro è Orlando ouer Rolando, che è il medessimo il quale fu figliuolo di Miloni, e di Berta sorella del medesimo Carlo, quiui posti ambidue per le prodezze loro, fatte in difesa della christiana religione, et particolarmente contro Saraceni. Oltre questa chiesa cathedrale ui erano in Verona di questo tempo per quello, che ho potuto uedere in diuerse scritture, la chiesa di S. Pietro in Castello, la quale era bellissima e molto principale; S. Bartolomeo, quiui uicino, che era sua capella; l'oratorio di S. Siro, quello di S. Thomé e di S. Pietro in Monasterio; nelle quali due uiueano santissime Monache; S. Giouanni in Fonte, S.ta Consolata, S. Fermo e S. Rustico di Corse Alta; S. Giouanni ad Fornm: In oltre ui erano alcune altre fuori della Città, et intorno à Borghi, come à porta Organa Sta Maria, S. Gio: in Valle, S. Nazaro e Celso, similmente di monache il monasterio di Sta Maria della Vergine; S. Michel in Campagna, S. Stefano, S. Giorgio, Sti Angli, Oratorio di Sto Alesandro, S. Fermo maggiore, Sti Apostoli, Sta Theuteria, Oratorio di S. Zeno, S. Procolo, S. Massimo: Hospitali diuersi; quello della Pietà presso S. Nazaro, quel di S. Barnaba, di Sto Alessio, et altri in altri luoghi, che ho ueduti senza tempo insieme con tante altre Chiese sparse per tutto il Territorio. Le quale tutte insieme con quelle della Città nel fine di questa fatica saranno nominatamente scritte, come di presente mentre che io scriuo si ritrouano. (*Historia di Alessandro Canobbio intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona,* MS. of 1587-1597, in Biblioteca Comunale, Verona, No. 1968/ Storia 90.5, Lib. 5, sotto anno 780).

[34] Roland and Oliver are also depicted on the pavement at Brindisi. Illustrated by Schulz, Plate XLV. For a study of the diffusion of the Carlovingian cycle, see Müntz, 75 f.

jambs are ten prophets haloed and with bare feet, bearing scrolls on which are inscriptions. These are, beginning at the north: Malachi with the inscription:

✠ECCE| EGO| MITTAM| ANGN͡E|LVM (*sic*) ME|V ET PRE|PARABIT.[35]

David with a crown and sceptre, bearing a book with the inscription:

ME|MEN|TO| DN̄E| DA|VIT| ET[36]

Jeremiah with the inscription:

EC|CE IN|QVID| D̄S NOS|TER. ET NON E|STIMA|BITVR[37]

Isaiah with the inscription:

✠|ECCE| VIRGO| CONCI|PIET ET| PARIET| FILIV[38]

Daniel with the inscription:

CVM| VEN͡E|RIT S| SCORV| CES͡ABIT| VNCTIO[39]

Habakkuk with the inscription:

DN̄E| A͡VDIVI| A͡VDITV| TVVM| ET TI|MVI C̄|SIDERA|VI OP[ER]A[40]

Haggai with the inscription:

ECCE| VENIET| DESIDE|RATVS| CVNC|TIS GN̄|TIBVS[41]

Zechariah with the inscription:

ECCE| REX TV|VS. VE|NIT. SE|DENS SV|P[ER] PVLLV| ASIAE[42]

Micah with the inscription:

T͡V BET|LEEM| TERRA| IVDA| EX TE| EXIET| DVX[43]

Joel with the inscription:

VE|NIET| DIES| D̄NI. Q[V]|A P[RO]PE| EST. DI|ES[44]

The jambs are further decorated with many geometric and leaf motives among which are numerous grotesques. One of these (Plate 217, Fig. 2) represents a wolf in a monk's habit holding a book on which is the inscription "ABC for Heaven."[45]

[35] Mal., iii, 1. [36] Ps., cxxxi, 1.

[37] *Contra Judæos Paganos et Arianos*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLII, 1124; Bar., iii, 36.

[38] *Contra Judæos Paganos et Arianos*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLII, 1124; Isai., vii, 14.

[39] *Contra Judæos Paganos et Arianos*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLII, 1124.

[40] *Contra Judæos Paganos et Arianos*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLII, 1124; Hab., iii, 1; cf. Eccle., vii, 14.

[41] Agg., ii, 8. [42] Zech., ix, 9. [43] Mic., v, 2; cf. Matt., ii, 6. [44] Joel, ii, 1.

[45] A B| POR CEL

A similar subject represented in the cathedral of Freiburg in Brisgau is illustrated by Cahier et Martin (I, Plate XXIV). The wolf, standing and grasping a club, holds a book in company with a seated monk; who also holds a club. They are

Compared with the sculptures of Ferrara, these of the cathedral of Verona are seen to be strangely lacking in composition. The space of the tympanum is less happily filled, and the figures of the jambs are not so artistically disposed. The technique also appears to be inferior.

In the XV century two colonnettes on either side of the second story loggia were added to strengthen the construction.

In the Museo Maffei is an interesting fragment of XII century sculpture (Plate 217, Fig. 4) which comes from the cathedral. This is usually believed to have formed a part of a ciborio, but its small size makes it seem more probable that it belonged to an ambo or pergola. The history of this fragment has been given by Dionsi, who states that he used the sculpture to form an altar in his private house. In the centre is a sculptured figure of Christ holding in His left hand an open book, His right hand raised in benediction. Behind His head is an inscribed halo, with the inscription:

SVM DEVS ET FACTOR CELI TERREQVE CREATOR

At His right is S[ANCTVS] PE|TRVS bearing the keys and at His left instructing a lamb. Above is written ABC. Cahier et Martin publish, to illustrate this sculpture, an illuminating text from a fable of Marie de France:

Uns prestres volt jadis aprendre
I lou a letres fere entendre
—A dist le prestres.—A dist li leus
Qui mult est fel et engingneux
—B dist li prestres, di o moi
—B dist li leus, la letre voi
—C dist li prestres, di avant
—C dit li leus.— ail dont tant
Respont li prestres, or di par toi.
—Li leu respont: je ne sai coi
—Di que te semble, si espel
Respont li leur, il dist: Aignel
Li prestres dist, que verté touche:
Tel ou penser, tel en la bouche!
De plusors le voit l'en souvent;
Ce dont il pensent durement
Est par la bouche connén.
Ainçois que d'autre sort séu,
La bouche monstre le penser;
Tout doit ele de li parler. . . .

Par viel essemple conte-ci
Que tuit li lous sont envielli
En cele pel ou il sont né;
La remainent tout leur aé
Qui sus le leu mettroit bon mestre
Qui doctrina a estre prestres.
Si seroit-il touz jours gris leus,
Fel et engrès, lais et hideus.

SCS| PAVLVS with a book. Below is the inscription: "These I fashioned and these I consecrated since they were worthy, and I granted them the right to use gifts made to me."[46] This glorification of the rights of the pope suggests that the sculpture was erected at the time when Urban III resided at Verona and consecrated the cathedral (1187). At the base of the spandrels is the signature of the sculptor in leonine verses. "I am Pelegrino, who made these sculptures so well. May God cause me to ascend to high Heaven."[47]

The southern portal is preceded by a Lombard porch with two sets of superimposed columns, but is of a single story. On one of the archivolts is sculptured Jonah and the whale (Plate 216, Fig. 5). The two capitals placed opposite each other have figure sculptures representing the Annunciation. On the abacus of one is the inscription:

✠ANGLS INGRESSVS DOMINA FAM|VLANDO SALVTAT. INQ[VI]D [AV]E TECV DN|S NA MVNERE PLENA.

The griffins on which are supported the Lombard porch of the principal portal are very similar to those of Ferrara, and one has a wheel sculptured below his wings on either side. The southern one holds in his paws the heads of two oxen, and between them a head with flaming hair. The northern has a basilisk.

V. The oldest portions of the cathedral of Verona are undoubtedly the mosaic of the cloister and the two capitals of S. Maria Matricolare, which must date from the V century. There can be no doubt, however, that at S. Maria Matricolare the capitals are employed as second-hand material, and that the vaults by which they are surmounted are not earlier than the XII century. It is probable that these capitals and the mosaic belonged to the church which was destroyed in 780 by Loterio. What S. Maria Matricolare itself is remains an unsolved puzzle. Internal evidence makes it clear that it antedates the cathedral of 1139. It must have belonged to some structure erected in the early years of the XII century, or possibly may have formed part of the crypt of the cathedral destroyed in 1139. In that case it is necessary to suppose that the crypt of that cathedral originally built in the third quarter of the X century was entirely reconstructed in the early years of the XII century, in consequence of the flood of 1097. The Carlovingian capitals of the cloister may be ascribed to c. 780, notwithstanding the fact that the documentary evidence for a reconstruction of the cathedral at this time is not of unimpeachable authenticity. The capitals are entirely similar to those of S. Salvatore at Brescia, a surely dated monument of c. 760. To the church

[46] HOS EGO PLASMAVI HOS DIGNE SCIFICAVI: ET SIBI DONORVM CONCESSI IVRA MEORVM

[47] ✠SVM PELE GRINVS EGO| QVI TALIA| SIC BENE SCULPO| QVEM DEVS IN| ALTVM FACIAT| CONSCENDERE CELV.

begun in 1139 and nearly finished in 1153 belongs the western portal with the sculptures of Nicolò, the southern portal, the doorway opening into S. Maria Matricolare, and some fragments of wall. To the enlargement of this edifice undertaken by Urban III, probably when he was elected at Verona in 1185, consecrated by him in 1187, and completely finished in 1193, belong the cloisters and the remaining Romanesque parts of the edifice.

VERONA, SS. APOSTOLI

(Plate 218, Fig. 1)

I. The historical notices relating to the church of SS. Apostoli have been collected by Biancolini.[1] A good description of the edifice is contained in Simeoni's guide.[2] The restorations of 1890 have been described by Cipolla.

II. The church existed as early as c. 800, since it is mentioned in the *Ritmo Pipiniano*.[3] The church was a pieve, and officiated by a chapter of canons. It is mentioned in a document of 1006,[4] and in numerous others of the XII century.[5]

The *Annales Breves* state that in 1149 the Porta S. Zeno was burned.[6] It is known that the quarter of the city in which the church of the SS. Apostoli was erected was called by the name of Porta di S. Zeno. The date of the fire given in the chronicle is, however, erroneous, since an inscription formerly in the church of the SS. Apostoli, but which has since disappeared, has been preserved by Biancolini and records that in the year of our Lord 1161, the Porta di S. Zeno was burned, on the fifteenth of May. It also states that in the year of our Lord 1172, on Friday, the seventh of July, the city of Verona was burned. It is altogether probable that the church of the SS. Apostoli was destroyed by one or both of these fires.[7]

[1] I, 127-128; IV, 521-523. [2] 108.

[3] See text cited below, under S. Fermo, pp. 485 f. Canobbio also records that the church existed about this time. See text cited above under the cathedral of Verona, p. 475.

[4] Biancolini, I, 125-126. [5] *Ibid.*, I, 125 f.; IV, 517 f.

[6] 1149. combusta fuit porta sancti Zenonis. . . . (*Annales Breves*, ed. M. G. H., *Script.*, XIX, 3).

[7]
Anno Domini MCLXI
Combusta est Porta Sancti Zenonis
XV. Die Maii
Anno Domini MCLXXII. ind. V.
Die Veneris, quae fuit VII. intr. Iulio
Combusta est civitas Veronensis.
(Biancolini, I, 127-128).

At all events the building must have been reconstructed in the third quarter of the XII century, since it was consecrated in 1194. This is recorded by a contemporary document: "In the name of the eternal Lord, our God, in the year of the Nativity of our Lord, 1194, the twelfth Indiction, Sunday the twentieth day of March, in the suburb of Verona, in the Porta di S. Zeno, in the presence of Adriano, archpriest of the church of Verona . . . and of others. There Lord Adelardo, by the grace of God cardinal of the Holy Roman church and bishop of Verona, consecrated the above-mentioned church of the SS. Apostoli externally and internally and consecrated three altars in the above-mentioned church of the SS. Apostoli, and made twelve crosses upon the interior walls with chrism, and made one cross above the porch of the portal of the church, and placed relics in the above-mentioned three altars, and went out from the church of the Holy Apostles, and mounted the second story of the porch, and preached to the people."[8]

In 1890 the building was intelligently restored.

III, IV. The existing edifice shows entirely the characteristics of the barocco style, and was evidently rebuilt in the XVII century. Only the apse (Plate 218, Fig. 1), the lower part of the northern wall, and the campanile retain their Romanesque forms. The latter, which is crowned by a conical spire, is constructed of stones laid in herring-bone courses with quoins and occasional courses in polychromatic ashlar. The apse and side-aisle wall, on the other hand, are constructed of excellent ashlar masonry in which the grey colour of the stone is relieved by stripes of red brick (Plate 218, Fig. 1). The apse is crowned by a cornice of flat corbel-tables supported by shafts engaged on pilaster strips (Plate 218, Fig. 1). These shafts are placed at wider intervals than in the cathedral (Plate 216, Fig. 4).

V. As an authentically dated monument of 1194, the scanty remains of the church of SS. Apostoli are not without archæological importance. The campanile, with its herring-bone courses, is obviously much earlier than the church itself, and may be assigned to c. 1100.

[8] In Nomine Domini Dei Eterni Anno a nativitate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Millesimo centesimo nonagesimo quarto Indictione XII. Die Dominico duodecimo exeunte Marcio. In Suburbio Veronæ in porta Sancti Zenonis in presentia Domini Adriani Archipresbyteri Veronensis Ecclesiæ, . . . et aliorum. Ibique Dominus Adelardus Dei Gratia Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, ac Veronæ Episcopus consecravit suprascriptam Ecclesiam Sanctorum Apostolorum de foris, & de intus, & consecravit tria Altaria in suprascripta Ecclesia Sanctorum Apostolorum, & fecit duodecim Cruces in circuitu de intus cum Crismate, & unam Crucem supra solarium Januæ Ecclesiæ de antea, & collocavit Reliquias in suprascriptis tribus Altaribus & exivit de illa Ecclesia Sanctorum Apostolorum & ascendit super Pergulum, & prædicavit populo. . . . (Biancolini, IV, 521-523).

VERONA, S. ELENA

I. The church of S. Elena has been studied by Maffei,[1] by Biancolini,[2] and by Simeoni.[3]

II. It is recorded by several historians of Verona that the church of S. Elena was formerly known as S. Giorgio.[4] This is not improbable, since the church contained relics of that martyr, as is recorded in the inscription of 1140. The church of S. Giorgio is mentioned by Canobbio as among the churches of Verona which existed early in the IX century.[5] This information was doubtless derived from the epitaph of Pacifico, in the Duomo, which mentions the church of S. Giorgio as among those restored by that ecclesiastic, who died in 847.[6] Simeoni states that the church was consecrated in 813, by the patriarch of Aquileia. On what authority this assertion rests I do not know, but it seems to be consistent with the inscription of 1140, which records that the church was reconsecrated in that year, as well as with the epitaph of Pacifico.

Biancolini considers that the tale that this church was burned by Bishop Aldone, in the IX century, is a pure fable.[7] The church served as a chapel for the canons of the cathedral, and is mentioned as being so used in a bull of 1177.[8]

In the south wall is the following inscription recording the reconsecration of the church in 1140:

✠ANNO AB INCARNACIONE D̄N̄I MILLESI
MO. C. XL. PRIMO DIE MENSIS DE
CEMBRIS. IN̄DIC. III. PEREGRINVS
AQVILEIENSIS PATRIARCHA. RECON
SECRAVIT HANC ECCLESIAM EX
TRA ET INTVS. MORE PREDECESSO
R̄V SUOR̄V MAXENCII UIDELICET ET
ANDREE PATRIARCHAR̄V. ET IN
LOCELLO MAIORIS ALTARIS SVA
PROPRIA MANV HAS RELIQVIAS
QUAR̄V NOMINA SUNT HEC IMPO
SVIT. RELIQVIE S̄CI GEORGII MAR
TIRIS. S̄CI IOH̄IS EVVANGELISTE.
S̄CI ANDREE APOSTOLI. SC̄OR̄V
MARTIR̄V ERMACHORE. ET FOR

[1] *Compendio*, 28. [2] II, 540. [3] *Guida*, 98.
[4] Da Persico, 48; Biancolini, I, 405.
[5] See text cited above under cathedral, p. 475.
[6] See inscription cited above under cathedral, p. 468.
[7] Biancolini, II, 540. [8] *Ibid.*

TVNATI. SCI ELLARI. ET TICIANI.
SCI SEBASTIANI. ET CESARII. SCO
RV CONFESSORV. ZENONIS. ET
EUSEBII. SCARV UIRGINV. CECI
LIE. AGATHES. ANASTASIE. MA
RIE MAGDALENE. ERANT AV
TE CU EO. RIBALDVS CARDINALIS
SCE ROMANE ECCLESIE. TEBAL.
DVS VERONESIS EPS. MAINFRE
DVS MANTVANUS EPS. BONI
FACIVS BELLVNESIS EPS. GILBER
TVS FELTRENSIS EPS. DETHEMA
RVS TERGESTINVS EPS. GREGO
RIVS ADRIENSIS EPS. HENRI
CVS ABBAS SCI BENEDICTI IN LA
IRONE. VIUIANVS ABBAS SCE MA
RIE IN ORGANO. VBERTVS ABBAS
SCI PETRI VILLENOVE. AMICVS.
THOMAS PREPOSITVS CIVITATIS.
ODELRICVS. IOHS. CANONICI
AQVILEIENSIS ECCLESIE. GILBER
TVS ARCHIPRESBITER VERONEN
SIS ECCLESIE. CETERIQVE CANO
NICI. ANNVAM DENIQVE. XL. DI
ERV ABSOLVCIONEM AC TCIA PARTE
MINORV PECCATORV ET FRAVDE PENITEN
CIARV VENIENTIB; AD SACRI HVIVS TEPLI REVOLVTA DE
DICACIONE. ET OCTO DIERV SPACIO POST FECIT ATQVE
FIRMITER STABILIVIT.

Also in the south wall is another inscription recording relics preserved in the church:

RELIQ DE LIGNO CRVCIS
DNI ET DE EI SEPVLCHRO
DE SVDARIO DNI
REL SCAE MARIAE
SCI IOH APOSTOLI
SCI IOH BAPTISTAE
SCI PETRI AP
SCI PAVLI AP
SCI ANDREAE AP
SCI IACOBI AP
DEN S CALISTI PP ET MAR

SCI CRISOGONI MAR
SCI FAVSTINI M
SCI IOVITTAE M
SCI FELICIS M
SCI FORTVNATI M
SCI FIRMI M
SCI RVSTICI M
SCI SISINNI M
SCI ALEXANDRI M
SCI MARTYRII M
SCI EVPLI M
SCI GREGORII M
SCI GEORGII M
SCI XRISTOFORI M
SCI VIGILII CON
SCI PROCVLI CON
SCI ZENONIS CON
SCI FILASTRII CON
SCI AVGVSTINI CON
HAS REL ANDREAS VEN
PATRIARCHA MANV SVA IN
. . . . . LOCELLO HVIVS CONDIDIT CRVCIS.

The first of these inscriptions makes it evident that the consecration of 1140 was a function of peculiar solemnity. This is clear, not only from the number and importance of the prelates present, but also from the fact that indulgences were granted. The suspicion immediately arises that this inscription may not have referred to the church of S. Elena at all, but may have been transferred hither from the cathedral, which was in construction at this time, and that it is hence not to S. Elena but to the cathedral that it belongs. It is certain that the many important relics mentioned must have been the property of the cathedral. However, it is known that S. Elena was a chapel belonging to the chapter of the cathedral, and it is entirely probable that this chapel was built and maintained with the purpose of affording a suitable depositary for the relics. This hypothesis would explain why the consecration of so small a church should have been celebrated with such unusual solemnity.

In 1276 the church was restored by one of the canons, as recorded in an inscription, still extant. Another inscription of 1309 records the endowment of the altar of S. Elena, although in 1335 the church was still called S. Giorgio, as is clear from an inscription of that date, also preserved.

III, IV. S. Elena is a single-aisled church which at present ends in a square choir. The interior is entirely covered with barocco intonaco, and

the exterior is so severely plain as to be of little interest. The masonry is polychromatic, and the narrow and widely splayed windows were evidently intended to serve without glass.

V. The church may be considered as an authentically dated monument of 1140.

VERONA, S. FERMO MAGGIORE

I. The church of S. Fermo Maggiore has been made the object of an excellent monograph by Simeoni. Another monograph has been published by Da Lisca, the architect in charge of the recent restoration. The historical notices relating to the edifice have been collected by Biancolini,[1] and by Maffei.[2] An excellent study has also been contributed by Strack.[3] The good description in the guide of Simeoni[4] should also be mentioned.

Numerous drawings of this church, made by Cristofori about the year 1822, are preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona.[5] These drawings preserve records of sculptured tombstones and inscriptions of late date in the cloister. A plan of the crypt shows the stairway at the north-west end, which therefore in the time of Cristofori must still have been open. There are numerous studies of the inscription of 1143 which, Cristofori notes, was discovered in 1822.

II. In the acts of the martyrs Fermo and Rustico we read that the saints were beheaded without the walls of the city of Verona, on the banks of the Adige, in the times of Maximian, on the ninth of August. The bodies were subsequently carried away by boat to a city on an island in the province of Carthage. Here they long remained unknown, until they were miraculously revealed by means of a boy possessed of a devil, who was made whole on the tomb. Terentius, father of the boy, thereupon bought the bodies, and translated them to Capodistria. "Moreover, after a long period of time, the Lombards desolated Istria during the reign of the most Christian kings Desiderio and Adelchi. . . . With one accord they approached the place where the martyrs of Christ were resting, and found the bodies of the saints; . . . afterwards . . . they carried them away to the city of Trieste. At this time the bishop Annone was ruling the church of God in the city of Verona. And when he learned that the bodies of the holy martyrs had surely been found . . . he bought . . . those bodies. . . . The bishop carried the bodies of the saints with hymns to a place not far outside the city of Verona, and buried them with all reverence in a basilica which had been erected in olden times in their

[1] I, 332-335; VIII, 67. [2] *Compendio*, 67. [3] Taf. 47.
[4] 239. [5] MS. 1002, Fasc. XIII.

honour, and sprinkled the bodies with balsam and with incense and with sweet-smelling galbanum and with the purest frankincense."[6]

Similarly in the famous *Ritmo Pipiniano,* written apparently about 800, we read: "O Verona, thou happy one, so rich and illustrious, who art surrounded by the holiest guardians who defend thee and repel the wicked enemy! To the east thou hast first the protomartyr Stephen. . . . Then . . . John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, and Mary the Mother of God. . . . And to the south thou hast Fermo and Rustico who in thee formerly won the crowns of martyrdom, whose bodies were carried off to the islands of the sea, but when it pleased God, the invisible king, the saints who had long sojourned away from thee were brought back by Bishop Annone, in the time of the kings Desiderio and Adelchi. . . . These bodies the bishop buried together in the same tomb, anointing them with spices, galbanum, oil of myrrh, argoidum, myrrh, cassia and frankincense, and he placed about the golden tomb a veil of variegated colours, white, black and purples, wonderfully charming to the senses of men, with figures of bishops. These things, to the best of his ability, the illustrious Bishop Annone performed, and his honourable fame shines from his good works. . . . To the east . . . Lorenzo keeps watch . . . and the Twelve Apostles of our Lord. Great King Pepin, the most pious of monarchs has his residence in thee, O Verona!"[7]

An interesting confirmation of the *Ritmo Pipiniano* is to be found in the "Velo di Classe" recently discovered by Cipolla, and which appears to be

[6] Evolutis autem plurimorum temporum cyclis, dum Christianissimi Reges Desiderius, et Adelchis in Italia principarentur, depopulata est gens Longobardorum Histricos. . . . Accedentes ergo unanimiter ad locum, ubi Christi Martyres quiescebant, . . . invenerunt Sanctorum corpora. . . . Inde . . . perduxerunt usque in oppidum Tregesti. Eodem quippe tempore in Urbe Veronensium Anno Praesul gubernabat Ecclesiam Dei; comperiensque beatorum corpora Sanctorum Martyrum evidenter fuisse reperta . . . emit . . . Sanctorum corpora. . . . Enimuero memoratus Pontifex deportata cum laudibus Sanctorum corpora non longe foras muros Civitatis [Veronensis] in Basilica, quae a priscis in eorum fuerat honore constructa temporibus, sub omni diligentia condidit, perfundens ea balsamo, ac thymiamate, nec non galbano boni ordoris, et lucidissimo thure. . . . (Ed. Maffei, *Istor. Dip.,* 310).

[7] O felicem te, Verona, sic ditata et inclita,
Qualibus es circumvallata custodibus sanctissimis,
Qui te defendant et propugnent ab hoste nequissimo,
Ab Oriente habes primum Protomartyrem Stephanum. . . .
Deinde . . .
Praecursorem Baptistam Joannem . . .
Domini Matrem Mariam. . . .
In partibus Meridianis habes Firmum et Rusticum,
Qui in te olim susceperunt coronas Martyrii,
Quorum corpora ablata sunt in maris Insulis.
Quando complacuit Deo, Regi invisbili,
In te sunt facta renovata per Hannonem Praesulem.
Temporibus Principum Regum Desiderii, et Adelchiis,

none other than the original altar-cloth made by Annone and described in the *Ritmo*. On it are embroidered portraits of the early bishops of Verona, up to and including Sigiberto, who was the immediate predecessor of Annone, and the place of special honour is dedicated to the martyrs Fermo and Rustico.

The precise date of the translation is given neither in the acts of the martyrs nor in the *Ritmo*. An inscription of 1526, on the upper wall of the church, referred to by Da Lisca, states that it took place in 755. "The translation of the holy martyrs here buried was performed on the twenty-second day of May, 755, by S. Annone, then bishop of Verona, and was solemnized by the entire clergy and people."[8] The same date (755) is also given by Dalla Corte.[9] It must, however, be erroneous, since the acts of the martyrs and the *Ritmo* both agree in stating that the translation took place in the reign of Desiderio and Adelchi, that is to say, between 759 and 774. Since none of the texts mentions a reconstruction of the basilica, it may be considered certain that Annone deposited the bodies in a church which already existed.

A privilege of Frederick I, of 1184, mentions a gift made to S. Fermo by *Carolus Romanorum Imperator*.[10] In the year 774 the church of S. Fermo was officiated by secular priests and not by monks,[11] and in 996 the monastery had not yet been founded.[12] It was founded, however, before 1019, since it is mentioned in a document of this date[13] and in another of 1033.[14]

Qui diu moraverunt Sancti non reversi. . . .
Quorum corpora, et insimul condidit Episcopus
Aromata, galbanum, staeten et argoido,
Mirrha, gutta, et casia [cf. Ps., xliv, 9], et thus lucidissimum.
Tumulum aureum coopertum circundat centonibus [*legendum est:* preconibus]
Color interstinctus mire mulcet sensus hominum,
Modo albus, modo niger inter duos purpureos.
Haec ut valuit, paravit Hanno Praesul inclitus,
Proba cuius fama claret de bonis operibus. . . .
Ab Occidente custodit . . . Laurentius, . . .
. . . duodecim Apostoli
Domini. . . .
Magnus habitat in te Rex Pippinus piissimus.
(*Ritmo Pipiniano* of c. 800, ed. Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, pt. I, Doc. I, p. 629).

[8] TRANSLATIO PER BEATVM ANNOMEM
SANCTORVM TVNC EPISCOPVM
MARTIRVM HIC VERONENSEM CVM VNIVERSO CLERO
QVIE SCIENTIVM ET POPVLO SOLEMNI
FACTA FVIT XI KAL IVNII ZATA
ANNO DNI DCCLV

M
D XX
VI (Da Lisca, 93).

[9] I, 162. [10] Dalla Corte, I, 50.
[11] Da Lisca, 8. [12] Biancolini, VIII, 64. [13] *Ibid.*, I, 332. [14] *Ibid.*, VIII, 67.

In the crypt, rather roughly carved on one of the piers, is an inscription which has been much discussed by the historians of Verona. It is curiously cryptic and difficult to interpret. However it has generally been supposed, and I believe correctly, to mean "it was the year 1065 when the church was begun."[15]

A tradition the memory of which has been perpetuated by Biancolini[16] exists to the effect that the church was consecrated in 1139, but there are no authentic documents to substantiate this. I believe, however, that the tradition is authentic, for in the façade of the XIV century there is a stone upside down, on which may be read the following inscription: "In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1143, A . . . . . the mason made this work."[17] It has been supposed by Simeoni and Da Lisca that this stone came from the ancient façade of the XII century, and records the completion of the edifice begun in 1065. It appears to me much more probable, however, that it comes from some piece of church-furniture such as an ambo, which might not unnaturally have been erected four years after the main body of the church had been completed and consecrated in 1139.

In 1197 funds were needed for the restoration of the church: "Since therefore the venerable church of the precious martyrs Fermo and Rustico, Primo, Marco, Apollinare and Lazaro in which their valuable bodies repose in peace need your aid and that of the other faithful of Christ for their repair and maintenance. . . . Given at Verona in the episcopal palace on the twenty-fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1197, the fifteenth indiction, Tuesday."[18]

In 1261 Franciscan monks were introduced into the church. For some time before they had been scheming to oust the Benedictines, nor did the latter cease their struggle to regain possession of the basilica till 1331.[19] In 1295 Guglielmo Castelbarca left a large sum of money to the monks, with which

15 ✠ MIL SIXS QVINT' FVIT
ANNVS.
QVO MANSIT LATV̄ PRIN
CIPIVMQ SACRVM

16 I, 332.

17 ANNI DONINI NRI IHV
XPI.M.C.QVADRA
GESIMO III OC
OPVS FECIT AN*
NO MVRARI[V]S

18 Cum igitur pretiosorum martirum Firmi, & Rustici, Primi, ac Marci, Apolenaris atque Lazari sartatecta venerabilis Ecclesie, in qua ipsorum Corpora preciosa in pace requiescunt, in sui reparatione pariter, & sustentatione vestro & aliorum Xpi fidelium auxilio plurimum indigeant. . . . Dat. Verone in Palatio Episcopali VIII. Kal. Iulii anno Domini M.C.XCVII. Indictione XV. die Martis. (Biancolini, VIII, 151).

19 Original documents published by Biancolini, I, 334-335.

was begun the work of remodelling the Romanesque basilica in the Gothic style. In 1314 the nave, the transepts and the choir had been reconstructed as Da Lisca has deduced from the frescos and inscriptions.[20] The roof of the nave was completed c. 1350 according to Da Lisca,[21] but the façade had been erected soon after 1250.[22] In 1396 the pulpit was constructed,[23] and the north porch was added c. 1400.[24] The Cappella di S. Anna was founded in 1471. In 1757 the lower church was closed, and remained deserted and ruinous until the restoration of 1905-1909, which was skilfully and conscientiously carried out by Da Lisca. In 1906 the crypt walls, which had been severely damaged by moisture, were in large part remade, and the vaults were covered with intonaco.[25]

III. At first glance the church of S. Fermo appears to be entirely an edifice of the late XIII and XIV centuries, but a close examination reveals the fact that considerable portions of the pre-existing Romanesque church still survive. The excavations and researches carried out in connection with the recent restoration make it possible to reconstruct the forms of the original edifice.

Below the pavement of the lower church were discovered traces of masonry of very early date. Two parallel walls in rubble perhaps belong to a house or a secular edifice of the V century. The remains of an apse are doubtless a portion of the church in which Annone placed the bodies of the martyrs in the third quarter of the VIII century. The existing crypt is evidently the lower church of the basilica commenced in 1065; it is covered with groin vaults supported on rectangular or cruciform piers. It is evident from the fact that certain of the supports (those which have a cruciform section) are heavier than the others with which they alternate, that the upper church had an alternate system. The choir must have been considerably raised, and must have terminated in the apse and two absidioles which still survive. There were also projecting transepts with eastern absidioles. Before the church extended an ample exterior narthex (corresponding with the western portion of the existing nave), and beneath this there was a vaulted crypt.

The masonry of the eastern portions of the crypt is almost entirely of brick and rubble, but in the western portions it consists of brick and stone laid in alternate bands. The exterior walls of the absidioles of the choir are constructed largely of brick, but stone is used in the upper part of the absidiole of the north transept.

IV. The capitals of the crypt consist of a series of mouldings, and are rectangular, conforming to the rectangular section of the pillars. Those of the absidioles are pilfered. These absidioles are decorated externally with a series of blind arches in two orders supported by colonnettes engaged on

[20] 49. [21] 60. [22] *Ibid.*, 66.
[23] Biancolini, I, 343. [24] Da Lisca, 72. [25] *Ibid.*, 91.

pilaster strips. A fragment of the ancient cornice with double arched corbel-tables survives in the north corner of the choir between the campanile and the transepts and elsewhere in the church. The little portal adjoining the north porch has a finely moulded archivolt, but is simply ornamented. The archivolts of the main arcade were in two unmoulded orders, as may be seen in the choir where they still survive.

V. Although it is difficult to determine the exact dispositions of the Romanesque church from the scanty fragments which remain, the character of the edifice, as near as it is possible to judge, suggests the XII rather than the XI century. The eastern parts of the crypt, it is true, may well have been erected between the years 1065 and 1100, but the western part of the crypt, which is constructed of alternate bands of stone and brick, shows a style of masonry which was not used before the XII century. The Romanesque basilica was evidently constructed in vertical sections, as may be seen from the character of the masonry. After the eastern portion of the lower church in order of time come the absidioles of the choir, but these could not have been erected before the last years of the XI century, since the blind arches are in two orders. The earliest examples of similar blind arches in two orders do not antedate the year 1095. The double arched corbel-tables of the cornice of the choir could not have been erected before the year 1115. The masonry of the lower part of the campanile recalls that of the church of S. Giovanni in Fonte consecrated in 1123, but the upper part is later and was, in all probability, erected in the last years of the XII century.

VERONA, S. GIOVANNI IN FONTE

(Plate 218, Fig. 2)

I. For historical notices in regard to the church of S. Giovanni in Fonte, the historians of Verona should be consulted, and especially Biancolini,[1] Da Persico,[2] Giro,[3] and the manuscript chronicle of Canobbio.[4] Numerous drawings of the sculptures made by Cristofori (1748-1824) are preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona.[5] The account of Mothes[6] has been completely supplanted by the excellent description of the edifice in Simeoni's guide-book.[7] The remarkable sculptures of the font have been studied by Zimmermann[8] and illustrated by Venturi.[9]

[1] II, 405-408. [2] 47. [3] II, 101.

[4] *Historia di Alessandro Canobbio intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona.* MS. of 1587-1597 in Biblioteca Comunale, Verona, No. 1968/Storia 90.5.

[5] MS. 1002, Fasc. XVIII.

[6] I, 212. [7] 100. [8] 58. [9] III, 227-236, 244.

II. Since S. Giovanni in Fonte is the baptistery of the cathedral of Verona it is entirely probable that it was first founded when the cathedral was moved to the church of S. Maria Matricolare in the last half of the VIII century. Canobbio[10] states that he had seen documents which proved that S. Giovanni in Fonte existed at this epoch. The baptistery appears to have been destroyed by the memorable earthquake of 1117, which ruined so many edifices in Lombardy. All the historians of Verona agree in stating (without, however, citing their authority) that the edifice was rebuilt by the bishop Bernardo[11] (1122-1135). Simeoni[12] adds that it was consecrated in 1123. In 1146 it was the scene of the frightful mutilation of the Veronesi by the Germans.[13]

III. The edifice is in the form of a basilica, and consists of a western narthex, a nave four bays long, two side aisles and three semicircular apses. The nave (Plate 218, Fig. 2) is covered with timber, the side aisles at present have baroeco groin vaults, but were originally also roofed in wood. The small windows, in several orders, were doubtless intended to serve without glass. The masonry of the façade is fine stone ashlar. In the side walls bands of ashlar alternate with bricks.

IV. The supports are all pilfered, and are either square pillars or columns. Certain of the pillars are fluted on one face only. The westernmost capital of the southern arcade evidently comes from some Roman edifice of the decadence, probably of the early V century, and is of Corinthian type. The central pillar on the south side has a plain moulded impost of the XII century. The easternmost capital in the same arcade is of Corinthianesque type, and is similar to the capitals of S. Stefano, and to the capitals in the cloister of the cathedral. It therefore probably comes from some building of the second quarter of the IX century. The easternmost capital of the north side is entirely similar in type. The central pillar of the north side has a plain moulded impost of the XII century, and the eastern pillar has a capital formed of a long series of complex mouldings, surmounting a band of incised acanthus leaves very Byzantine in style. This pillar is entirely similar in style to one of the capitals of S. Benedetto at S. Zeno, and must date from the VI century. The bases are all of varied character, but conform more or less closely to the Attic type. The archivolts are in a single order, unmoulded.

The exterior cornice of the flank consists of a saw tooth, that of the west façade of arched corbel-tables.

[10] *MS. cit.*

[11] Biancolini, IV, 614; Da Persico, 47; Giro, II, 101; Zimmermann, 58.

[12] 100.

[13] 1146. amputati fuerunt nasi Veronensibus a Teutonicis supra lapidem batisterie, ut maior esset memoria. (*Annales Breves*, ed. Pertz, M. G. H., *Script.*, XIX, 3).

From the court of the arciveseovado, one of the most pieturesque spots in all Verona, the exterior of the apse and the southern absidiole, both of which are still perfeetly preserved, may be eonveniently examined. Both are ornamented with arched eorbel-tables of small size, grouped three and three on pilaster strips. The heavy eorbels are ornamented with a rather monotonous series of mouldings, all similar to each other. The capitals, on the other hand, are simply moulded. With the exeeption of the grotesques over the eentral window of the absidiole there is no carving. The windows are in three unmoulded orders. The whole eomposition seems like a first esquisse of the apse of the Duomo (Plate 216, Fig. 4).

The font is an altogether remarkable pieee of seulpture and, indeed, one of the most notable examples of mediæval plastie art in all Italy. On the principal faee, whieh however should perhaps be eonsidered the last, is represented the Baptism of Christ. The Saviour is naked and eovered only by the water, which, by the strange Lombard convention, is made to rise up and cover the lower part of his figure like drapery. John holds up the lower part of his garment with his left hand to prevent it from beeoming wet, and with his right sprinkles water on the head of Christ. A dove deseends from Heaven, and on either side stand two angels.

The seeond faee shows the Annuneiation. The Virgin, with an ornamented halo like that of Christ in the preceding scene, has risen from her stool. In her right hand she holds the skein of purple. Her left hand is raised and pointed upwards with a superb gesture that seems to indieate, not humility, but resolution to perform the lofty mission imposed upon her. The angel with a simple halo and a trefoiled wand, lifts up part of his garments with his left hand that they may not impede his progress. On either side, from behind eurtains, appear handmaidens, whose gestures express astonishment.

The next faee shows the Visitation and the Nativity. In the first scene the Virgin is distinguished from Elisabeth, not only by her youthful figure, but by her more ornamented halo. In the scene of the nativity, Mary (again with an elaborate halo) is seen extended on a couch. Above is the manger with the ox and the ass. To the left is Joseph, meditating, with his head upon his hand. Below, two midwives are engaged in bathing the new-born Child. One puts Him in a vase of water, the other holds a towel ready to dry Him.

The next seene shows the apparition of the angel to the shepherds. The shepherds are three in number, and there are seven sheep.

The next face shows the Adoration of the Magi. The Virgin, again with ornamented halo, is seated on a throne, holding the Christ-Child on her lap. Guided by the star and the angel, the three Magi approach. All stand upright, but the first elasps his hands as if in prayer. Unfortunately, the heads of all the Magi are damaged.

In the following face is shown Herod seated on a throne, accompanied by a counsellor, and giving orders to three executioners to kill the Innocents. The cunning persuasiveness of the counsellor, and the bloodthirsty eagerness of the executioners, who already draw their swords, are well expressed.

On the fifth face is shown the Slaughter of the Innocents. The three executioners are seen, each engaged in dispatching a naked baby. The executioner to the left drags a new victim from a resisting mother.

The last face shows two scenes. In the first, the angel appears to Joseph and warns him to fly to Egypt. In the second, is seen the Flight. Joseph precedes, carrying the Christ-Child on his shoulder, and leading the donkey by a strap. Mary follows on the animal.

From the point of view of style, these sculptures are extremely interesting. A comparison with the figures of the Wheel of Fortune at S. Zeno is sufficient to establish the fact that the font of S. Giovanni is by the sculptor Brioloto, who worked at S. Zeno in the last quarter of the XII century. The antecedents of this important artist can be examined more easily in the font of S. Giovanni than in the inaccessible Wheel of Fortune. That he was an Italian seems to be proved by his numerous and strong points of contact with the Lombard school. The arched corbel-tables which form the cornice of the font, for example, seem to be derived from the reliefs of Guglielmo da Modena on the façade of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 3; Plate 143, Fig. 1; Plate 144, Fig. 1, 2). The treatment of the wings of the angels on either side of the Baptism, the representation of the water, the diapered colonnettes of the angles, and the mouldings, all partake of the school of Lombardy, and especially of Guglielmo da Modena.[14] There are also numerous points of contact with later sculptors. The lower fringe of the garments of the Magi recalls the work of Nicolò at Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 4). The Joseph in the scene of the Nativity is very like the Joseph of Guglielmo da Verona at S. Zeno (Plate 230, Fig. 3). The ornamented halos of Christ and the Virgin recall those of the ciborio of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 121, Fig. 2), and the draperies have points of analogy with those of the same sculptor at Milan (Plate 121, Fig. 2) and Cividale (Plate 121, Fig. 4). There is, however, much in these sculptures which is not Italian. The fine draperies, falling in thin folds, through which the shape of the limbs beneath can be clearly distinguished, the elongations of the proportions, the motion and grace of the figures, and several details of iconography—such as the introduction of the midwives in the scene of the Nativity—are clearly of French origin. The scene of the Visitation, for example, shows strong points of contact with the far more archaic Visitation

[14] At first glance the angels and the water as well as other details seem to show the influence of Benedetto, but a further study shows that these points of contact are due to the fact that Benedetto and Brioloto were derived from common antecedents, but that there was no direct influence of one on the other.

of Moissac (Plate 104, Fig. 2). It is not probable, however, that the influence of the Moissac sculptures upon the Verona font was direct. The grace, movement, clinging draperies and elongated proportions characteristic of the Moissac sculptures, are found elsewhere in France, notably in Burgundy and the Île-de-France. Of all the French sculptures which I know, those of Senlis approach most closely to the Verona font. That Brioloto derived his inspiration from northern France seems proved by the Wheel of Fortune at S. Zeno, which shows strong points of contact with the same subject sculptured at St.-Étienne of Beauvais (compare Fig. 1, 2, Plate 224). It is notable that Brioloto shows no influence of the works of Benedetto, many of which must have been executed before he worked.

V. In view of the fact that the sculptures of the font are free of this Benedetto influence, which they could have hardly failed to show, had they been executed after the baptistery of Parma had established its hold over the Lombard sculptors, I am inclined to believe that the font of S. Giovanni was executed c. 1200. This date is easily reconciled with what we know of the life of Brioloto, and is confirmed by the points of contact which the font offers with the ciborio of S. Ambrogio, executed after 1196.

The church itself, consecrated in 1123, is an authentically dated, and on the whole well preserved, example of the Veronese style of the first quarter of the XII century.

VERONA, S. GIOVANNI IN VALLE

(Plate 218, Fig. 3, 4, 5)

I. Biancolini,[1] with his customary diligence, collected the historical notices relating to S. Giovanni in Valle. The early Christian sarcophagi in the crypt have been illustrated and studied by Garrucci,[2] and by Maffei.[3] An excellent description of the edifice is contained in the guide of Simeoni.[4] The brothers Sacchi, who described the church in 1829, saw in the crypt *musaici simbolici,* which have since disappeared.[5]

II. The historian Venturi[6] records a tradition that the church was restored by the king Aboino, which is probably a misprint for Alboino. The notice is, however, incredible. Nevertheless, the church seems to have existed as early as the year 800, since it is apparently referred to by the *Ritmo Pipiniano.*[7] According to a document published by Ughelli,[8] the church was given by Bishop Rotaldo to his canons in the year 813.

[1] I, 109 f.; IV, 617-633. [2] V, Tav. 333, Fig. 1-3.
[3] *Ver. Ill.,* pt. III, Cap. III, p. 96. [4] 242. [5] Sacchi, 35. [6] I, 105.
[7] See text cited above in connection with S. Fermo, pp. 585-586. [8] V, 707.

Simeoni states—I know not on what authority—that the edifice was severely damaged by the famous earthquake of 1117. In any event a new church was consecrated in 1164. In a lawsuit of 1204 testimony was given to the following effect: "I saw Variberto construct the roof of the church of S. Giovanni in Valle . . . and I saw Ardemano, Buontempo, Giovanni and Pastono who were guardians of the Duomo, send bread and wine to the builders who were erecting the roof of the church of S. Giovanni in Valle . . ." This witness stated that he could remember about forty years back. Another witness who could remember for fifty years testified: "The canons considered the church of S. Giovanni theirs, and caused it to be roofed as theirs, and it is not yet seven years since they caused it to be roofed." When he was asked how he knew that the canons caused it to be roofed as theirs, he replied: "since for forty years I have seen that the canons caused the roof to be repaired whenever it was necessary. . . ." When he was asked if it was a matter of common report and knowledge that the church of S. Giovanni in Valle was a pieve, he replied "Yes." Another witness testified: "I, and the priest Viviano, . . . came . . . to S. Giovanni in Valle to administer baptism." When he was asked if he knew or conceded, or whether it was a matter of common report and knowledge that the church of S. Giovanni in Valle had the right of tithes and baptism from the bishop, he replied: "I do not know if it holds the right of baptism from the bishop or from the canons. . . ." Another witness testified: "I have heard it said that the archpriest of the cathedral caused the roof of the church of S. Giovanni in Valle to be constructed as if it was his property, just as he caused the roofs of the churches of S. Cecilia and S. Clemente to be constructed. . . ." When he was asked if the brothers of the church of S. Giovanni in Valle freely elect brothers and conversi, . . . he replied "Yes. . . ." When he was asked whether it was a matter of common knowledge and report that the church of S. Giovanni was a pieve, he replied "Yes."[9]

[9] . . . vidi Waribertum cooperire Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis in Valle pro Canonica . . . & vidi Ardemanum, Bonumtempus, Johannem, Pastonum, qui fuerunt canevarii de domo mittentes panem & vinum Magistris, qui cooperiebant Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis in Valle. . . . Interrog. de tempore quo Manentus fuit factor Ecclesiæ, R. non recordor quot anni sint. . . . Canonici tenebant Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis pro sua, & faciebant ipsam cooperiri pro sua & non sunt adhuc VII anni quod fecerunt eam cooperiri. Interrog. qualiter sciebat quod Canonici faciebant eam cooperiri pro sua: R, quia jam sunt XL annis quod visum habeo quod Canonici faciunt eam cooperiri quando est necesse. . . . Interrog. si sonus et fama est quod Ecclesia Sancti Johannis in Valle sit plebs: R. sic. . . . ego, & Presbiter Vivianus . . . venit . . . ad Sanctum Johannem in Valle ad batizandum. Interrog. si scit, vel concedit, vel sonus & fama est, quod Ecclesia Sancti Johannis in Valle habet jus decimationis & Battismum ab Episcopo: R. nescio si habet Battismum ab Episcopo vel a Canonicis . . . audivi dici quod Archipresbiter majoris Ecclesiæ faciebat cooperiri Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis in Valle pro sua Ecclesia sicut faciebat cooperiri Sanctam Ceciliam, & Sanctum Clementem. . . . Item Interrog. si Fratres Ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis in Valle libere

In another document relating to the same lawsuit we read: "I saw papers written by the hand of a notary, in which it was stated that the bishop gave to the church of S. Giovanni in Valle and S. Pietro the right of baptism and of tithes, and that the church of S. Giovanni is a pieve, and I declare that baptism is there administered all the year around when it is necessary, and I say that the church of S. Giovanni is a collegiate church, and has an archpriest, priests and clerics. . . . And I heard the priest Calvo and the priest Odone say . . . that the bishop consecrated the church of S. Giovanni." Another witness testified: "Forty years ago and more I saw the bishop Ognibene consecrate the church of S. Giovanni in Valle." Another witness testified: "I saw ancient charters made by the hand of a notary forty years and more ago, and I declare upon my oath that in these it was stated that the church of S. Giovanni in Valle is a pieve . . . and I declare upon my oath that I saw baptism administered in it every holy Saturday and all the year around when it was necessary, and it is a matter of common report and knowledge that the church is a pieve. Wherefore I firmly believe it is a pieve. . . ." When he was asked which bishop invested it with the right of tithes, he replied: "The bishop Ognibene."[10]

From this text it is evident that the church of S. Giovanni in Valle was consecrated by the bishop Ognibene about 1164 and that it was officiated by a chapter of priests who claimed to be independent of the canons of the cathedral. This claim, violently contested by the canons, was the subject of the lawsuit. In 1220 a decision was rendered in favour of the canons. This decision was probably just, since in a bull of 1177 the church is mentioned as dependent upon the cathedral chapter.[11]

A rich donation was made to S. Giovanni in Valle in 1184.[12] In a document of 1292 there is mention of a chapter regular established in the church,

faciunt electionem de Fratribus & Conversis . . . R. sic . . . Interrog. si sonus & fama est quod Ecclesia sancti Johannis sit plebs: R. sic. . . . Anni Domini Millesimi Ducentesimi Quarti Indictione VII. (Biancolini, IV, 619-633).

[10] Ego vidi cartas per manum Notarii factas, in quibus continetur, quod Episcopus dedit Ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis in Valle, & Ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Baptismum, & jus decimandi, & quod Ecclesia Sancti Johannis est Plebs, & dico quod baptizat per totum annum cum est necesse, & dico quod Ecclesia Sancti Johannis est Ecclesia collegiata, & habet Archipresbiterum, Presbiteros & Clericos . . . & audivi Presbiterum Calvum, & Presbiterum Odonem dicentes . . . quod Episcopus consecravit Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis . . . Jam sunt XL anni, & plus quod vidi Episcopum Omnebonum consecrantem Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis in Valle; . . . Vidi cartas vetulas factas per manum Notarii jam sunt XL anni, & plus, & dico per meum Sacramentum in quibus continetur quod Ecclesia Sancti Johannis in Valle est Plebs, & dico per meum Sacramentum . . . quod vidi in ea baptizare in utroque Sabbato sancto, & per totum annum quando est necesse, et quod sonus et fama est quod est Plebs, pro quibus rebus firmiter intelligo quod est Plebs. . . . Interrog. qui fuit ille Episcopus qui investivit eos de decima: R. Episcopus Omnebonus . . . (Biancolini, IV, 633-637).

[11] Biancolini, II, 540. [12] *Ibid.*, IV, 617.

and in another document of a century later the house of the canons is called *monastero.*[13] In 1395 it was believed that the bodies of S. Simeone (or Taddeo?) and S. Giuda were discovered in a marble sarcophagus still preserved in the crypt. In 1907 the edifice was restored.[14]

III. The church consists of a nave (Plate 218, Fig. 4) seven bays long, two side aisles, a crypt, three apses (Plate 218, Fig. 3), and the southern cloister in ruin (Plate 218, Fig. 5). The nave and side aisles are roofed in wood, and the supports are either square piers or columns (Plate 218, Fig. 4). Counting from the west end of the church the first, second, fourth and sixth supports are piers. The choir is raised eight steps above the level of the pavement, and extends through the four eastern bays of the nave (Plate 218, Fig. 4).

The crypt is covered with undomed groin vaults supplied with disappearing transverse arches. These vaults are supported by columns, and are penetrated by piers which support the piers of the upper church.

The edifice throughout is constructed of stone in which are inserted, at times, courses of brick or rubble, but the façade, the apse and the southern absidiole are of ashlar (Plate 218, Fig. 3). The blocks are accurately squared and are laid in horizontal courses. There are numerous scaffolding holes in both the interior and exterior faces of the walls.

IV. The piers of the upper church are crowned by simple imposts formed of a series of fine mouldings (Plate 218, Fig. 4). The columns on the other hand are crowned with Corinthian capitals which are skilful imitations of the antique. The capitals of the crypt are of uncarved Corinthian type, block or pilfered. The archivolts of the upper church are of a single unmoulded order, and the church is singularly bare and lacking in decoration (Plate 218, Fig. 4).

The outside walls (Plate 218, Fig. 5) have not even a cornice, with the exception of the façade (decorated with single arched corbel-tables), and the apses. The central apse and the southern absidiole (Plate 218, Fig. 3) are decorated with arched corbel-tables in two orders, and an elaborate cornice characterized by saw teeth and by carved rinceaux. The northern absidiole, distinguished from the others also by its masonry, has a flat, widely projecting cornice supported on half columns engaged on pilaster strips.

In the crypt are two sarcophagi, probably of the V century, of great importance for the history of early Christian art. The sculptures of S. Simeone (or S. Taddeo?) and S. Giuda on the lid of the more elaborate one were added when the bodies of these saints were discovered in 1395.

V. Notwithstanding the poverty of ornament, and the severity and simplicity of design, the church of S. Giovanni in Valle can not be earlier

[13] *Ibid.*, IV, 643. [14] *Rassegna d'Arte*, VIII, 115.

than the second or third quarter of the XII century. The skilfully executed Corinthian capitals recall those of S. Zeno and of the cathedral of Modena, while the rich decoration of the apse indicates great technical skill on the part of the builders. The architectural style therefore is in complete accord with the documentary evidence that the church was consecrated in 1164, and to the same epoch must be referred the remains of the charming cloisters. The northern absidiole appears somewhat earlier than the principal apse and the southern absidiole; but, notwithstanding the change of plan, no considerable interval of time appears to have elapsed between the construction of the two portions of the edifice.

VERONA, S. LORENZO

(Plate 219, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 220, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 221, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4)

I. Biancolini's work on the churches of Verona, published in 1749, contains important historical notices relating to S. Lorenzo.[1] In 1781 Zanetti published a monograph upon the edifice which is one of the earliest examples of this type of literature in northern Italy. To-day the book is of little value except for some hints that can be derived from it as to the condition of the edifice in the last years of the XVIII century. The author deplores the intonaco with which the edifice was covered, but says that in the exterior the original forms were in his day still visible.[2] He speaks of the galleries of the church, traces of which were visible—especially in the adjoining house of the priest[3]—and particularly mentions the western gallery which, therefore, existed before the restoration. He states that he had read in an old book of the church that Matteo, bishop of Tripoli, had erected the vaults and demolished the choir-screen.[4]

Liruti's work on the bishops of Verona, published in 1815, is of very slight value for the troubled question of the chronology of Zufeto. In 1866 Hübsch published a plan, two sections and an elevation of the church.[5] These drawings were made before the restoration, but are not sufficiently detailed to be of much value. In 1884 appeared the monograph of Benassuti, which is important for the modern history of the monument. Cipolla has contributed two articles upon the church, the first of which appeared in 1893, the second five years later. The first contains an important study of the frescos, the second was written to urge the demolition of the Renaissance portico (a project happily never carried out) but incidentally contains important historical material. An account of the restoration is contained in the official account of Berchet, published in 1894. In the same year appeared the

[1] I, 378-381; V, 650. [2] 28. [3] 29. [4] 63.
[5] Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 10-13.

publication of Patuzzi, which comprises a bibliography and a reprint of Cipolla's monograph. Sgulmero published in 1895 the inscription on a leaden tablet referring to Zufeto, of great importance for the history of the church. In 1898 appeared an article of Papa, urging the destruction of the Renaissance portal. In the same year was published the work of Stiehl,[6] which contains a description of the architecture. The most intelligent piece of chronological criticism that has yet been made of this church was contributed by Simeoni in his monograph on S. Fermo.[7] The same author has also spoken of the church in his guide-book.[8] The long-promised monograph of Scarpini has never been published.

II. The church of S. Lorenzo was in existence c. 800, since it is mentioned in the *Ritmo Pipiniano*.[9] It was restored in the time of the archdeacon Pacifico, who died in 847, at the age of sixty-eight years.[10] A *presbyter* of S. Lorenzo was mentioned in a now lost document of 1084, seen by Muselli.[11]

In the restoration of 1894 there was found in the southern absidiole the following inscription:

✠ IN NOIE DNI NRI IHV XPI AM.
HIC LOCATV E CORPVS BEATI. I
POLITI MR A ZVFETO EPO I PACE.

This inscription on a leaden tablet evidently refers to a deposition of relics made by the bishop Zufeto. Unfortunately, little is known of this personage, and until the discovery of the inscription, even his existence had been doubted. Sgulmero has shown that he held office between the dates of 1076 and 1115. Simeoni places him more exactly in the years 1110-1112. There can be no doubt that these relics were buried after the completion of this portion of the edifice. The inscription, therefore, gives us the date of the monument.

In 1162 there was a hospital connected with the basilica.[12] A document of 1185 mentions a certain Zeno, priest of S. Lorenzo, and two other clerics. Another document of 1260 refers to a chapter of canons regular established in the basilica. The canons are mentioned in other documents of 1339, 1340, 1365, and 1374.[13]

From 1458 to 1470 a certain Matteo, bishop of Tripoli, was *rettore commendatario* of the church. This worthy radically transformed the architecture. He raised the clearstory, added a belfry to the campanile, erected a new tomb for himself, destroyed the choir-screen, and added the graceful Renaissance portico on the south side (Plate 219, Fig. 2). His works are recorded by the following inscription placed in the south portico:

[6] 30. [7] 11 f. [8] 141.

[9] See text cited above in connection with S. Fermo Maggiore, pp. 485-486.

[10] See text cited above in connection with the cathedral, p. 468.

[11] Zanetti, 9. [12] Biancolini, IV, 650. [13] Biancolini, I, 378-381.

DEO MAXIMO OPTIMOQVE
ET DIVO LAVRENTIO
SACRVM
R. P. MATHEVS VERON.
PONT. TYROPOLITANVS
V. AERE PROPRIO REDIN
TEGRANDVM CVRAVIT
ID QVOQVE MORIENS
T. F. I.

The successors of Matteo baroccoized the edifice, erecting a heavy barrel vault over the nave, and covering the walls with stucco and intonaco (Plate 220, Fig. 1). In 1749 the balustrade of the galleries and various other architectural ornaments were added.[14] The galleries were walled up, and parts of the edifice were even desecrated.

In 1887 began an archæological restoration which continued until 1898. In 1888 the opening of the gallery in the north transept was freed of the masonry by which it had been closed, and a new colonnette was substituted for the old one. The organ was transported from the west end of the nave to its present position. The balustrade of the gallery was demolished, and the three rooms which had formerly existed back of the organ in the western gallery were destroyed. This desecrated part of the church was thus once more restored to its ancient use, and the two western bays of the gallery on the north side (Plate 220, Fig. 3, 4) were reopened. After that the exterior arch over the portal between the two towers was demolished, together with the wall above it, which hid the old façade. This façade had to be in great part reconstructed, and the two ancient windows were reopened on traces which were found in the masonry. In 1893 the arcades of the nave and transepts in both stories were reconstructed. The intonaco was stripped from the nave, and the wall was restored in many places. The photographs (Plate 220, Fig. 1,.2, 3, 4; Plate 219, Fig. 3) will show accurately to what extent the masonry was remade at this period. The system, which had been cut down in the Renaissance period, was rebuilt (Plate 220, Fig. 2, 4). The string-course of the gallery was made anew (Plate 220, Fig. 2, 3, 4). Subsequently the arcades of the gallery in the choir (Plate 219, Fig. 3) were reopened, and new colonnettes added in place of the old ones, which had disappeared. The foundations of the ancient choir-screen came to light, as well as traces of the apse of the preceding basilica, and the frescos with which it was adorned. In the southern absidiole was discovered part of the ancient pavement formed with slabs of stone, and which evidently extended throughout the entire length of the church.[15]

A series of photographs taken at intervals during the course of the restoration are preserved on the stairway of the house of the priest, adjoining the church, and other copies from the same negatives are accessible in the

[14] Zanetti, 74. [15] Berchet, 1894, 71; 1899, 161.

Avery Library, Columbia University, New York. The most important of these are reproduced in our atlas (Plate 219, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 220, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4).

III. The edifice consists of two circular western towers containing stairways leading to the galleries (Plate 219, Fig. 1, 2), an interior narthex, a nave two double bays long, two side aisles, projecting transepts in two aisles, a choir of one double bay (Plate 219, Fig. 3) flanked by side aisles, and three apses. The narthex, side aisles and transept are surmounted by a gallery which opens into the nave by means of two arches separated by a column in each double bay (Plate 220, Fig. 2, 3, 4). The gallery is higher in the transepts and in the narthex than elsewhere. The nave is at present covered by a barrel vault of the baroeco period, but was doubtless originally covered with a timber roof, carried on transverse arches. There was probably a cloistered dome over the crossing. The rest of the edifice is still supplied with its original slightly domed groin vaults, of which the transverse and wall ribs are loaded at the crown. These vaults are constructed of neat and well laid courses of brick and stone. There is some reason to suppose that the choir may have been covered originally by a barrel vault, for the openings of the gallery are much smaller than those in the nave, and consist only of a small biforum on each side.

The column on axis of the western narthex has been restored, but apparently correctly. The cornice of the clearstory on the north side (Plate 219, Fig. 1), as well as the belfry of the campanile, are clearly reconstructions of the late XV century.

The exterior walls are reinforced by prismatic buttresses (Plate 219, Fig. 2). The church appears to have had no clearstory (Plate 219, Fig. 2), but the galleries were lighted by small windows in the exterior wall. The alternate piers are of compound section (Plate 220, Fig. 3, 4), and a system of three members continued along the clearstory walls. No traces were discovered to indicate how this system terminated.

The masonry consists of stone and brick laid in alternate courses, except in certain parts of the choir and the outside walls, which contain also bands of rubble. The character of this masonry, which is distinctly polychromatic in effect, may be studied better in the photographs (Plate 219, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 220, Fig. 2, 4) than in the actual edifice, since it was completely denatured by the restorers. (Compare Plate 220, Fig. 3, with Plate 220, Fig. 4).

IV. One or two of the capitals are Roman Corinthian, and evidently pilfered from some pre-existing edifice. Two of Byzantine type (Plate 221, Fig. 1, 3) must have come from some edifice of the VI century. The others are of a block Corinthian type (Plate 221, Fig. 4), or ornamented with eagles (Plate 221, Fig. 2) or some similar motive. The imitation of Byzantine

models is evident in the treatment of the acanthus leaves, even of the XII century capitals (Plate 221, Fig. 2). The columns are in some instances without bases, but in other cases Attic bases (Plate 220, Fig. 2) or inverted capitals are used. The archivolts are of a single unmoulded order (Plate 220, Fig. 2, 3, 4; Plate 219, Fig. 3). The exterior wall is supplied with a cornice of simple arched corbel-tables (Plate 219, Fig. 2).

The fragments of Carlovingian carving found during the restoration are now gathered together in the court-yard. The pieces are so small that it is impossible to say to what they belonged, but it seems clear that they must have formed part of the church-furniture. The style of these fragments is singularly reminiscent of that of the VIII century. The upper piece on the right-hand side of our illustration (Plate 219, Fig. 4), with a circle formed of a guilloche and a grotesque animal, resembles strongly the lower left-hand panel of the altar of S. Abondio of Como (Plate 59, Fig. 4), which dates from c. 735. Numerous interlaces (Plate 219, Fig. 4) recall the two interlaces of c. 735 in the S. Abondio altar (Plate 59, Fig. 4). The prevalence of the crocket motive recalls the ciborio of S. Giorgio in Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4). On the other hand, the technical execution is much weaker than that of the fragments of the Como altar or even of the S. Giorgio ciborio. Instead of the crisp, vigorous carving of the VIII century, we have something of the flaccid, lifeless style characteristic of the X.

V. In view of these considerations, we need have little hesitation in considering the Carlovingian fragments of S. Lorenzo as part of the renovation of the church with which Pacifico is accredited in his epitaph. Pacifico died in 847. The style of the fragments is so decadent that we are fully justified in assigning them to the last years of his life—let us say to c. 840.

The inscription of Zufeto is a sufficient proof that the existing edifice of S. Lorenzo was completed c. 1110. This date is completely in accord with the style of the architecture.

VERONA, S. MARIA ANTICA

I. As early as 1668 the two inscriptions of S. Maria Antica were studied by Moscardo.[1] They were also noted by Canobbio.[2] It is only in our own times, however, that the falsity of the inscription of 1177 has been demonstrated by Simeoni.[3] A view of the exterior of the church, drawn before the restoration, has been published by Knight.[4] For historical notices the

[1] 136, 141.

[2] *Historia di Alessandro Conobbio intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona.* MS. of 1587-1597, No. 1968 Storia 90.5 of the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona, Libro Sesto, f. 32-33, sotto anno 1177.

[3] *Iscrizioni,* 19. [4] II, Plate XXXIV.

work of Biancolini[5] should be consulted. A good description is contained in the guide of Simeoni.[6]

II. "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the first year of the reign of the most excellent man and pious lord, King Ratchis (744), the twelfth indiction. The oratory of the ever Virgin Mary, Mother of God, which we, together with Nazaro our kinsman and Autconda our wife and Natalia our sister, are known to have constructed in a house situated in our city of Verona, for the use of the nuns of Christ, we dispose of as follows: . . . We decree that a convent shall be established in the above-mentioned oratory of the Virgin Mary, and that in this the nuns shall live according to the rule after the will of our Lord. . . . We wish that the convent shall depend upon the convent of S. Maria in Organo. Done in Verona on the fifteenth day of May in the reign and indiction above mentioned."[7]

As early as the X century the convent of S. Maria had been united with that of S. Maria in Organo, and the church of the former was officiated by priests.[8]

In the south wall near the choir is an inscription recording that the high altar of the church was consecrated by Pope Alexander III, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1177.[9] This is evidently a forgery, since it is certain that

[5] I, 412. [6] 29.

[7] In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Regnante excellentissimo viro atque piissimo Domno Ratchis Rege, Anno Regni ejus Primo per Indictione XII. feliciter. Oratorio semper Virginis & Dei Genetricis Marie, que intra domum Cella nostra Veronense sito in Civitate construere visi sumus simul cum Nazario Connato & Jogali nostro Autconda & Natalia germanas pro utilis Christi Ancillas, presens presentibus dixi: . . . Previdimus in auctoritatem domine nostre sanctissime Virginis Marie intra domo Cella nostra Monasterium construere, in eo & regulariter secundùm Domini fuerit voluntas convivere disponimus. . . . Defensionem vero vel admonicionem sancti Monasterii volumus abere ad Monasterium Sancte Marie foris Porta jam superius memoratum. . . . Acto in Civitate Verona, die XV. Mensis Magii, Regnum, & Indicio suprascripta feliciter. (Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., XIII, 473).

[8] Biancolini, *loc. cit.*

[9] . A. D. M. C. LXXVII. VII. KL'. AVG. IN. DICT. X. D. ALEXANDER. PP. III. DE|DIC. ALTAI MAIOI ECCE. SE. MAIE. ANTIQ[VE] VON. IN HORE. BTE. MAIE. VIGIS.| S[CI]L[ICET]. FESTIVT SVAR'. VI FVER. DI. VBALD'. HOSTIEN. GVALTEI'. ALBAN. GV|LH' POTVAN. CORAD' SABIAN. EPI. CARDNL. ET. AL. XI. CADNL. QD. ARMAN| TEOTONIC' MCHHOIS. ET. D. TOTI' MCHIE. VON. ET AL MLT'. VI. ST REI. DE| SAGE. D. N. YV. XI. ET DE. SPNA CORONA. ET DE LIGO. ✠. ET D[E] LACEA LOGI. ET| D' PANN QB' INVOLVT' FVIT. DS. NR. YS. XS. D' CAPLL. BE. ME. V. D' VESTIM EI' ET DE| VELLO SVO DE MSA. XI. LAPIDA IN QA CENAV CV DISCPL SVIS. DE TIB'. MAG. SI'| GASPAE. BALDESAE. ET MELCHIOE DE BTO. IONE. BAPTA. DE BTOR' API'OR'. PETI. PL| ANDREE. IACOBI. THOE. BATHOEI. SIMOIS. THADEI. ET BANABE. ET. S. MTI| EPI ET

Alexander III never came to Verona. The church was, however, consecrated in 1185, as is recorded by an authentic inscription in the north wall, near the choir:

✠A. D. M.C.LXXXV. INDIC. III. DIE. SABATI. VIIII. ITRANTE NOV. DNS PATRIARCHA GOTIFREDVS AQIL'. DEDICAVIT ECCL'A SCE MARIE ANTIQVE.| VBI FVERT DNS LABORANS ET DNS ADELARDVS SCE ROMANE ECCLE CARDINALES ET DNS PEPO EPS DE PEDENA ET DNS OBI|ZO ORGANENSIS ABAS. ET ALII RELIGIOSI VIRI. VBI SVNT RELIQVIE DE CAPILLIS SCE MARIE ET DE VESTIMENTIS| EIVS. RELIQVIE SCI IACOBI APLI. ET SCORV MARTIRV HERMACHORE. ET FORTVNATI SCI GEORGII.| SCI CELESTINI. SCI AGAPITI. SCI SIXTI. SCI CASSIANI. SCI VITI. SCI MODESTI SCI CRESCENTIANI. ET SCORVM| COSME. ET DAMIANI. SCORVM CONFESSORVM PROCVLI. LVPICINI. ET SCE AGATHES MARTIRIS. IN QVA DEDI|CATIONE OMNIBVS QVI IBI TVNC ADERANT ET PENITENTIAM DE SVIS PECCATIS RECEPERANT VEL INFRA XV. DI|ES RECIPERENT. ET ETIAM HIS QVI IBI NON ADERANT. ET INFRA. XV. DIES PENITENTIAM RECIPERENT. ET IAM DICTAM| ECCLESIAM VISITAVERINT. REMISSIONE DE OMNIBVS. VII. ANNIS. VNVM INDVLSIT. ET QVARTAM PARTEM VENIALIV.| ET SEMPER. ANNVATIM ISTAM REMISSIONEM ITA INSTITVIT. INSTITVIT QVOQVE VT IN DIE. SCI MARTINI ISTA| DEDICATIO A MODO CELEBRETVR. INHIBVIT INSVPER VT QVICVMQVE BONA IPSIVS ECCLESIE CLAM VEL VIOLENTER| SVBRIPVERINT VEL INVASERINT. VINCVLO. EXCOMVNICATIONIS. SVBIACEANT.

In the later Middle Ages the church acquired artistic importance from the tombs of the Scaligeri which were placed around it. In 1887 the edifice was subjected to a disastrous restoration, in which it lost most of its artistic and archæological value.[10]

[CON]FESS'. ET. S. MTI PP ET. M. I QA QVIDE DDICT. INSTITVIT. VT. SEP ANN I| DIE ASSVPT. BE. MARIE. V. CELEBR. COCESS.' SMP[ER] ET ANN IN EODM DIE ASSVP|TIOIS ET PER TOT OCT INCLVSIV. OIB'. V PENT. [CON]FESS' [CON]TRITI SINT. SVOR'| PECCTOR'. PENIT. RECIPERIT. ET DICT ECCLIA DEVOT VISIT. ET MAN' SVAS| ADIVTI C PROREXT. SIGL'A DIE DE IIVCTIS SI PNT. C. ANN. IN AL FESTI|VT. BE. ME. VIRGINIS. ET A DIE. SI. MTI EPI ET [CON]FESS. V[SQVE]. AD OCTAVAM| APPITIOIS. DI. Q P[ER] TOT. XL. S[CI]L[ICET]. FER. II. IIII. ET VI. P[ER] Q[V]OL[IBET] DIE. L. ANN. HIS VO Q[V]I MOR|TIS ARTIC[V]LO FIDEM ECCE RELIQRIT. ET SPALR. P[ER] FABIC. APPRMT. OFFICIIS PDCTE ECCE OS SVPS ST IDLG RLAXV A PENA ET A CVLPA IPOS ABSOLVENS ✠

PSBITE IOHIS SCVLPI FECIT FIERI ✠

[10] Berchet, I, 55.

III. The church consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, three apses masked externally and a campanile which rises over the eastern bay of the nave. The side aisles are covered with groin vaults of which the transverse ribs disappear towards the springing. The responds of the side aisle consist of a plain pilaster, on which fall the transverse as well as the wall ribs. The nave is also covered with groin vaults each embracing two bays, but there is no system. These vaults, which have no wall ribs, are supplied with transverse arches resting on corbels. The vaults of nave and side aisles are alike undomed. The soffits are at present covered with intonaco, so that the masonry may not be seen, but from the circumstances that no adequate supports are provided for the transverse arches and that there are no exterior buttresses, I suspect that all these vaults are a modern addition, and that the church was originally roofed in timber. This suspicion becomes almost a certainty when it is observed that the nave vaults are pierced by windows. It is however possible that the side aisles were originally vaulted, since, in the easternmost bay of the northern side aisle, is preserved a vault which may be ancient.

The supports are columns.

The masonry consists of stone and brick laid in alternate courses, except in those portions of the church which have been reconstructed. The small windows in several orders were doubtless intended to serve without glass.

IV. The plain unearved capitals are without character, and the archivolts are in two unmoulded orders. In the apse is a series of blind arches forming niches or a sort of pseudo-ambulatory.

V. The Romanesque portions of the church doubtless belong to the edifice consecrated in 1185.

VERONA, S. PROCOLO

I. An account of S. Procolo has been published by Simeoni in his guide.[1] Drawings of the church by Cristofori are preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona.[2]

II. S. Procolo was founded at a very early epoch, since it was restored by the archdeacon Pacifico in the early IX century.[3] Late in the same century the church was burned by the Hungarians.[4] In 968 houses were built around the edifice.[5] In 1750 the monument underwent a disastrous restoration. In

[1] 144.

[2] MS. 1002, Fasc. XXXVII, 2; XLVIII. *Ibid.*, Fasc. X, XXXVII, XLVIII, are preserved drawings of the destroyed church of S. Pietro in Castello.

[3] See above, p. 468. [4] See below, p. 521. [5] Canobbio, *MS. cit.*, Lib. VI, f. 8.

1806 the ancient parish was suppressed, or, rather, transferred, to S. Zeno. The church has been for a long period descerated and used for various secular purposes, and recently has served as a gymnasium.

III. The upper church is without interest, save for some bits of Romanesque wall which are still preserved. On the other hand, the crypt, which, like the crypt of SS. Fermo e Rustico, really forms a sort of lower church, is an important monument. The vaults of the apse and of the eastern bay of this crypt were evidently rebuilt in modern times. The others, although restored at the same epoch, still preserve the original core, and are undomed, with disappearing transverse and wall ribs. The responds are rectangular, the columns monoliths. At the west end is a modern gallery or passage-way of access.

The walls of the crypt appear to be constructed of brick, but the remains of frescos are so numerous that it is difficult to study the masonry. The masonry of the upper church, where it is visible, is polychromatic, and consists of alternate bands of brick, stone and herring-bone pebble work.

IV. The capitals of the crypt are interesting. One has the bell decorated with interlaces, and the abacus carved with grotesques, guilloches, etc. Another, with similar abacus, has a bell consisting simply of a series of mouldings. Another, much weathered, has merely a row of niches. Still another has grotesques and interlaces. Contemporary, but of unusual type, are two others, with elongated, carved acanthus leaves serving as volutes, and smaller carved or uncarved leaves below. One capital of block acanthus type may be Carlovingian, but is in such poor condition that it is difficult to be certain. One capital is evidently pilfered Roman, and another is formed of an inverted base.

The portal was evidently added in the XIII century.

V. The masonry of S. Procolo is identical in character with that of S. Lorenzo, a surely dated monument of c. 1110. S. Procolo may, therefore, be ascribed to about the same time.

VERONA, S. STEFANO

(Plate 222, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Plate 223, Fig. 5)

I. S. Stefano is, archæologically speaking, one of the best known buildings of Verona. Biancolini[1] has collected the historical documents which refer to the church. A copy of a lost inscription is preserved in the manuscript of Cristofori (1748-1824) in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona.[2] In

[1] I, 11-26; IV, 732-750. [2] MS. 1002, Fasc. XXI.

the early years of the XIX century the monument was described, although very inaccurately, by the brothers Sacchi. De Dartein[3] studied the architecture. The drawing and description of De Fleury[4] deserve mention. The analysis of the edifice written by Cattaneo is characterized by the keenness and intuitive genius usual in that author. For a description of the restoration, the official project of Berchet[5] should be consulted, although many of the changes contemplated were never carried out. The monograph of Pighi contains a concise résumé of the history of the monument and an important description of the restorations. Rivoira[6] has contributed important observations upon the architecture, as has also Simeoni, in his frequently mentioned guide to Verona.[7]

II. It has been generally supposed that the church of S. Stefano was the original cathedral of Verona. This conjecture is based upon the circumstances that most of the early bishops were here buried and that the ancient episcopal throne is still preserved in the ambulatory. However this may be, it is certain that the edifice existed from a very early time, since it was destroyed by Theodoric in the latter part of his reign (c. 520). "The devil discovered a means to steal into the spirit of the man who in general governed well the state, for Theodoric soon ordered the oratory or altar of S. Stefano situated at the fountain in the suburbs of the city of Verona to be demolished."[8]

The church is mentioned in the *Ritmo Pipiniano,* written c. 800. In 899 the church was destroyed by the Hungarians.[9] Canobbio states that he saw a document of 941 referring to S. Stefano. In 994 the church was officiated by a chapter of priests at whose head was a rector or custode.[10] Another document of 1013 shows that in the early XI century the church was still officiated in the same way.[11]

[3] 444. [4] II, Plate CXXXV and p. 134. [5] 77. [6] 221. [7] 282.

[8] Ex eo enim invenit diabolus locum, quem ad modum hominem bene rem publicam sine querella gubernantem subriperet. nam mox iussit ad fonticlos in proastio civitatis Veronensis oratorium sancti Stephani id est altarium subverti. (Anonyni Valesiani, Pars Posterior, 83, ed. Mommsen, M. G. H., *Auct. Antiq.,* IX, 326).

[9] See text cited below under S. Zeno, pp. 521 f.

[10] In nomine Domini Dei Æterni, Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi D.C.C.C.C.XCIIII. Kalen . . . . . Sacerdotum de Ecclesia Beatissimi . . . . . presenti tempore Dadid Præsbiter . . . . . Custodes, & Rectores . . . . . ubi multæ res a bonis hominibus delegate sunt Nos Martino . . . . . nensis Ecclesiæ, & Dominico germanis filiis . . . . . atori in summo ponte, qui lege Longobardorum . . . . . Stefani dò cedo, trado atque offero pro remedio animæ nostræ, ac suprascripto qu. Martino genitori nostro, & Rundruda Dei ancilla veste religionis induta genitrice nostra eo cæterisque parentibus nostris a presenti die & ora de Sacerdotes in Sacerdotes usque in perpetuum. . . . Idest terra cum vineis etc. . . . omnia . . . dò, cedo trado, atque offero præsenti die & hora pro remedium animæ nostræ, seu & ut supra bonæ memoriæ Martinus genitori, & suprascripta Rundruda Dei ancilla genitrice nostra, & cæterisque parentibus nostris de Sacerdotes in Sacerdotes usque in perpetuum, & exinde nobis nulla reservavimus, ut habeant potestatem ipsi Præsbiteri, qui in jam dicta Scola

In 1084 there was a hospital connected with the church.[12] From documents of 1087 and 1109[13] we learn that a part of the city near the church of S. Stefano was known as the Atrio of S. Stefano. This perhaps implies that at one time the church was provided with an atrium. Rectors and custodi of the church are mentioned in documents of 1124 and 1128.[14] In 1203 the church is called a pieve, and in 1215 it is said to be officiated by *fratres*, by which was doubtless meant canons regular.[15] In a deed of 1240[16] it is explicitly stated that the church since time immemorial had been a pieve, had been administered by an archpresbyter, and had enjoyed the rights of baptism and parochial jurisdiction, as well as the possession of chapels and a hospital. In 1390 the chapter is styled *monistero*.[17] A series of graffiti on the façade record various events which occurred between 1195 and 1303, such as the fall of a part of the Adige bridge, the visit of Federico II to Verona, the capture of Vicenza, the fire of the castello di Caldiero, a flood, a storm, an exceptionally cold winter and so forth.

In 1440 the chapter was given in commendam, and in 1576 the church was reconsecrated in consequence of the restoration of the choir, begun in 1543.[18] The stairway in front of the façade was erected in 1595, according to an inscription published by Biancolini.[19] Between 1619 and 1621 the Cappella degli Innocenti was erected.[20]

A restoration of the church was carried out in the year 1810. In 1840 the building was in such a ruinous condition that it was closed to the public. The restoration begun in consequence lasted probably until 1855.[21] In 1881 the campanile and the cupola were restored, and new windows were opened in the former. In 1887 the barocco stairway leading to the choir was destroyed, as well as those western portions of the choir and the crypt which had been added in the barocco period. In August, 1889, the choir gallery was removed from the west end and the organ was set up behind the high altar. Here apparently were discovered the remains of an ancient apse.[22]

Sancti Stefani modo sunt, vel qui pro temporibus ordinati fuerint ipsas suprascriptas res, sicut supra legitur, ad regendum & gubernandum . . . . . (Biancolini, IV, 732).

[11] In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi Regnante Dn̄o nostro Henricus Rex Deo propitio hic in Italia anno nono, quarto Kalendas Januarius Indictione XI feliciter. Sic in Dei nomine placuit atque convenit inter Davit Præsbiter de Ecclesia Sancti Stefani, Custos & Rector Scolæ Sacerdotum & suprascripta Ecclesia Sancti Stephani. . . . (Biancolini, IV, 734).

[12] Biancolini, IV, 737. [13] *Ibid.*, 739, 740.

[14] *Ibid.*, 741, 742. [15] *Ibid.*, 744. [16] *Ibid.*, 746. [17] *Ibid.*, 749.

[18] Simeoni, 288. [19] I, 26. [20] Simeoni, 287. [21] Pighi, 5.

[22] Nell'Agosto 1889 fu levata la Cantoria che stando sopra la porta principale deturpava il tempio, e fu trasportato l'organo dietro l'Altar Maggiore, dove fu scoperta un' abside dipinta che darà materia di studio agli Archeologi; forse l'abside del primitivo tempio. Il tempio così in due anni di lavoro è ritornato ad uno stato decoroso. (Pighi, 6).

III. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 223, Fig. 5) five bays long, two side aisles, projecting transepts, an approximately semicircular choir, an ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 1, 6), several chapels, and a crypt (Plate 222, Fig. 2) extending beneath the transepts, the choir, the ambulatory and the first bay of the nave. The nave and side aisles are roofed in wood. The transepts have barrel vaults of the XVI century; the choir has a sort of cloistered vault (Plate 223, Fig. 5); the ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 1) and the crypt (Plate 222, Fig. 2), groin and barrel vaults, while a Lombard dome rises over the crossing. The nave supports are plain square piers (Plate 223, Fig. 5), without capitals or bases, and the unmoulded archivolts are of a single order. At present there are neither galleries, triforium nor clearstory, but there is reason to believe the galleries may have existed originally.

The ambulatory is a singular construction raised a number of steps above the choir which, in turn, is raised above the nave (Plate 223, Fig. 5). The outside wall of the ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 6) is nearly semicircular, but the piers which separate the ambulatory from the choir are disposed in the form of a curve so much flattened that it resembles a rounded square (Plate 223, Fig. 5). The arches opening from the choir into the ambulatory are of different widths. The central one at the back is the widest, and springs from a higher level than the others. The two adjoining on either side are narrower and highly stilted. The outside arches are still narrower and semicircular. The result is that in elevation these arches are like a flight of steps, becoming wider and higher as they approach the centre. The vaults of the ambulatory follow the lines of the arches. The two outermost are lowest, the next two somewhat higher, and the central one highest of all.

The ambulatory vaults (Plate 222, Fig. 1) have all been restored and in part remade in the time of the Renaissance, so that it is by no means always easy to determine what portions are Romanesque and what are modern. It is evident, however, that the two outermost vaulting compartments have been remade, together with the windows beneath them. The others probably follow more or less exactly the original dispositions. The groin vaults are domed and well constructed (Plate 222, Fig. 1). The groins are not very salient. The difficult problem of covering an annular passage with groin vaults is solved in the following manner. The two intermediate compartments on either side are given a somewhat trapezoidal shape. The polygonal spaces left between these compartments and the central one are covered by enormous wedge-shaped transverse arches in two orders (Plate 222, Fig. 1).

The crypt follows closely the lines of the upper church, and is also supplied with an ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 2) approached by a long flight of steps, precisely as is the choir. This ambulatory is barrel-vaulted, with the exception of the eastern central bay, which is groin-vaulted (Plate 222, Fig. 2). It formerly opened into the crypt proper by a series of arcades, which are now walled up. In the outside walls symmetrical with the arcade

is a blind arcade supported on free-standing columns (Plate 222, Fig. 2). The vaults of the main body of the crypt appear to have been modernized. They are supplied with disappearing transverse wall arches, and have pronounced groins. The masonry is formed of bricks laid in regular courses.

The masonry of the exterior wall of the ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 6) is composed of thick, well shaped bricks, carefully laid in deep beds of mortar. Occasionally large dressed blocks of stone are inserted. The interior face of the ambulatory wall is constructed of rubble mixed with bricks of various sizes and shapes, and the piers, which are of very irregular section, show masonry of precisely the same character. The masonry of the walls and piers of the nave is unfortunately entirely hidden beneath the modern intonaco, but the north transept-end is constructed of a rough sort of rubble which offers a strong contrast to the fine polychromatic masonry of the façade and cupola.

IV. The exterior of the ambulatory is adorned with arched corbel-tables in two orders (Plate 222, Fig. 6) supported on consoles very classical and skilfully executed. From the curious adjustment of the second order of the corbel-tables to the pilaster strips (Plate 222, Fig. 6), it appears that the former were originally in a single order, and were subsequently stepped in. The consoles were probably put in the place of the original corbels in the XV century, when the plaster cornice was added, and the exterior masonry worked over. The corbel-tables themselves are executed in stone.

The capitals of the ambulatory furnish an interesting study. The one which is placed at about the middle of the first bay on the north side is fragmentary, having been apparently sawed in two. In style it resembles certain of the capitals of the crypt of the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia, but the execution is less vigorous. The capitals of the second and third piers of the arcade separating the choir and the ambulatory appear to be slices of an ancient Roman entablature. The symmetrical capitals of the outer responds are decadent Roman works. They are of Corinthian type with flaccid leaves poorly carved and are surmounted by entablatures. They are both cut out of the same stone, with a Latin inscription which is at present for the most part hidden in the wall. These capitals are supported on spiral-fluted columns and in style closely resemble those of the Porta Borsari. The four capitals of the central compartment (Plate 222, Fig. 1, 4) are all similar to each other, and resemble the capitals of the cloister of the Duomo (Plate 216, Fig. 2). They are of Corinthian type with uncarved leaves (Plate 222, Fig. 1, 4), but the execution is less crisp and vigorous than is that of the capital of the Duomo cloisters. The proportions, as a rule, are good, but there is noticeable an unintentional lack of symmetry and crudeness of form. The badly drawn volutes are merely scratched on the surface. There is no undercutting. The two easternmost capitals of the second bay on the south

side are, one, a slice of a Roman entablature, the other, a Corinthianesque capital of the type just described, but even more crudely executed. The western capitals of the same compartment are, one, a slice of an ancient entablature, the other, a Corinthianesque capital of the Carlovingian era, but better executed than the similar ones already described. The capital of the western compartment on the north side (Plate 222, Fig. 5) is of similar type, but the abacus slopes notably.

The capitals of the crypt with the exception of a few which are Roman, two which are Gothic (Plate 222, Fig. 3), and one of composite type, are all of the decadent Corinthian type familiar in the ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 2). There are in all nineteen such capitals in the crypt, but three are evidently only half capitals which have been bisected. Many fit awkwardly on the shafts. The bases in the crypt and ambulatory are generally variations of the Attic type. Like the shafts they seem to be partly pilfered and partly made for their present position.

The façade is characterized by prismatic buttresses, a false gable over the portal, a large circular window, and a cornice of arched corbel-tables. The two extremely elongated windows on either side of the portal are modern.

V. The ambulatory of S. Stefano has been widely ascribed to the X century. It has been supposed that the existing ambulatory was originally a gallery, and that the ambulatory of the crypt formed the ambulatory of the original church. This theory rests on the supposition that the existing nave is later than the ambulatory. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that the reverse is the case. Although the nave walls are covered with intonaco which makes it impossible to study the masonry, it is nevertheless evident that the north transept-end is constructed of rough rubble, which is obviously earlier than any of the masonry now visible in the ambulatory. Now there is every reason to believe that the nave and transepts are contemporary. On the basis of the scanty evidence available, it would be impossible to say to what epoch the nave and transepts belong. The character of the masonry, it is true, and the piers, strongly recall S. Giorgio in Valpolicella, a building erected c. 730. Since, however, in the VIII and IX centuries architecture developed slowly, and the same forms continued in use often for several centuries, it might well be that the nave of S. Stefano is in reality somewhat later. That such is the case, I am inclined to believe, from the circumstance that in the ambulatory are employed many capitals which appear to be not of the VIII, but of the IX century. A comparison of the photographs (Plate 222, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5) of the capitals of S. Stefano with that of the capital of c. 780 in the cloister of the cathedral of Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 2) will reveal the fact that the S. Stefano capitals, while of the same type, are much cruder, much more degenerately executed. The crisp, incisive leaves of the Duomo capital (Plate 216, Fig. 2) at S. Stefano (Plate 222, Fig. 4)

have assumed a flaccid, listless quality that recalls works of the X century, such as the capital of Isola S. Giulio—c. 900—(Plate 100, Fig. 9). In short, the capitals of S. Stefano show the vigorous forms of the VIII century, already affected by that languor and decadence which paralyzed the art of sculpture in the X century. They were in consequence in all probability executed when the church was rebuilt after the destruction by the Hungarians in 899. Now it is evident that these capitals are not in their original positions in the existing crypt and ambulatory. Together with earlier capitals they were probably first used in the crypt and apse of the basilica to which the existing nave and transept belonged. These portions of the edifice may consequently be ascribed to 899.

The most difficult chronological question in regard to S. Stefano is the date of the ambulatory. Owing to the facts that this portion of the structure is constructed of pilfered materials, and that it has been entirely rebuilt and denatured in later times, it is exceedingly difficult to determine at what epoch it was first erected. It is obviously later than 899, because materials taken from the edifice erected at this epoch were employed second-hand in its construction. On the other hand, it is obviously earlier than the XII century. The exterior wall of the ambulatory, with its arched corbel-tables, is undoubtedly in its present form the result of a reconstruction carried out c. 1120. The masonry of the core of the ambulatory, on the other hand, is evidently earlier. The deduction that the ambulatory dates about midway between 899 and 1120 is confirmed by a study of the masonry of the core which shows close analogies with the masonry of S. Vincenzo of Galliano (Plate 99, Fig. 1), a surely dated monument of 1007. Moreover, the S. Stefano ambulatory is entirely analogous to the ambulatory of the cathedral of Ivrea, which is known to date from the last quarter of the X century. Both these ambulatories are peculiar in that they were highly raised over crypts. The S. Stefano ambulatory may, therefore, be assigned to c. 990.

The façade bears the closest analogy to that of La Trinità (Plate 223, Fig. 4), and may consequently be ascribed to c. 1120. The central cupola is of the same date.

VERONA, SS. TOSCA E TEUTERIA.

(Plate 223, Fig. 1, 2, 3)

I. The historical notices relating to the little church of SS. Tosca e Teuteria have been collected by Dalla Corte[1] and Biancolini.[2] Drawings of the church by Michiel S. Micheli and Gaetano Cristofori are preserved in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona.[3] Notices of value are

[1] I, 255. [2] I, 129-130. [3] MS. 1002, Fasc. XLII.

preserved in the manuscript history of Canobbio of the same library.[4] The architecture of the edifice has been studied by Cattaneo and Rivoira.[5]

II. Panvinio states that the church was erected by the bishop Annone, who died c. 780.[6] Biancolini[7] says that the church was consecrated in 751 by Annone. At all events the edifice was certainly in existence c. 800, since it is mentioned in the *Ritmo Pipiniano*.[8] This may have been the document seen by Canobbio which he considered proved the existence of the church at this time.[9]

Dalla Corte,[10] who wrote in 1596, states that the bodies of the saints were discovered by chance, and the church consecrated by the bishop Ognibene in 1160. In the manuscript of Canobbio, written 1587-1597, the same notice is repeated.[11]

In 1427 the bodies of the saints were again translated. As late as the XVIII century the church was still separate from, though dependent upon, SS. Apostoli. Now, however, it has been connected with the latter church by means of a passage-way, so as to form merely a sort of chapel.

When I saw this church on November 15, 1912, it was covered with baroeco plaster (Plate 223, Fig. 1, 2, 3), but still in excellent preservation. When I returned on October 1, 1913, I found the beautiful little building had already lost both its artistic and archæological character from a barbarous restoration then in full progress. The masonry was being entirely made over and denatured, the original stones and bricks removed and replaced by new ones, the mortar-beds filled out and leaded. The baroeco intonaco had already completely disappeared, and, in short, all the charm and atmosphere had been taken from the edifice. The restoration, nevertheless, reveals some interesting facts in regard to the masonry of the monument. That part of the north and south exterior wall which corresponds to the square cupola is constructed of the roughest kind of masonry. Pieces of brick of all sizes and shapes, unsquared blocks of stone, pebbles, and a few square blocks doubtless pilfered, are piled in haphazard, although herring-bone and even horizontal courses occur. This masonry had evidently been much restored in the Renaissance

[4] MS. 1968/Storia/90.5. [5] 135.

[6] Caeterum Episcopus Hanno ædem S. S. Virginum Tuscæ sororis diui Proculi, quondam Veronensium Episcopi, & Teuteriæ eiusdem discipulæ erexit, & vtriusque cadauer marmoreo ibidem in sepulcro honorifice collocauit, haud longe ab Ecclesia S. S. XII Apostolorum. (Panvinio, 132).

[7] *Loc. cit.* [8] Simeoni, 139.

[9] See text cited above under the cathedral, p. 475. [10] I, 255.

[11] In questo anno [1160] a 4. Luglio si ritrouarono quasi miracolosamente i corpi delle sante Teuteria, e Tosca, et furono posti in una maggiore, e più honorata Arca di marmore, i quali santi corpi rendeano suauissimo odore, e di presente la medesima Arca si vede nella sua chiesa all'altarmaggiore. (*Historia di Alessandro Canobbio intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona*, MS. 1968 Storia/90.5, Biblioteca Comunale di Verona, f. 28, sotto 1160).

period. Its story, which must have been clear to anyone who knew how to read it at the time the intonaco was stripped off, has now been forever destroyed by the restorers. Constructed of masonry of better quality, which is separated by a distinct and unmistakable vertical break, are the west and east bays of the side walls, and the east wall with its apse entire. Here the bricks of irregular size and without cross-hatching are roughly laid in courses approximately horizontal, separated by mortar-beds of enormous thickness. The cupola differs from the apse in that it contains herring-bone pebble work, but is nevertheless evidently contemporary with it. The cornices and the windows were of course barocco. It is evident that parts of the walls of the very early structure were utilized in a later reconstruction.

III. The edifice consists of a central rectangular area, completely surrounded by a side aisle, from which opens an eastern apse. The nave is raised above the side aisles, and is covered with a slightly domed groin vault. The apse has a half dome and the side aisles barrel vaults (Plate 223, Fig. 1, 3). These barrel vaults are placed at different levels, and have axes either parallel or perpendicular to the axis of the church.

The western piers and the western vaults have been restored and in great part made over at a later period, probably when the church was baroccoized. The domed groined vault of the cupola is, however, original. There are no wall ribs. The courses are disposed normally to the outside wall, but tend to radiate. The other vaults also all appear to be original. On the east side of the cupola is a semicircular niche. On the west side is a square-headed, widely splayed window, with ancient frescos, the only original window of the edifice extant. The wall ribs of the vaults of the side aisles of the central bay were added in the barocco period. A curious feature of the construction of the barrel vaults of these bays is the fact that under the cupola is an arch, detached completely from the vault, and constructed like a transverse rib, except that it does not project.

The barrel vault of the western central bay of the nave appears to be the original one, but those of the two side aisles are of the barocco period. The three barrel vaults of the eastern bay are barocco, but the central one is being restored with masonry imitating that of the IX century. The fact that the central vault springs, not in line with the piers, but almost in the middle of the side aisles, is peculiar.

IV. The church contains no Romanesque decoration of any kind internally or externally. The square piers are without capitals or bases, and the exterior walls appear not to have had any cornice.

It is said a Roman mosaic was discovered beneath the church during the restoration, but that it has been buried again.

V. The oldest part of the edifice is evidently the central portion of the outer walls of the side aisle. This must be a remnant of the church constructed

by Annone, and dedicated presumably in 751. These fragments of wall were incorporated in a rebuilding of the edifice which must have taken place in the IX century. The church as thus rebuilt was evidently one of that large class of buildings with central plan, erected throughout Europe in imitation of the chapel of Charlemagne at Aachen. It shows close analogies with the church of S. Satiro at Milan, erected in 876 (Plate 129; Plate 130). It may therefore be ascribed to c. 875.

Notwithstanding the documentary evidence that the building was dedicated in 1160, it is not possible that any part of the existing structure dates from the XII century, except possibly some remains of the frescoed decoration. It is therefore probable that the alterations executed at this epoch were confined to the execution of new frescos. In the barocco period the monument was denatured, but the ancient structural forms were preserved.

VERONA, S. TRINITÀ

(Plate 223, Fig. 4)

I. For the history of the abbey the most important source is a codex preserved in the Vatican at Rome.[1] This codex contains, among numerous other works—Ambrose, Cassiodorus, Eusebius, the history of Paolo Diacono, etc.—the annals of the monastery of S. Trinità at Verona. These annals begin at folio 214, and appear to have been composed in the year 1181, since the entries up to that date are all written in the same hand. Additions in another hand are continued to the year 1223.[2]

The manuscript history of Canobbio[3] contains other notices of great importance for the history of the edifice. The drawings of Cristofori now in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona,[4] preserve priceless records of the now destroyed cloisters. Historical notices of some importance are contained in the work of Biancolini.[5] A good photograph of the apse window has been published by Berchet.[6] A description of the edifice may be found in the guide of Simeoni.[7]

II. The abbey was founded in 1073. This is recorded in an inscription of the XIX century, still extant in the atrium.[8] The history of Canobbio, probably a more reliable source, simply states that the church was built about

[1] It bears the number Vat. Pal. 927.

[2] These annals have been published by Pertz, M. G. H., *Script.*, XIX, 2.

[3] *Historia di Alessandro Canobbio intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona*, MS. of 1587-1597, No. 1968/Storia/90.5 of the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona.

[4] MS. 1002, Fasc. XLIV.

[5] V, pt. 2, p. 161. [6] V, 156. [7] 194.

[8] TEMPLVM. A. MONACHIS. A. VALLE. VMBROSA. INCHOATVM. A. MLXXIII.| TRINITATI. AVG. DEDICATVM. EST. PRID. EID. IAN. ANNO.

this time.[9] According to the same authority the high altar was consecrated in 1102.[10] It is, therefore, probable that the main body of the church was finished at this time.

In 1114, according to Canobbio, or as early as 1113, according to Biancolini,[11] Vallambrosan monks were called to officiate the church, and in 1115 these monks received an important donation from the marchese d'Este.[12] The basilica was adapted to its new function of monastic church by the addition of a narthex. This was completed, and the whole church was dedicated, in 1117, as is recorded in the annals of S. Trinità.[13]

According to the same authority, the entire convent, including the cloisters, was finished before 1137.[14] In 1146 the well in the cloister was built.[15]

Biancolini knew a document of 1159, which referred to a certain Arigo, abbot of the monastery, although Vitale, in the year 1113 or 1114, had been qualified only with the title of prior.[16] In 1443 the abbey was given in

MCXVII.| CVRIA. PER. ADIVTORES. DVOS. AB. ANN. MCCCCXLIII. ADMINISTRARI| COEPTA. PETRO. LIPPOMANO. PATRIC. VEN. PRIMO. TVENDIS. FVNDIS.| ABBATE. AD. ANN. MDCCL. CAROLO. REZZONICO. EP. PAT. NOVISSIMO.| HVIVS. ECCL. ABB. CARD. QVEM. POST. ANNOS. XVIII. VNIVERSA. ECCL.| CLEMENTEM. HVIVS. NOMINIS. XIII. PONTIFICEM. MAX. SALVTAVIT.| AMOTIS. INTER. EA. MONACHIS. IO. MATTH. GIBERTVS. EP. N. COENOBIVM| PVELLIS. NVPTISQ. E. VITAE. COENO. REVOCAND. AD. FRVGEMQ. BONAM| ADDVCENDIS. VECTIG. ADTRIBVTO. CERTISQ. LEGIB. CONSTITVIT.| DOMIB. S. AGNETIS. EXTRA. VRBEM. SOLO. AEQVATIS. QVAE. PARS. CVR.| INTRA. MOENIA. CONSTITERAT. HVIC. ECCL. A. MDXVIII. ADDICTAST| EA. DENIQ. CVRA. NAVPOLEONIS. DECR. AEDI. LVCANAE. CONCREDITA| ECCLESIA. N. S. CRVCIS. DE. VIBICVLA. PAROECIAM. COMPLEXA. EST.| XI. KAL. MAIAS. ANNO. M. DCCC. VI.

[9] In questo tempo [1073-1077] si edificò la Chiesa della Santissima Trinità, nel qual uogo ui era un monticello, che si chiamaua il monte Olineto. (*MS. cit.*, Libro, VI, f. 18).

[10] Morì nel 1101. Uffreo, et à lui sucesse nel Vescouato Bertaldo, il quale l'anno 1102, consacrò l'altar maggiore della Trinità che era fuori della Città. (*Ibid.*).

[11] V, pt. 2, p. 161.

[12] Nel 1114 uennero in Verona nella Chiesa della Trinità i Monaci di Valle Ombrosa, et il loro Priore hauea nome Vitale. Folco Marchese di Este fece donatione à 2 di Ottobre 1115. di molti Campi nel Padouano per l'anima sua, e di sua moglie alla detta chiesa della Trinità. (*MS. cit.*, f. 20, sotto anni 1113-1115).

[13] ANno ab incarnatione dni nri ihu xpi. M. C. XVII. indictione decima. II. iduu iani consecratu e hoc teplu in honore scę tnitatis & beate marię sep[er] uirginis & oiu scor[um]. Hoc anno multe turres et innuabilia edificia p[ro]pt terremotu p[er] longobardiam & alias tras corruerunt. (Vat. Pal. 927).

[14] Ann. MCXXXVII IIII. Jdus noub. o[biit] Viuianu' q[ui] hoc monist'iu cep & ad fine finit cu claustra p[er]duxit. . . . (*Ibid.*).

[15] Ann. mcxlvi. Factus e puteus in claustro scę t[r]initatis. (*Ibid.*).

[16] Biancolini, V, pt. 2, p. 161.

commendam. In 1536 it became a house of correction. In 1632 a donation was made for the reconstruction of the edifice, as is recorded by an inscription still extant in the atrium.[17] It was presumably at this period that the church was baroccoized.

In 1797 the shrine of the Madonna of Loreto was erected in the church, according to another inscription of the atrium. In 1816 the edifice was restored, as is recorded in still another of the atrium inscriptions. It was presumably at this epoch that the cloister was in part destroyed, since Da Persico, whose book was published in 1820, regrets the partial destruction of this portion of the edifice.[18] A few years ago the church was possessed by Salesian nuns, but these have now been succeeded by Stimatini.

III. Of the Romanesque edifice there survives only the core, the extended exterior narthex (Plate 223, Fig. 4), and the campanile. From Cristofori's drawings, it is evident that the cloisters had piers at the angles and in the centre of each face, where there was a doorway leading into the court. Between each of these doorways and the corresponding angle there were six arcades according to the section, or only three, according to the plan. The archivolts were of a single unmoulded order, and were supported on single colonnettes, with plain cubic capitals.

The narthex (Plate 223, Fig. 4) is constructed in its lower part of stone, and in its upper part of alternate courses of stone and brick. It is supplied with a graceful arcade, resting on coupled columns similar to those of the cloister of S. Zeno (Plate 234, Fig. 4).

Externally the principal apse is well preserved, and is constructed of ashlar masonry of the finest quality. The northern absidiole is also in good preservation, and is constructed of bricks of enormous size, with occasional bands of stone. The southern absidiole, however, is constructed of rubble.

IV. Over the portal of the narthex (Plate 223, Fig. 4) is a large circular window, surmounted by a sort of false gable. The cornice is characterized by arched corbel-tables and a saw-tooth ornament (Plate 233, Fig. 4). The second order of the arcades is carried on corbels placed above the abaci of the capitals.

[17] MARINVS. GEORGIO. EPVS.
BRIXIE. ET. S. TRINITATIS
ABBAS
PRO. REFICIENDA. HAC
ECCLESIA. DVC. QVINGENTOS.
CONTVLIT.
ANNO. D. MDCXXXII.

[18] Il più magnifico monumento ne sarebbe il chiostro, se non fosse in parte distrutto. . . . Recentemente riordinatasi la chiesa assai malconica e deforme. (Da Persico, 138).

The principal apse is decorated with arched corbel-tables in two orders, grouped two and two, and supported on pilaster strips crowned by capitals, simply moulded, or of uncarved Corinthianesque type. The windows are in three orders, moulded, and the cornice is also finely moulded. The northern absidiole has simple arched corbel-tables, grouped three and three, and carried on pilaster strips without capitals. There are simple, widely splayed windows. The southern absidiole is entirely undecorated.

V. . The southern absidiole is obviously the earliest part of the church, and doubtless belonged to the basilica erected in 1073. The narthex, as has been seen, was erected in 1117. The style of the principal apse and of the northern absidiole makes it evident that these portions of the edifice were rebuilt at a subsequent epoch. In style they show close analogies with the apse of the cathedral (Plate 216, Fig. 4), an authentically dated monument of 1187. The apse and northern absidiole of S. Trinità may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1190.

VERONA, S. ZENO

(Plate 224, Fig. 1; Plate 225, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 226, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 227, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 228, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; Plate 229, Fig. 2, 3, 4; Plate 230, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 231, Fig. 1; Plate 232, Fig. 1; Plate 233, Fig. 1; Plate 234, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4)

I. The church of S. Zeno of Verona has been the subject of three extended monographs. The most recent one, that of Simeoni, is also without doubt the most important, and a valuable contribution to the literature, not only of S. Zeno, but of Italian art. It is unfortunate that the work is marred by numerous misprints, especially in the transcriptions of the inscriptions. Only less valuable is the monograph of Von Sacken which contains a complete description of the sculptures and copies of all the inscriptions, as well as many important observations on the architecture of the basilica. The work of Orti Manara is illustrated with a number of drawings which, although inaccurate, possess a certain value because made before recent restorations. In 1892 Beissel published a study of the bronze doors and the sculptures of the façade. In the bronze doors, this critic finds four hands, where previous critics had found only two. He believes that the reliefs were originally intended for two side portals, one with scenes from the Old Testament and the life of S. Zeno, the other with scenes from the New Testament. These, he thinks, were combined after a fire, which he supposes took place in 1160, being led into this error by the misinterpretation of a well known inscription. The myth of Theodoric as illustrated by the sculptures of the façade has been

admirably studied by Cipolla.[1] The same author has also solved other cruxes in the history of the edifice. Novati and Sgulmero have similarly elucidated the difficult passages in the inscriptions and historical monuments relating to the monastery. The graffiti of the façade have been illustrated and analyzed by Gerola. In addition to the monograph above referred to, Simeoni has contributed a most valuable study upon the master-builder Brioloto, publishing important new documents and interpreting with accuracy the broken inscription in the church. The best studies of the sculptures from a stylistic point of view are those of Zimmermann[2] and Venturi.[3] The illustrations of Dehio[4] are inexact. The description of the crypt written by the brothers Sacchi[5] in 1829 deserves careful study. Of comparatively little value, on the other hand, are the remarks of Cicognara.[6] In the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona there is a collection of drawings of the church of S. Zeno made by Cristofori about 1800.[7] These drawings are important for the study of the edifice, since they demonstrate the numerous changes which have been made in the course of the XIX century. One drawing of the *Matiliana* shows this sculpture in a much less mutilated condition than it is at present. It is clear that this lady originally held two falcons on her wrist. On the same sheet are drawings of the now much mutilated reliefs of Guglielmo in the lower row of sculptures north of the principal portal. Drawings of the *arca di S. Crescenziano* show, on one face, the Crucifixion with Mary and John and the four Evangelists accompanied by their symbols; on the other face, Christ and an angel drawing Adam and Eve from Limbo, and subsequently six figures, probably the patriarchs, standing in a city, which I suppose to be the New Jerusalem. On one end is represented a hunt which is carried out, not only on the ground, but on the branches of a palm and another tree. Another drawing of the sculptures of this sarcophagus is executed in pencil on the back of one of the leaves with drawings of the font in S. Giovanni in Fonte.[8] In addition to the drawings of Cristofori there are extant several old engravings of the edifice. One of the façade was published by Da Persico[9] in 1820 in his history, which also contains a description of S. Zeno and a transcription of all the inscriptions.[10] In 1825 Séroux d'Agincourt published nine drawings of S. Zeno.[11] Most important and accurate drawings of the façade and interior were published by Knight in 1843.[12] Knight's engraving of the interior is

[1] *Storia d'Italia*, 601 f. [2] 60, 90, 165. [3] II, 206 f.; III, 114, 193-195, 224.

[4] Taf. LXXVII. [5] 109. [6] III, 125.

[7] MS. 1002, Fasc. XLVII. The envelope is entitled *S. Zeno Maggiore, Tav. 18.*

[8] *Ibid.*, Fasc. XVIII. Other drawings of S. Zeno are contained in the same manuscript, Fasc. XLVIII.

[9] 96. [10] 94 f., 250 f.

[11] Vol. V, Plate LXXIII, Fig. 13-14; Plate XXVIII, Fig. 24-28; Plate LXIV, Fig. 9; Plate LXIX, Fig. 26-27.

[12] II, Plates 5, 6, 7.

particularly notable. Where the present pontile stands there was in 1843 a broad flight of Renaissance steps extending quite across the nave and leading to the choir, which terminated in a barocco balustrade. On the stairway was placed the great statue of S. Zeno. The drawing shows no sign of the statues of the apostles, nor of the crypt spandrels. In 1843 the latter were doubtless still hidden beneath the barocco stairway. The bronze doors were illustrated by Gailhabaud.[13]

As the most important mediæval monument of the city, S. Zeno has naturally drawn the attention of all the Veronese historians. Of especial importance are the studies of Biancolini[14] and Maffei.[15] Venturi[16] published certain of Cristofori's drawings. Panvinio has preserved important notices which would otherwise have been lost. The description of the abbey of S. Zeno, written by Rosa in 1810, is of value.

II. S. Zeno is believed to have died in the last quarter of the IV century. In his life written, it is believed, in the VIII century, is the following passage: "S. Zeno was accustomed to sit in a monastery in a secluded part of the city of Verona . . . He gave up his holy soul to his Creator on the twelfth day of April in the year 301 (*sic*), . . . and was buried not far from the city in the spot where he had been accustomed to sacrifice to God. . . . Religious men, kinsmen of Gallienus, mindful of the fact that the saint had cast out a devil from the daughter of the emperor, erected a church over the spot where his precious body rested."[17]

It has been believed by some historians that the church of S. Zeno was in early times the cathedral of Verona, because the bishopric is often referred to in early documents under the title of the saint. This evidence, however, is not conclusive, because S. Zeno, patron of the city, might well have given his name to the cathedral even were the episcopal seat in another basilica. Furthermore there is good reason to believe that the cathedral remained at S. Stefano until it was translated to S. Maria Matricolare in the VIII century.[18]

The primitive oratory which was erected over the tomb of the saint immediately after his death according to the not over-trustworthy *Vita*, was replaced by a larger church in the time of the bishop S. Petronio, who is believed by Maffei[19] to have lived in the VI century. Reference to this

[13] Atlas, no plate number, and Studies, II, no page number.

[14] I, 26-42; IV, 829; V, 57-70.

[15] *Compendio*, 43. [16] I, 187.

[17] [Sanctus Zeno] erat enim sedens in Monasterio in secretiori parte oppidi Veronensis . . . mox sanctam animam Creatori suo reddidit, pridie idus Aprilis, anno Domini trecentesimo primo. . . . sepelientes non longe ab urbe, ubi Deo feliciter sacrificare consueverat. . . . Sed ex Gallieni genere religiosi viri, memores consanguineæ a Dæmonio liberatæ, eo loco, ubi tanta margarita quieverat, Templum construxit. (*Vita beatissimi Zenonis*, ed. Maffei, *Istor. Dip.*, 322).

[18] Biancolini, IV, 829. [19] *Oss. Lett.*, VI, 230-234.

construction is made in a sermon of S. Petronio found by Maffei in a codex which, he confesses, is of no great antiquity, but which was presumably copied from an earlier one.[20]

The existence of the church of S. Zeno in the VI century is recorded in connection with the famous miracle said to have there taken place in 589, and described by Gregory the Great. "In the time of King Autari (584-590), in the city of Verona, the waters of the Adige rose in flood and came about the church of S. Zeno, the patriarch and martyr. But although the doors of this church were open, the water did not enter into the building; yet it mounted little by little until it covered the clearstory windows."[21] This miracle is also mentioned by Paolo Diacono, who speaks of it in connection with events of the the time of the emperor Maurizio (584-602) and of Childebert, king of the Franks (575-596).[22] It is also referred to in the life of the saint.[23]

According to a document which is, however, suspected with good reason of being false, a monastery existed at S. Zeno as early as 743.[24] In a will of 774, the basilica of S. Zeno is mentioned, but no reference is made to a monastery.[25]

In the life of the saint we read: "The body of S. Zeno was translated at the time when Rotaldo, a man of remarkable personal attainments, was bishop of Verona, and Pepin, son of Charlemagne, was king of Italy (781-809). This Pepin had been baptized by Pope Hadrian. The king . . . was in the habit of talking frequently with the bishop, whom he held dear. One

[20] Sermo S. Petronii Episcopi Veronensis in natale S. Zenonis.

. . . Hæc fratres carissimi dicenda crederim, eo scilicet quod, adnitente potentia Salvatoris altissimi, cessantibus malorum procellis, quiete iam reddita, & libertatis candore jam fruimur, & splendorem licet venerabilium renovare templorum. Probat hoc ædis istius ampliata sublimitas, quæ dum sacratissimum Confessorem gremio sustinet, flagrantia suavitatis longe lateque dispergitur: nescit enim magnitudo virtutum angustis finibus occupari; penetrat etiam terminos orbis extremi. . . . Sic egregius Christi Pontifex Zeno signorum virtutibus approbatus, quod in sacerdotio gessit, multiplicat in sepulcro. Procedunt siquidem ab ipso funere variæ sanitates, & cui de funere locus est, vivificat tabidos, medetur infirmis. (Ed. Maffei, *Oss. Lett.*, VI, 230-234).

[21] *τότε οὖν καὶ ἐν Βερώνῃ τῇ πόλει Ὀσάτεσις ποταμὸς ὑπερηύξησε, καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Ζήνωνος ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ μάρτυρος ἔφθασε. Τῶν δὲ θυρῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνεῳγμένων οὐσῶν, τὸ ὕδωρ οὐδαμῶς εν αὐτῇ εἰσῆλθε, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ αὐξάνον, μέχρι τῶν θυρίδων ἀνῆλθεν, αἵτινες πλησίον τοῦ κεράμου ὑπῆρχον.* (Sancti Gregorii Magni, *Dialogorum*, Liber III, Cap. XIX, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVII, 268).

[22] Eo tempore fuit aquæ diluvium in finibus Venetiarum & Liguriæ. . . . Destrueta sunt itera, dissipatæ sunt viæ, tantumque Atesis fluvius tunc excrevit, ut circa Basilicam Beati Zenonis martyris, quæ extra Veronensis urbis muros sita est, usque ad superiores fenestras aqua pertingeret, licet Beatus Gregorius post Papa scripsit, in eandem Basilicam aquam minimè introisse. (Paolo Diacono, *De Gest. Long.*, III, 23, ed. Muratori, I, pt. I, p. 447).

[23] *Loc. cit.*, 329. [24] Biancolini, V, 57.

[25] This text is cited above, under Bonate, Vol. II, p. 162.

day they entered the church of S. Zeno together . . . and they rationally and rightly observed that the great treasure of the body of the saint was more humbly placed than it should be, and they determined to enlarge the basilica and make the tomb of the saint more worthy and more imposing. They therefore built the church and constructed beneath it a dim crypt supported on columns and paved with stones. Here they raised a lofty structure of polished stones which they appointed as a tomb for the holy body."[26] It is very probable that Pepin not only reconstructed the church, but also founded the monastery. Panvinio states that such was the case, and cites as proof ancient documents of the monastery which he claims to have seen.[27] At all events, that the monastery was in existence in 833 is proved by a diploma of that date, published by Muratori.[28]

According to the epitaph of the archdeacon Pacifico,[29] that extraordinary man, among his many other activities, worked upon the restoration or adornment of the basilica of S. Zeno. There can be no doubt that it was upon the church reconstructed by Pepin that Pacifico worked, since he was thirty years old when Pepin died in 809. It might easily be that the works of reconstruction undertaken by Pepin continued some time after his death, and even after the translation of the body of the saint into the new crypt.

About the year 900 the church of S. Zeno was sacked by the Hungarians. This is recorded in a chronicle of Verona of the late XV century, obviously derived from an earlier source. This chronicle,[30] which assigns the disaster

[26] . . . translatio acta est, cum Rotaldus, vir attributis personæ præstantissimus, pastoralem curam Veronæ gerebat, et Pipinus Rex Caroli Magni filius, quem Adrianus Papa baptizavit, Regnum Italicum regebat. Rex vero . . . cum Episcopo sibi dilecto frequens colloquium habebat: qui dum quadam die pariter S. Zenonis ædem ingrederentur . . . rationabiliter, et digne proposuerunt, ut magnum thesaurum humilius, quam oporteret, positum, decentius, et sublimius locarent, et Ecclesiæ angustiam dilatarent. Ædificantes ergo Ecclesiam, antrum opacum, columnis subnixum, et lapidibus pavimentatum construxerunt; ubi eminentem aggerem ex politis marmoribus ediderunt, quem sacrosancti tumulo corporis devoverunt. (*Op. cit.*, 330).

[27] Hic [Pipinus], vt ex vetustissimis eiusdem cœnobij monumentis liquet, rogatu Episcopi nostri Rotaldi, S. Martyri Zenoni vrbis nostræ patrono, nobilissimam illam extruxit cũ monasterio Basilicam (130).

[28] A. I. M. A., ed. A., II, 18.

[29] This has been studied above in connection with the cathedral, p. 468.

[30] Anno noningentesimo quinquagesimo primo. Dum Vngarorum gens crudelissima Veronam incendissent in suburbijs. Nam combusserunt ipsi ecclesias sancti Zenonis maioris Verone, Et sancti Proculi, sancti Stephani et sancti Nazarij et Celsi, Et dnus abbas et monachi monasterij dicti sancti Zenonis timentes ne corpus sacrum sancti Zenonis confessoris atque pontificis Verone raperetur, furtiue tulerunt corpus dicti sancti Zenonis cum calice vno et cruce vna aurea tota, cum gemmis ornata, precij et valoris, Que rex Pepinus detulerat ipsi Monasterio, Et portauerunt ad ecclesiam beati Marie Virginis matricularis, Et sepelierunt illud in secretario ipsins ecclesie etc. Qui obiit anno dni C. C. Co. Jo. Die 12 aprili. (Ed. Cipolla, *Chronica Quaedam Veronensia*, 483).

to the year 951, is evidently the source from which is derived the account of Panvinio.[31] The date 951 is clearly erroneous, and Cipolla believes that the destruction of S. Zeno by the Hungarians took place in 899 instead of 951, for in 899 it is known that the Hungarians passed by Verona. They did not take the city but only ravaged the suburbs. Hence, if Cipolla's conjecture be correct, the part of the text relating to the destruction of the church of SS. Nazaro e Celso must be erroneous. Confirmation is lent to Cipolla's conjectured emendation by the fact that Moscardo[32] states that he saw a document which mentioned that in 920 the body of S. Zeno had been returned to his church after having been transferred to the cathedral for awhile to protect it against the Hungarians. In 912 the cathedral itself was burned by the Hungarians, but the body of the saint must have escaped harm. It is probable that at S. Zeno, as in the case of the cathedral, the economic exhaustion which followed the Hungarian invasion led to a cheap and unadorned edifice being erected in place of the more sumptuous building destroyed. Certain it is that in 968, or forty-eight years after the body of S. Zeno had been returned to the abbey, the bishop Raterio was engaged in rebuilding the church. Raterio was bishop, with interruptions, from 932 to 968, according to Biancolini.[33] In the fall of 968 he wrote an apology to defend himself against various accusations made by his enemies. One of these attacks appears to have taken the form of the criticism that he applied money which he should have given to the poor to rebuilding or, better, to finishing (the reading *perficere* of the Ballerini is to be preferred to that of *reficere* of the other editions)[34] the basilica of S. Zeno. To defend himself against these charges, he states that when the emperor went away from Verona he confided to him a certain sum of money with which to finish that church. The sojourn of the emperor at Verona had entailed upon the bishop such expenses that he had no revenues left with which to give alms to the poor, even if he had desisted from the work of reconstructing the church, which he considered a sacred trust. Who can believe that money given by the emperor should have been expended otherwise than as the emperor himself had directed? The bishop intimates that if some one who really knew the true spirit of the charity of St. Gregory would weigh and prove his actions,

[31] Sub hoc Episcopo [Adelberto c. 926] occiso nefarie Rege & Imperatore Berengario Rodulphoque Burgundiorum rege absente sæuissima Hungarorum gens in Italiam à Berengario contra hostes suos euocata Salardo duce totam Italiam consumpsit, Veronamq; magno impetu inuasit, eiusque suburbijs ferro flammaque consumptis, in his basilicas Diuorum Zenonis, Proculi, Stephani, Nazarij, & Celsi incendio consumpsit. In qua trepidatione Abbas Diui Zenonis & Monachi cum eo corpus eiusdem Diui penes se conditum, quod ne furto subriperetur magnopere metuerunt . . . in ædem Diuæ Mariæ maioris in eius sacrario asseruanda deportarunt. Verum Veronæ rebus aliquot post annis in tranquillo iam constitutis, contra Canonicorum voluntatem in priorem Basilicam sunt reportata (138).

[32] 100. [33] V, (2), 263-264. [34] Caliari, 13.

he would find that his accusers who preferred the poor to the necessity of restoring the basilica, in reality denied alms to God. Moreover, the bishop implies, that money which is expended in constructing or restoring or even in adorning a church is in reality given to the poor.[35]

In 1095 the existing campanile was begun by the abbot Alberico (1045-1067), as is known from the following inscription sculptured on its face: "In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1045, the thirteenth indiction, the seventh year of the emperor Enrico and the ninth of Valterio, bishop of Verona, the abbot Alberico, in the first year of his consecration, with the help of his brethren began this tower in honour of God and of S. Zeno."[36] There is possibly an allusion to the works in progress on the church in the preamble of a donation of the emperor Enrico III of 1046,[37] and Simeoni refers to this time certain miracles said to have taken place while the church of S. Zeno was in construction.[38]

The work of Alberico was not limited to the construction of the campanile. In the south wall of the cloister is an inscription to the following effect: "The bones of the abbots are buried in one tomb in order that those who were equals in life may have an equal resting place. Here shall repose the present and all future abbots. Here shall God raise them to life as He doth the seeds of his fields. O Alberico, thy life's work finished, thou attainest better things. Good deeds done here below give the highest cloister of Heaven. May the brethren devoutly celebrate the anniversaries of the death of the abbots in

[35] Cum gloriosissimus hinc abiisse disposuisset Augustus, credidit fidei meæ quiddam argenti, ex quo perficere deberem basilicam sancti Zenonis, peculiaris, ut scitur, nostri patroni, postquam scilicet omnia, de quibus habueram victitare (ne dum superfuisset, unde, ut suadetis, aliquas, isto relicto, qui commissus meæ est fidei, opere, possem eleemosynas facere) ejus obligaverat non dico potentia, nego violentia, sed certe præsentia. . . . quis valeat credere, ut pecunia ab illo credita, cui est tam sancte juratum, alio debuerit expendi, quam præcepisse placuit illi? . . . O vero utinam qui non amplius, saltem ut ego, modos a beato Gregorio præfixos erogandi cognosceret, approbaret, diligeret illos; inveniret procul dubio & talibus, quos Domini nostri basilicam restruendi necessitati præfertis, eleemosynam divinitus omnino negari. . . . Sed prudentissime, rogo, edicas amice, impensæ quæ construendis vel restruendis, ne dico ornandis conferuntur ecclesiis non tibi videntur erogari pauperibus ? (Ratherii episcopi Veronensis, *Liber Apologeticus,* § 2-3, ed. Pietro e Gerolamo Ballerini [= Petrus et Hieronymus Ballerini]).

[36] ANNO INCARNAT DN̄I N̄RI IHV X̄PI MILL XLV IN
DIC̄ XIII ANNO S[E]PTIMO DOMNI HEINRICI IMPERATORIS
NONO VERO ANNO [D]OMNI VVALTHERII PONTIFICIS. AD HO
NOREM DEI ET S[T]I ZENONIS DOMNVS ALBERICVS ABB AN
NO PRIMO SVE CONSECRATIONIS HANC TVRRIM CVM FRA
TRIBVS SVI[S] INCHOAVIT

[37] in omnibus maxime circa Ecclesiastica beneficia sincere veritatis inviolabiliter teneamus justitiam, primumque ad Ecclesiastice dignitatis decorem pertinet, etc. (Biancolini, V, 81).

[38] 13.

order that the patriarch Abraham may open his loving bosom to those who lie in this tomb."[39]

Seventy-eight years later the cloister was restored, as we learn from the following inscription: "Good King Christ who art the giver of all blessings, receive a poor gift begotten of Thy gifts. This the priest Gaudio offers reverently to Thee, dear Father, and to the venerable confessor Zeno. He restored the beautiful cloister (building in it a sepulchre), ornamented the cloister with frescos, and joyfully consecrated it with overflowing oil that the dark shades of night might be dispelled forever. May whoever removes this be damned eternally like Judas and deprived forever of the Heavenly Kingdom. The year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1123, the first Indiction."[40]

Below this inscription is another one painted and much damaged, but which evidently recorded the same facts. "In the year of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ II . . . . . the priest Gaudio for the benefit of his soul caused this work to be made together with the sepulchre, and he also caused the cloister to be painted and restored."[41]

[39] ✠ OSSA SEPVLTVRA PATRV CDVNTVR IN VNA
VT DOMINIS PARIBVS MANSIO SIT PARILIS
HIC QVOQVE MANSVRVS PSENS HERVS ATQVE FVTVRVS
HIC ANIMABIT EOS CEV SVA GRANA THEOS
ALBERICE FACIS [*sic* = factis] CAPIES MELIORA PATRATIS
DANT BENE FACTA SOLI CLAVSTRA SVPERNA POLI
EXSEQVIAS PATRV REPETAT DEVOTIO FRATRV
VT PATRIARCHA SINV PANDAT IN ARCE PIVM

[40] ✠ REX BONE CVNCTOR[VM] DATORESQ[VE] XPE BONORV.
SVME TVO PARVV MVN' DE MVNERE PARTV.
GAVDIO QD PSTAT TI PBR ALMA POTESTAS.
ET CFESSORI REVERENDO RITE ZENONI.
RESTAVRAT PVLCHRV CLAVSTRV PARAT IN SEPVLCHRV.
PINGIT ET EXVLTANS OLEV PBETQ: REDVNDANS.
VT NOCTIS TETRAS PELLAT P[ER] SECLA TENEBRAS.
SVBTRAHET HOC Q[VI]SQ[VI]S SIT IVDE CIMINE TRISTIS.
COPARET ETERNO CAREAT REGNOQ; SVP[ER]NO.
✠ ANNO DNICE ICN. M. C. XXIII. INDICCIONE. I

[41] ANNO AB ICN . . . . .
DNI NTI IHV XPI MCX . . . . .
PB GAVDIVS P AE SVE REMEDI:
HIC OPS CV S[V]BIECTO SEPVL.
CHRO FIERI ET SVP . . . . .
GI CLAVSTRVQ' RESTAVRA

The church was enlarged and rebuilt in 1138. This and other important information is derived from a long and important inscription on the exterior of the southern wall: "In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1178, the eleventh Indiction, in the times of the pope Alexander III, the emperor Federico, and Ognibene, bishop of Verona, Lord Gerardo, by the grace of God venerable abbot of the abbey of S. Zeno, amongst many other benefits which he conferred upon the monastery, caused the campanile of this church to be suitably ornamented and a new belfry to be added above the old belfry, and the spire to be wonderfully built as is now manifest to all. In this work he was aided by his brethren and by Salomone and Rainaldo, masari of the *fabbrica* of this church and by other clerics. The work was executed by the master Martino at the expense of more than five hundred pounds. In the same year peace was made between the emperor and the Church (*sic*). This campanile had been restored fifty-eight years before and the church had been renovated and enlarged forty years before. At this time there was a great famine in almost all Lombardy," etc.[42]

This inscription proves that the campanile begun in 1045 was restored

RI FECIT M HO IOCOBA
DA. . OLIVAS OPTVLIT V. . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . CL ID CIOP
. . . . . SOLL

[42] ANNO DNICE I[NCAR]NACIONIS. M.CLXXVIII. INDICCIONE. XI.
TPRIBVS DNI ALEXANDRI PP III. ATQ
DNI FRIDERICI IMPRIS ET DNI OEBONI VERON EPI DNS GIRARDVS
DI GRA VENERABILIS ABB MONAS
TERII SCI ZENONIS INT ALIA PLIMA QVE CONTVLIT MONASTERIO
BENEFICIA. EIVSDE
ECCLE CAPANILE DECENT EXORNARI ET BALCONES NOVOS SVP[ER]
BALCONES VETERES
ELEVARI DEIN CAPITELLVM MIRABILITER CSTRVCTV VT CVNCTIS
NC MANIFESTE APPA
RET CV SVIS FRIB' FIERI FEC COADIVVANTIBVS SALOMONE ATQVE
RAINALDO EIVSDEM OPERIS
MASSARIIS. ALIISQ[VE] RELIGIOSIS VIRIS QVOD OPVS A MAGISTRO
MARTINO FACTV QVINGETIS
ET EO APLIVS CSTIT LIBRIS EOQ[VE] ANNO PAX INT ECCL[ESI]A
ET IMPREM E REFORMATA.
A RESTAVRATIOE VERO IPIVS CAPANIL' CFLVXERAT ANI LVIII A
RENOVATIONE AVT ET ECCLE AVGMTATIONE XL:
QVO ETIA TPE MAXIMA PENVRIA FRVGV TOTA FERE
ITALIA ANGERAT ITA VT VERONE MINALE MILICE XII
MILII XVIII SILIGINIS XX FRVMTI XXII SOLIDIS VENDE RETVR

in 1120, that the church was restored and enlarged in 1138,[43] and that the upper belfry and the cone of the campanile were added in 1178.

Biancolini saw in the campanile a bell which bore the inscription: "In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1149 in the reign of the emperor Corrado, the priest Aldo."[44] This bell is no longer in existence, having been melted down in 1755, but the inscription preserved by Biancolini serves to confirm the other documentary evidence that the tower was completed in the early part of the XII century.

It is notable that the abbot Gerardo (or Gherardo) is the same who is referred to by Dante[45] as being punished in Purgatory for sloth.

In 1194 the monks of S. Zeno arranged that the congregation of Ponte Pietro should attend to the administration of baptism in the church.[46]

It is probable that in consequence of this agreement the baptismal font was remade by the same master-builder, Brioloto, who erected the rose-window and the Wheel of Fortune of the façade. The fact that the rose-window is not mentioned in the inscription of 1178 proves that it was executed after this date. That it was the work of Brioloto is proved by an exceedingly difficult inscription now in the interior of the church in the south wall near the font,[47] although according to Cicognara[48] in his time this inscription was *incastrata nel muro esterno della chiesa*. The right-hand edge of the stone has unfortunately been broken off, but Simeoni has recognized that the inscription was originally metrical, and that the punctuation marks denote the ends of the lines. Although a restoration of the lost parts such as Simeoni has attempted is imprudent, and the translation of the stone as a whole remains quite doubtful, enough is extant to leave no doubt that Brioloto built the rose-window. Simeoni has found and published numerous other documents which throw considerable

[43] Cipolla interprets, I think correctly, the inscription to mean that the restoration was finished in 1138.

[44] ✠ANNO AB INCARNATIOE DNI. M. C. QVADRAGESIMO NONO. RENT CRD IP[ER]AT ALDO PBR (Biancolini, I, 26-31).

[45] *Purg.*, XVIII, 18.

[46] Die secundo exeunte Martio. . . . Ita quod Congregatio pro supra scripta parte debeat facere Baptismum apud Sanctum Zenonem, & omnia quæ fuerint necessaria Baptismo. . . . Anno Dni nostri Jesu Christi millesimo C. nonagesimo quarto, Indictione duodecima. (Biancolini, IV, 615-616).

[47] QVISQ BRIOLOTV LAVDET QVIA DONA MERETVR . . . . .
SVBLIMIS HABET ARTIFICE COMENDAT OPTA RITE POLITV . . . . .
SV NOTAT EE PERITV. HIC FORTVNE FECIT ROTAM SI E . . . . .
CVI' PRECOR TENE NOTAM. ET VERONE PREMIT BALNEVM . . . . .
LAPIDEVM IPSE DESIGNAVIT. VNDE TVRBA FORTITER . . . . .
POSSIDEAT PRECIB' IVSTORV REGNA BEATA. IN QVIBVS V . . . . .
PARATA ISTE VENERENDVS HO NIMIVM QVEM FAMA
DECORAT. . . . . .
QVIA LVCIS IN EDE LABORAT.

[48] III, 125.

light upon the master-builder, and the interpretation of the inscription. The name of Brioloto is found in documents of 1189, 1214, 1215 and 1226.[49] The master died between 1220 and 1226. Since he could not have begun work at S. Zeno before 1178, the rose-window must have been executed between 1178 and 1226, and it is probable that it was finished before 1212, since in this year the monks applied themselves to the reconstruction of the monastery, which they would hardly have done if the church had not already been completed.[50] The documents speak frequently of a house of Brioloto, of a tower and of a *balneum*. This *balneum*, whatever it may have been, was situated at Beverara.[51] The *balneum* and house were given by Brioloto to S. Zeno, probably in the course of some of the complicated financial transactions which passed between the master-builder and the monastery. The documents seem to make it clear that it can not possibly be the baptismal font of either S. Zeno or S. Giovanni in Fonte, although both of these works appear, from internal evidence, to be by the hand of Brioloto.

In 1242 the cone of the campanile was struck by lightning and had in consequence to be rebuilt.[52] The choir was rebuilt between 1386 and 1398.[53] In 1421 the abbey was given in commendam, and was inhabited by German monks who remained until 1630.[54] In 1635 the monastery was turned over to Vallombrosan monks.

"In the year 1446 in the month of January, the vault of the crypt of S. Zeno was begun."[55] The chapel of the Virgin was erected in 1534,[56] and in 1782 the choir was restored.[57]

In the third quarter of the XIX century the baroceo stairway leading to the choir was removed. At this period came to light the Romanesque sculptures which now adorn the spandrels of the portal. The old barocco railing was torn down, and replaced by a modern railing of pseudo-mediæval style, and on this were placed the modern statues, so skilfully made to imitate XII century models that they have deceived all the art critics who have studied them, including Simeoni and Venturi. The pilaster strips which have been added in the pediment of the façade on top of the graffiti of the Last Judgment

[49] Simeoni, 8-10. [50] Inscription cited by Simeoni, 18.

[51] unius pecie de terra cum turri ubi est balneum quod fuit suprascripti Briioloti quod iacet a Bevraria, etc. (Simeoni, 26, document of April 8, 1226).

. . . de facto domus et balneo de hora Bevrarie (*Ibid.*, document of January 1, 1226).

Ita quod hec datio non teneatur contra Briolotum nec eius heredes neque fideiussores nisi tantum pro defensione et ad defensionem domus et balnei quem et quam ipse Briolotus dederat et obtulerat sancto Zenoni et altari sancto Zenoni. (*Ibid.*, 21, document of December 11, 1214.)

[52] Simeoni, 48. [53] *Ibid.*, 34. [54] Biancolini, V, 60-65.

[55] L'anno 1446 del mese de Zenar fu comenzà la Volta de soto a lo altare grande de San Zen. (*Chronica da Zagata*, ed. Biancolini, II, 81).

[56] Biancolini, I, 60. [57] Orti Manara, 20.

were not, as has been stated, added in this restoration, since they appear clearly in drawings of the early part of the XIX century. They must be the result of clumsy alterations executed in the XVIII century.

III. The church consists of a nave ten bays long, two side aisles terminating in absidioles, a choir of a single bay, and an apse (Plate 226, Fig. 3). The supports consist either of compound piers or of columns (Plate 226, Fig. 1, 2) placed for the most part in regular alternation, though in the western part of the nave two pairs of columns are placed in juxtaposition. From the compound piers rises a system consisting of a single shaft engaged on a pilaster strip. In the two westernmost alternate piers this supports a transverse arch (Plate 226, Fig. 1), but in the others it is continued along the wall, although interrupted by a capital placed at the level of the springing of the arch (Plate 226, Fig. 3). To the west of the church is a sort of narthex separated from the nave by another transverse arch. This is supported, not on a compound, but on a simple pier.

With the exception of the choir of the XIV century, the edifice is entirely roofed in wood (Plate 226, Fig. 3). The crypt, however, is covered with groin vaults remade, as has been seen, in 1446 (Plate 227, Fig. 2). The exterior walls are reinforced by triangular buttresses placed opposite the heavier piers (Plate 224, Fig. 1; Plate 225, Fig. 1).

The masonry of the edifice deserves careful study, since it offers the surest guide to the chronology of the church. The lower part of the southern wall of the choir and the lower part of the eastern end of the south side aisle are constructed of brick, and are evidently earlier than the rest of the building. The four western bays of the nave internally and externally are constructed up to about the level of the clearstory windows of solid ashlar, in which there is no admixture of bricks (Plate 226, Fig. 3; Plate 224, Fig. 1). Between these two parts and the remainder of the nave and side aisles there is a marked difference in the character of the masonry that can be explained only by supposing that the construction was interrupted at this point, for the eastern portions of the nave are built of alternate layers of stone and of brick. The façade, on the other hand, is constructed entirely of ashlar (Plate 224, Fig. 1).

To the south of the church are the beautiful cloisters (Plate 225, Fig. 1; Plate 234, Fig. 2, 4) formed of arcades of coupled columns supporting round or pointed arches. To the north rises the majestic campanile (Plate 225, Fig. 3), constructed in stone and brick laid in alternate bands with stone quoins. It has a belfry formed by a triforium in each face, surmounting the old belfry of similar design.

IV. The capitals of the interior are either uncarved, or of Corinthian type, or decorated with grotesques (Plate 226, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 228, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5). The execution is skilful in the highest degree, and it would be difficult to find classic examples more harmoniously designed or sculptured

with greater technical excellence. The crypt (Plate 227, Fig. 2) contains some ancient capitals, others apparently pilfered from a church of the XI century and still others made for their present position. The latter are imitated from classic, Byzantine or Lombard models, and are executed with a fineness of technique and a love of sumptuousness that make one think of the gorgeousness and heartlessness of the barocco style. In the cloister a Byzantine capital of the VI century has been placed in the wall, and in the so-called church of S. Benedetto is another precisely like it (Plate 227, Fig. 1), together with a rectangular Byzantine column with stilt-block.[58]

In one of the altars of the southern side aisle are employed as second-hand material columns supported on animals symbolical of the Evangelists Mark and Luke[59] (Plate 227, Fig. 3). It is not known whence these come, but they may have formed part of the XII century ambo.

The archivolts of the main arcade are in two unmoulded orders (Plate 226, Fig. 3). The façade (Plate 224, Fig. 1) is decorated by richly ornamented arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips, by saw-tooth mouldings, and other similar motives. The side-aisle walls (Plate 224, Fig. 1) are surmounted by a cornice with richly ornamented arched corbel-tables and a saw tooth, the clearstory walls by a similar cornice. In the western bays of the south aisle are engaged a series of arches in two orders (Plate 224, Fig. 1). These are brusquely interrupted at precisely the point where occurs the break in the masonry already described.

S. Zeno is of especial interest for its sculptures, which must be considered as ranking among the most important examples of Lombard plastic art. The porch which precedes the central portal is the work of Nicolò. The signature of the artist,[60] placed on the northern lion, has been so much weathered by time that the name is no longer legible, but in the lunette is the full signature:

✠ARTIFICEM GNARVM QVI SCVLPSERIT HEC NICOLAVM✠
OMNES LAVDEMVS CRISTVM. DNM Q ROGEMVS✠
CELORV REGNVM SIBI DONET VT IPSE SVP[ER]NV

[58] In a manuscript of the Biblioteca Comunale at Verona, No. 1002, Fasc. XXI, I find the following account of an inscription discovered in the church of S. Benedetto in 1723:

✠BONEFACTVS. MVSIVS. BONE
MEMORIÆ. MONACVHS SCI ZENO
NIS HOC OPVS. ECCLESIÆ SCI
BENEDICTI SVIS INPENSIS COSTRVE

Questa iscrizione fu ritrovata l'anno 1723 in un luogo sotterraneo detto la prigion de' Frati servi a un tempo per soglia della stessa poi riconosciuta dai monaci fatta colocare in sito allora visibile ma ora invisibile perche forse confusa nelle rovine del domolito monastero.

[59] These animals bear books with the inscriptions: (Luke) ✠INICIVM| EVG SEV| LVCAM and (Mark) INICIVM| EV[ANGELII S]EGV|DV MAR|CV. ECCE| MITTO| ANGELV| MEVM. (Marc., i, 1-2).

[60] SCULPSIT . . . . . S DOGMATE CLARUS

The archivolt (Plate 225, Fig. 2) is adorned with a series of rosettes and grotesques, ornaments characteristic of the style of this artist, and is supported by two caryatids. In the spandrels on either side are the figures of the two Johns. To the north is the Evangelist, beardless, with halo and bare feet, holding a book on which may be read: IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBVM. Near him is the inscription: "John, mounting like a bird to the stars, drinks the heavenly draught, tasting from the breast of Christ the secrets of the Master."[61] To the south is the Baptist, also with a halo and bare feet. He bears a scroll with the inscription: ECCE AGNVS DEI,[62] and above: "He heard, he saw, he preached, he baptized."[63] The keystone of the archivolt is sculptured with the Lamb of God, above which is the inscription: AGNVS HIC EST CVNCTI QVI TOLLIT CRIMINA MVNDI.[64] Under the pediment is a hand, the fingers of which are raised in benediction. On the disk about it is the inscription: "The hand of God blesses those who seek sacred things."[65]

On either side of the portal are a series of reliefs. Those to the south (Plate 230, Fig. 2) are the work of the sculptor Nicolò, as is known from his signature inscribed in the square in which is depicted the creation of Adam. "Thou canst see the skill of Nicolò from these examples of his work."[66] The reliefs, conforming to mediæval custom, begin at the bottom. In the first panel is depicted (Plate 234, Fig. 3) the creation of the animals. The haloed figure of the Deity is at the left. To the right are, above, birds, below, quadrupeds. The inscription tells us: "Here the Creator of the universe brings into being every race of animal."[67] The next panel (Plate 234, Fig. 3) shows the creation of Adam (Plate 234, Fig. 3). The Lord, a figure full of dignity, stands to the right, His hand raised as if in benediction. Adam supports his chin on his right hand, and seems immersed in sleep. The background of the panel is formed by a sort of rinceau, perhaps intended to indicate the luxuriant vegetation of the Garden of Eden. The figure of Adam is distorted, and the shortcomings of anatomy make it evident that the sculptor was little skilled in handling the nude. Above is the inscription: "Adam was created on the sixth day in order that he might be king of all things."[68] Then follows (Plate 230, Fig. 2) the creation of Eve, whom the Deity draws forth from the side of the sleeping Adam: "The Lord draws forth a rib and a

61 ASTRA PETENS ALES BIBIT ALTA| FLVENTA IOHS
PECTORE DE| XPI GUSTANS ARCHANA MAGISTRI

62 Joan., i, 29.

63 SENSIT PR[EDIX]IT MONSTRAVIT| GVRGITE TINXIT

64 Joan., i, 29.

65 DEXTRA DEI GENTES BENEDICAT SACRA PETENTES

66 HIC EXEPLA TRAI POSSVT LADS NICOLAI

67 FACTOR T̄ERRARV GEN̄VS HIC CREAT OM̄E FERARVM

68 VT S̄IT REX RERV DEDIT ADE SXT̄A DERVM

woman is created."[69] The nude figure of Adam in this relief is much more skilfully executed than in the preceding panels. Next (Plate 230, Fig. 2) is depicted the sin of Adam and Eve, who stand on either side of the tree about which coils the serpent: "The serpent gives to Eve, Eve gives to her husband. The man eats, thereby breaking the dire command of God."[70] After this is shown (Plate 230, Fig. 2) the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise: "The law is given, and is broken. Sin brings punishment."[71] Finally (Plate 230, Fig. 2) is shown Eve spinning and nursing two children, while Adam hews wood. "Oh, ye who enter, I bewail the sin of cruel Eve who has brought woe for all our lives upon you and me!"[72] These reliefs are surmounted by two lunettes filled with grotesque sculptures representing a centaur, a beast playing the harp, and an indecent subject. Below are two other panels of great interest (Plate 229, Fig. 2). In one, Theodoric, blowing a horn, rides a horse at full gallop. The figure of the king is almost entirely nude, except for a light garment which flows from his shoulder. In the adjoining panel is seen a stag pursued by two dogs, one of whom leaps on the back of the deer. At the extreme right stands the leering figure of the devil, to indicate the end to which the mad chase leads. These sculptures evidently illustrate the famous legend of Theodoric, popular in Germany and Italy, and which has inspired the pen of Carducci. The king was, according to the legend, the son of the Devil, and sent messengers to his sire asking for a horse and hounds as a gift. These were sent by the Devil, and happened to arrive while the king was taking a bath. Too impatient to wait even to clothe himself, the king sprang naked on his horse, and started on a wild hunt, from which he never returned.[73] The panels are accompanied by the following inscriptions: "O foolish king! he demands a gift from Hell. Soon a horse arrives which the wicked Devil sent. The king comes out naked from the water and rides off to Hell never to return." "Hell gives to the king a white horse, a stag and a dog."[74] Between these two plaques are reliefs representing a seated person playing a harp and another grotesque subject (Plate 229, Fig. 2). On the opposite

[69] COSTA FVRTVR DS VN VIRAGO CREATVR

[70] IDRA DAT EVA VIRO, VIR MORDET FEDERE DIRO

[71] LEX DATVR OFFENDITVR PENAS P[RO] CRIMINE PENDIT

[72] CONQVERORINTRANTES DE SEVE FRAVDIBVS EVE QVE MI QVE VOBIS INFLIXIT PERPETVO VIVIS

[73] The literary sources of these sculptures have been studied by Cipolla. See above, Vol. I.

[74] O REGEM STVLTV PETIT INFERNALE TRIBVTV
MOXQ PARATVR EQVVS QVE MISIT DEMON INIQVVS
EXIT AQVA NVDVS PE|TIT INFERA NON REDITV|RVS.

NISVS EQVVS CERVVS CANIS HVIC| DATVR HOS DAT AVF. R N'

side of the doorway are reliefs (Plate 230, Fig. 1) symmetrically placed, works of the sculptor Guglielmo, whose signature may be read on the string-course above: "Thou who readest these things, pray to the Son of loving Mary that he may grant eternal salvation to Guglielmo who made these sculptures. Let all who enter, help this mortal."[75] The panels of Guglielmo relate the redemption, as those of Nicolò relate the fall, of man. Beginning at the bottom and to the right we have: (1) The Annunciation—AVE MARIA, the Visitation—MARIA ET ELISABET, the Nativity—PREZEPIVM, JOZEEPH (Plate 230, Fig. 3); (2) the angel and the shepherds—PASTORES, Herod seated on a throne receiving the three Magi (Plate 230, Fig. 1); (3) the Adoration of the Magi—ECE VENIVNT AD DNM (Plate 230, Fig. 1); (4) the Presentation in the Temple—IHS OFETVR, and the angel who warns Joseph to fly to Egypt—TOLLE PUERVM; (5) the Flight into Egypt—EGIPTVM; (6) the Baptism of Christ—BAPTISMVM XPI; (7) the Betrayal—XPI TRADITIO; (8) the Crucifixion, with Mary and John—IHS XPS CRVCIFIXVS. Below are represented two combats (Plate 229, Fig. 4), one between knights on horseback, the other between knights on foot. Scholars have laboured much, but without avail, to determine the subjects here represented. It is probable that they belong to the Arthurian cycle, since on the pilaster strips are represented two damsels for whom the knights may be supposed to be fighting. One stands erect, the other kneels at the foot of a cliff on top of which is a winged figure, apparently secured by chains. On the neighbouring buttress is inlaid a relief of a noble lady, holding two falcons on her left wrist (Plate 230, Fig. 4). Above is the name MATALIANA. This is probably not, as has been supposed, the famous Countess Matilda who was a benefactress of the abbey, but the heroine of a now lost tale of the Round Table. In the tympanum of the portal (Plate 225, Fig. 2) is represented S. Zeno treading on the dragon, with his hand raised in benediction. To the right are the horsemen, to the left the infantry of the commune with their standards. The saint is identified by the inscription SCS ZENO, and about the tympanum is inscribed the legend: "The bishop gives to the people the standard a worthy defence. Zeno gives the banner with serene heart."[76] These reliefs are painted, but the colours were renewed in the XIV century. On the architrave below are a series of reliefs depicting the life of the saint. These are, beginning

[75] Q[VI] LEGIS ISTA [PIE] NATVM PLACATO MARIE
SALVET I ETERNV Q[VI] SCVLP[SE]RIT ISTA GVILLELMVM
INTRANTES CONCTI
[SV]CVRRANT HVIC PEREVNTI

[76] DAT PRESVL SIGNVM POPVLO MVNIMINE DIGNVM
VEXILLVM ZENO LARGITVR CORDE SERENO

at the left: (1) Zeno is sought by Gallienus (REX GALLIENVS ZENO QVERIT ANELVS); (2) he casts out the devil from the emperor's daughter; (3) the miracle of the fish which, stolen from Zeno by the messengers of Gallienus, could not be cooked (PISCES LEGATIS. TRES DAT BONITAS SVA GRATIS); (4) the saint while fishing miraculously saves a peasant who falls into the Adige with his cart and oxen, while the devil takes flight (ZENO PISCATVR. VIR STAT. DEMONQVE FVGATVR). These subjects are taken quite literally from the life of the saint.[77]

The architrave which runs from the columns to the main wall of the façade is decorated with reliefs depicting a cycle of the months. The first month is March, MARCIVS, represented as a wind-god with flaming hair, blowing two trumpets. APRILIS holds in his right hand a flower, in his left a budding branch. MAIVS is a knight on horse-back with shield and lance. JVNIVS gathers fruit. JVLIVS reaps; AVGVSTVS nails up a barrel; SEPTEMBER gathers and presses the grapes; OCTVBER gathers acorns, and is accompanied by hogs; NOVEMBER butchers a pork, to the left hangs another slaughtered hog; DECEMBER carries a fagot of wood; IANUARIVS warms himself at the fire; FEBRVARIVS trims the vine.

From the point of view of style we notice that in the sculptures of Nicolò and Guglielmo alike the pupils of the eyes are represented by means of bits of harder stone, inlaid. Guglielmo's composition is far inferior to that of Nicolò. His small, crowded figures are badly placed in the space they occupy. In all the sculptures the heads are too large for the bodies, but Nicolò shows an advance over his work at Piacenza in that at S. Zeno this fault is not so accentuated. The influence of Nicolò's sculptures at Piacenza upon the art of Guglielmo is evident in the general crowded effect, in the use of columns and niches to separate the different scenes, or even parts of the same scenes, and in the Japanese-like wavy lines used to indicate the lower folds of the drapery. The faces are stereotyped and have little expression. Precisely the same suggestion of cunning and duplicity—which is surely not intended—is given to Christ receiving baptism and to Joseph holding his head and cogitating upon the mystery of the Immaculate Conception. In the Visitation, Mary is distinguished from Elisabeth only by her shorter stature. The Virgin receives Gabriel's announcement with a look of stony contempt that might

[77] See above, Vol. I. See further, *Vita Beatissimi Zenonis*, ed. Maffei, *Istor Dip.*, 322. Cf. also:

> Qui [S. Zeno] Veronam predicando reduxit ad baptismum
> a malo spiritu sanavit Galieni filiam,
> boves cum homine mergentes reduxit a pelago.
> Et quidem multos liberavit ab hoste pestifero
> mortuum resuscitavit ereptum ex fluvio,
> idola multa destruxit per crebra ieiunia

(*Laudes Veronensis Civitatis*, ed. Duemmler, M. G. H., *Poetae Lat. M. A.*, I, 121).

well discourage a less intrepid spirit, and the angel himself seems to be in no pleasant humour. Peter cuts off the ear of the Jew conscientiously and methodically. Only in the Judas is the psychology of the character expressed on the face. His hypocrisy and priest-like smirk are well caught. The other Jews in this scene, however, become merely monkey-like and grotesque in the artist's effort to make them unattractive. If, however, the faces lack psychology, the meaning of the figures is eloquently expressed by the gestures and positions. Joseph, carrying his bag on a stick over his shoulder, is a delightful genre figure. Capital, also, is the ass of this same panel, whose head hangs low with fatigue as he plods faithfully along. It is an animal studied from the life, although the sculptor unintentionally turned him into a pacer by raising the two legs on the right side simultaneously. John's attitude of benediction as he baptizes Christ is full of dignity and majesty, and almost atones for the simpering, Venus-di-Medici attitude in which the Saviour receives the baptism. Admirably depicted is the sorrow of John, with his left hand on his ear, and the anguish of the Virgin in the scene of the crucifixion. The three panels of the Crucifixion, the Flight into Egypt and the Baptism in their more simple composition, larger and more dignified figures, resemble the works of Nicolò rather than the other sculptures of Guglielmo. The braided fringe of John's garment is quite the same as that of Nicolò's John in the spandrel. Guglielmo's draperies are always executed respectably, sometimes admirably. Superb is the sweep of the lower part of the dresses in the Visitation. In the Crucifixion, John's garment waves in the breeze in a classical manner that foreshadows strangely the sculptures at Castell'Arquato. The art of Nicolò is less architectural than that of Guglielmo. If Nicolò's sculptures are better in themselves, they are far less fitted for the place they have to occupy. He introduces at times patterns in his backgrounds as if to try to atone for the individual character of his work, but the device is a half-hearted one, and he remains a thorough Italian, unwilling to subordinate his plastic art to architectural requirements. Pleasantly varied, but all superb, are the three figures in the three scenes of the Creation. Few mediæval sculptors have succeeded in giving to the Deity so worthy a form. Magnificent, too, is the sweep of Theodoric's sheet, which waves wildly in the breeze, but the ungovernable charger of the devil is represented as a hobby-horse, rocking on rollers rather than moving. Motionless, too, are the horses in the lunette over the portal. S. Zeno's body in the same relief is curiously stiff and conventional, his arm joints bend the wrong way and in the wrong place, his hands are strangely distorted. Nevertheless, the face of this same figure is full of sweetness, sanctity and dignity, and is certainly entitled to rank with the best productions of the XII century in France. Only slightly inferior is the face of John the Evangelist in the spandrel, while the features of John the Baptist are subtly psychologic in their emaciation. At his best Nicolò was able to impart psychology to the features,

and the two figures of the Johns show that he could be finely architectural, although he seldom chose to be so. Nicolò's nudes are successful when seen in profile (Guglielmo's one nude, the Christ, is undistinguishable in technique from those of Nicolò's), but very unsuccessful when seen with head and body full face, legs and feet profile, as in the creation of Adam, and in a lesser degree in the creation of Eve. Nicolò's animals are less pleasing than those of Guglielmo. Both sculptors represent the hair by parallel, incised lines. Nicolò's lines are, however, finer, while Guglielmo is more fond of curls. The draperies are practically undistinguishable, but Nicolò's are perhaps more sweeping.

The bronze portals (Plate 231, Fig. 1) are formed of a series of reliefs arranged with little order, and evidently dating from two distinct epochs. There can be no doubt that when the church was enlarged in the XII century, parts of an ancient door were preserved and pieced out with new reliefs. I give the subjects beginning at the bottom and to the right and, for the sake of brevity, mark those which belong to the first period with an asterisk: (1) St. Michael and the dragon;* (2) Noah builds the ark;* (3) Noah collects the animals;* (4) Adam and Eve, expelled from Paradise, labour; Adam and Cain plough; Eve spins; the soul leaves the murdered Abel (?) (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (5) the expulsion from Paradise (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (6) two women who give suck: one, Eve, to two children, one to two serpents—in the background foliage with birds and reptiles (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (7) Gallienus offers a crown to S. Zeno; (8) the miracle of the peasant saved from the Adige by S. Zeno (Plate 234, Fig. 1); (9) the three Israelites in the fiery furnace and Nebuchadnezzar (Plate 234, Fig. 1);* (10) Herod (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (11) Herodias (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (12) decapitation of John the Baptist (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (13) the devil is cast out from the daughter of Gallienus; (14) S. Zeno, while fishing, receives the embassy from Gallienus; (15) the ascension (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (16) Christ in Limbo (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (17) David and prophets; (18) Jesse tree; (19) Balaam and the ass; (20) the three Marys (one has been broken off) at the sepulchre (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (21) the deposition (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (22) the flagellation (Plate 232, Fig. 1);* (23) Moses and the brazen serpent (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (24) the killing of the first-born—a Jew marking a "tau" on a doorway—Moses and Pharaoh (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (25) Moses receives the tables of the Law, Aaron speaks to the Jews—Aaron stands by an altar on which he has placed the twelve tables (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (26) Jesus teaches in the temple;* (27) the carrying of the cross;* (28) the betrayal;* (29) the sacrifice of Abraham (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (30) Abraham and the three angels—below the casting-out of Hagar (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (31) God shows the stars to Abraham (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (32) the Last Supper;* (33) Jesus washes the feet of the apostles;* (34) the entrance into Jerusalem; (35) the drunkenness of Noah, and the

curse of Canaan (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (36) Noah and the dove (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (37) the sacrifices of Cain and Abel and the murder of Abel (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (38) Christ among the doctors;* (39) the baptism of Christ, and Christ among the doctors;* (40) the merchants are driven from the temple;* (41) the expulsion from Paradise (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (42) God reproves Adam and Eve (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (43) the creation of Eve; Adam and Eve and the serpent (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (44) the flight into Egypt;* (45) the nativity and the three Magi;* (46) the annunciation.*

In addition to these three panels the inner edge of the south door is adorned with a series of pseudo-niches in which are placed the following figures, beginning at the bottom: (47) a master-builder working upon a capital (Plate 234, Fig. 1);[78] (48) two crowned figures;*[79] (49) S. Benedetto; (50) S. Margherita; (51) S. Elena (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (52) S. Zeno (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (53) S. Paolo (Plate 233, Fig. 1); (54) S. Pietro (Plate 233, Fig. 1). All these figures, except the two which have been stolen, belong to the second period.

On the inner edge of the south portal are represented seven crowned figures, doubtless forming a sort of Jesse tree. Above them are ten Virtues (?). Samson, with a lion, possibly represents Courage; a virgin, with scales, is Justice (?); Vigilance (?) carries a lamp as a symbol; Magnanimity (?) has a crown and a sceptre. Five Virtues (?) which it is impossible to identify, are seated (four of them hold balls); Faith (?) is depicted with clasped hands. These figures are all works of the primitive sculptor.

Almost all the critics of the S. Zeno doors have compared the panels by the primitive sculptor with those of Hildesheim in Germany, which were executed in 1015.[80] The resemblance between the Hildesheim doors and those of S. Zeno appears to me, however, to be by no means so striking as has generally been considered, and I suspect that certain critics have been led astray in ascribing the S. Zeno doors to German influence by a false notice that these doors were donated by the dukes of Clèves. Cipolla[81] has shown that this tradition is founded on an error of Girolamo della Corte. As a matter of fact, the S. Zeno doors appear to be, on the whole, notably inferior to those of Hildesheim, but if there be a direct connection between the two, we must admit that the S. Zeno copyist was an inferior imitator. A more accurate perspective, however, is obtained in regard to the S. Zeno doors by comparing

[78] This same subject is represented on a string-course of the cathedral to the left of the principal entrance.

[79] This panel is lacking, having been stolen on the fourteenth of January, 1909.

[80] This is indicated by the inscription:

ĀN DŌM ĪNC M̄XV B EP DIV̄EMEM HAS VAIVAS FVSILES
IN FACIE ANGELICI TEPLI OB MONIMT SVI FEC SVSPENDI

[81] *Storia d'Italia*, 601 f.

them with other bronze doors in Italy. For convenience I place these in a chronological table according to the dates given by Burckhardt:

Before 1066, Amalfi
1067, Monte Cassino
1070, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome
1076, Monte S. Angelo (Plate 231, Fig. 4)
1084, Salerno (Plate 233, Fig. 4)
1085, S. Marco, Venice
1087, Atroni
After 1111, Canosa
1112, S. Marco, Venice
1119, Troia
1127, Troia
After 1150, Benevento (Plate 232, Fig. 2)
1175, Trani (Plate 232, Fig. 3, 4)
1179, Ravello (Plate 233, Fig. 3)
1186, Monreale, western portal (Plate 231, Fig. 3)
After 1186, Monreale, northern portal (Plate 231, Fig. 2)
c. 1186, Pisa (Plate 233, Fig. 2)
c. 1190, S. Clemente, Casauria
c. 1196, S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome

A study of this table in comparison with the photographs reproduced in Plate 231; Plate 232; Plate 233; Plate 234, Fig. 1, demonstrates the fact that the more primitive panels of the S. Zeno doors are earlier than any of the other Italian bronze portals extant. They may, therefore, be placed between Hildesheim (1015) and Amalfi (1066), and assigned to the second quarter of the XI century. The later portions seem to fall between the doorways of Troia erected in 1127, and those of Benevento (Plate 232, Fig. 2) executed after 1150 and Trani, executed in 1175 (Plate 232, Fig. 3, 4). They may consequently be ascribed to 1138, when it is known that the church of S. Zeno was restored. In each of the two periods of the portal Beissel has seen the work of two different hands. It appears to me, however, that the panels of each period are all by the same hand.

About the rose-window in the central façade are sculptures of the master-builder Brioloto, representing the Wheel of Fortune according to Boethius.[82] At the top is seated a king, at the left two figures rising, at the right two figures falling, while at the bottom lies prostrate a naked man in the acme of misery. There were formerly metrical inscriptions to be read, partly on the exterior and partly on the interior of the rose-window. These have been

[82] See above, Vol. I.

preserved by Biancolini.[83] In the southern façade is inlaid a relief which, although of inferior style, is possibly also by the hand of Brioloto. In the centre is Christ, to the left an abbot whose head is broken off, but whose rank is denoted by the crosier which he bears. The abbot presents to the Saviour an image of the Church. To the left is a saint, perhaps female, without attribute. The abbot is probably Gerardo II, in whose time the church was substantially finished.

In the pediments of the west façade are faded traces of a grafliti representing the Last Judgment.

On one of the columns of the crypt is the inscription ADAMINVS| DE SCO GEORG|IO ME FECI|T, which is doubtless the signature of the master-builder who erected this portion of the edifice, and the cornice of the façade.

The font is quite similar to the famous one of S. Giovanni in Fonte, except that it is unadorned with sculptures. It is probably the work of the same artist, Brioloto, who executed the Wheel of Fortune.

The façade of the crypt is adorned with numerous sculptures mostly of grotesque character—hunting scenes, a bear eating fruit, two hens who carry a dead fox on a stick (this subject is twice represented, and is depicted also on the façade of S. Zeno and on the Porta dei Principi at Modena, etc.), two dragons, whose tails end in a dog's head, a centaur (this subject is also found on the façade), an elephant carrying a tower, storks killing serpents, etc. Above is a modern balustrade carrying statues of Christ and the twelve apostles, placed in the following order: Bartholomew, Matthias, James the Less, Matthew, John, Peter, Christ, James the Greater, Thomas, Simon, Andrew, Philip and Thaddeus.

In the crypt is the sarcophagus of c. 1100, on which is sculptured the Crucifixion, with Mary and John, the four Evangelists, Christ in Limbo, and a hunting scene.

V. Unquestionably the oldest part of the church of S. Zeno is the piece of brick wall at the eastern end of the southern side aisle. This, however, can not be, as Simeoni believed, a part of the church upon which Pacifico worked, and which was erected possibly c. 810; the style of the masonry shows that this wall belonged to a church constructed c. 1030, and for which were doubtless executed the bronze doors, which were later incorporated in the new doors of c. 1138. The lower part of the campanile was built in 1045,

[83] . . . . . nel perno della sfera di mezzo all'esterno della facciata:

+EN EGO FORTVNA MODEROR MORTALIA VNA
ELEVO DEPONO BONA CVNCTIS VEL MALA . DONO.

E questi altri nel perno della medesima sfera nella parte interna della Chiesa:

+INDVO NVDATOS DENVDO VESTE PARATOS
IN ME CONFIDIT SI QVIS DERISVS ABIBIT.

and in the years immediately following. The cloister in its existing form dates entirely from the last quarter of the XII century. The earthquake of 1117 probably damaged the campanile, which was built in 1120 from the podium, and at this time the lower belfry was either added or entirely rebuilt. In 1138, or shortly before, a rebuilding of the basilica was undertaken. A new western bay was first erected. The old basilica was then replaced, section by section, by a new structure. Works must have been suspended after 1138, when the western bay and the sculptures of the façade had been finished; when the construction was resumed, the design was considerably modified. C. 1150-c. 1160 the new edifice up to the level of the clearstory walls was erected. Then followed another interruption, and it was only in 1178 that the upper belfry of the campanile was added. The rose-window of the façade and the upper part of the clearstory walls were executed in the last quarter of the XII century. To the same epoch belongs the font.

VEZZOLANO DI ALBUGNANO,[1] S. MARIA

(Plate 235, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 236, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 237, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 238, Fig. 1, 4)

I. Vezzolano is distant twenty minutes' walk from the commune of Albugnano, which may be reached by a difficult and tedious carriage-road. Notwithstanding its inaccessible situation, the monument is well known to archæologists, and was studied as early as 1825 by Cordero.[2] In 1862 Manuel published a monograph upon the church, illustrated by four drawings of Mella. This is a fine piece of historical writing, which contains the first publication of numerous important documents. Manuel is still the standard authority for the history of the church. Two years later Pareto published a drawing of the façade. In 1869 appeared the monograph of Mella, which contains three drawings, but is largely an abridgment of the work of Manuel. Mothes,[3] De Dartein,[4] Bosio and Sant'Ambrogio have all studied the monument. In 1910 Ciaccio published an important study upon the iconography of the frescos, in which he showed that the painting of the so-called Charlemagne legend was in reality the *contrasto dei tre morti e dei tre vivi*, a subject well known in Italian art. Venturi[5] has studied at length the church and its sculptures, and published valuable illustrations. In 1912 appeared the guide-book of Motta, which contains useful half-tones as well as a résumé of the history of the chapter.

II. There is a tradition that the church was founded by Luitprando (712-743).[6] There is also a tradition that the church was founded by

[1] (Alessandria). [2] 170. [3] I, 316. [4] 449. [5] III, 82-89. [6] Motta, 12.

Charlemagne. It is true that the principal documents cited in support of the latter legend, the two frescos in the cloister, have been proved by Ciaccio to have an entirely different significance; but there remains over the main altar a group of statuary, flamboyant in style, and hence probably of the XV century, in which a crowned figure is shown kneeling before the Madonna, presented by a hermit and by St. Augustine. The king is presumably Charlemagne, and it is, therefore, probable that the tradition that the church was founded by him is at least as old as the XV century.

In 1095 a chapter of canons regular was founded in the church of S. Maria at Vezzolano which evidently existed before this foundation. "In the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1095, on the twenty-seventh day of February, the third Indiction. By a token and a deed which they held in their hands, Ardiccio, son of the late Guglielmo; and Amedeo his brother; Anselmo and Ottone, sons of the late Tettone; and Ottone, son of the late Vifredo; and Giudo, son of Ardoino; and their wives . . . invested Teodolo (who is called Fanto) and Egidio, *officiales* of the holy church of Vezzolano, and placed on the altar of the church the above-mentioned investiture of the church and of all the goods which the church then had or should thereafter acquire, so that the above-mentioned priests and their successors might have jurisdiction and every power over the afore-mentioned church and over the things which belong to it . . . The above-mentioned priests and clerics present and future must cohabit and live together in the above-mentioned church, according to canonical rule, and must possess in common the goods of the church without division. . . . In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1153, on the first day of the month of January, in the first Indiction."[7]

A document of 1109 mentions a prevosto of the church.[8] In 1148 the chapter was taken under the apostolic protection by the pope Eugenius III.[9] Numerous other documents of the XII century, relating to the church, have been published by Durando and Manuel, but throw little light upon the

[7] Anno ab incarnacione domini nostri Ihū Xpi millesimo nonagesimo quinto tertio kalendas martii indictione tertia. . . . Per signum et cartulam que in suis manibus tenebant Ardiccio filius quondam Vilielmi et Amedeus Germanus eiusdem et Anselmus atque Otto filii quondam Tetonis seu Otto filius quondam uuifredi et Giudo filius Arduini et uxores eorum . . . inuestierunt Theodulum qui cognominatur Fanto et Egidium sancte Vceiolanensis ecclesie officiales et super altare eiusdem ecclesie posuerunt eamdem inuestituram nominative de eadem ecclesia et de rebus quas ipsa ecclesia nunc tenet uel postmodum habitura est ita ut isti suprascripti presbiteri et sequaces eorum habeant regimen et omnem potestatem predicte ecclesie et rerum ad eam pertinentium . . . . . Iamdicti uero presbiteri et clerici presentes et futuri cohabitare et communiter uiuere et conuersari debent in predicta ecclesia secundum canonicam regulam sine aliqua diuisione uel proprietate. . . . Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo tertio primo die mensis ianuarii indictione prima. Ego iordanus notarius interfui et hanc confirmationem ad memoriam recolendam subscripsi. (*Hist. Pat. Mon.*, I, 713).

[8] Motta, 11. [9] Durando, 8; Manuel, 298.

architectural history of the edifice. In 1159 the emperor Barbarossa issued a diploma in favour of the canons.[10]

On the jubé is a metrical inscription painted upon the stone, and so faded that many letters are now entirely effaced. The missing portions, however, are easily supplied from the transcriptions of Mella and Manuel, which were made when the colours were much fresher than they are at present. This inscription placed beneath the series of the kings of Judah, to whom the first lines refer, may be translated as follows: "This series brought into the world holy Mary who bore, pure and without seed, the true Wisdom. In the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord, 1188, and in the reign of the emperor, Frederick, this work was completed in the time of the prevosto, Guido."[11] This inscription establishes the date at which the jubé was finished.

Mothes states[12] without citing any authority that the façade was erected in 1215, but this assertion of his merits no faith.

In 1455, or thereabouts, the church was given in commendam.[13] A peculiarity of the documents relating to Vezzolano is that they continually refer to the church of the monastery, although there is no doubt that it was officiated by canons regular of the Augustinian order. At the time of the revolution the priests were suppressed, and the church subsequently suffered severely through neglect. In the time of Manuel the roof leaked so violently that it afforded but little shelter from the weather. The building has since been put in repair.

III. The basilica consists of a nave three double bays long, a northern side aisle, a choir (also with northern side aisle) and an apse. Originally there existed a northern absidiole, of which distinct traces are still extant (Plate 235, Fig. 2).

It has been suspected that the church originally possessed a southern side aisle, which was subsequently walled off and turned into a gallery of the cloister. In this connection it should be noted that there are several striking differences of design between the northern side aisle and the northern gallery of the cloister. On the southern side of the church there are heavy transverse buttresses reinforcing the clearstory (Plate 236, Fig. 1). On the north side there are none such at present (Plate 235, Fig. 1), although there were originally, since traces can clearly be seen. The cornice on the south side is formed of flat corbel-tables, surmounted by a saw tooth (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 4), that on the north side, on the other hand, is formed of double

[10] Manuel, 301.

[11] HEC SER[I]ES SANCTAM [PR]ODUX[IT] IN ORBE MARIAM Q[U]E PEPERI[T] UERAM S[I]NE [S]EMINE MVNDA SOPHIAM ANNO AB INC[A]R[NA]TI[ONE DNI] M C LXXX VIIII REGNANTE [FRED]ERI[CO] IMP[ER]RE COMPLETV̄ [E] OP I[S]TVD SV̄B DN̄O [P̄P̄O] VIDON[E]

[12] *Loc. cit.* [13] Manuel, 286.

arched corbel-tables, of an extraordinarily complex type (Plate 235, Fig. 1). Finally, the sections of the piers on the two sides do not correspond. It would be tedious to describe these piers in detail, since they are all different. Suffice it to say, that those on the south side are always more complex than those on the north side of the church. It is evident, moreover, that the extra members of the piers on the southern side are all part of the original construction, and could not have been added when the cloister was built, if we are to suppose that the southern side aisle was converted into a gallery of the cloister. It therefore appears probable that the church was originally built with a single northern side aisle precisely as it stands to-day.

The apse is covered with a half dome, the choir is barrel-vaulted, the side aisle of the choir under the campanile has a rude dome on pendentives, the northern aisle is supplied with groin vaults with transverse ribs (except in the easternmost bay, where there is a rib vault), and the nave is rib-vaulted throughout (Plate 236, Fig. 3). The arches of the main arcade, and the transverse wall ribs of the vaults of the nave and side aisles, as well as the diagonal ribs of the rib vault in the side aisle, are pointed. The system is alternate and much varied (Plate 236, Fig. 3). In the western responds it consists of a single continuous rectangular number. In the westernmost pier on the north side there is a continuous pilaster strip. In the corresponding pier on the south side, the system consists of three semicircular members. In the next pair of piers the pilaster strips are not continued below the abaci. In the choir the system on either side consists of two sets of coupled free-standing colonnettes on high pedestals. The walls are reinforced externally by vigorous buttresses (Plate 235, Fig. 1; Plate 236, Fig. 1, 4).

It is evident that the bay of the northern side aisle, which is covered with a rib vault, was originally a sort of transept, for externally the wall corresponding to this bay is considerably raised.

The piers of the nave are of extremely varied section, in which, however, rectangular members predominate, with the occasional admixture of semicircular or polygonal shafts. The responds of the northern side aisle show regular alternation. They consist of three members, of which the central one is semicircular in the intermediate bays, rectangular in the alternate bays. The responds of the north gallery of the cloister, on the other hand, consist of five members, of which the central one is either semicircular or rectangular, but there is no alternation.

A campanile rises over the northern side aisle of the choir. The lower part of this structure is contemporary with the church, but the belfry is of the Renaissance (Plate 235, Fig. 2).

The masonry in bricks (incised rather than cross-hatched) and stone is distinctly polychromatic, and shows skilful technique (Plate 235, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 236, Fig. 1, 3, 4). This masonry is of the same character throughout the entire edifice, but a relatively greater proportion of stone is used in the

façade of the western bay than in the eastern portions. The screen walls between the arches separating the nave from the northern gallery of the cloisters are constructed of bricks identical in character with those of the rest of the edifice. These bricks average about 37 x 11 x 8 centimetres, and the mortar-beds are about three centimetres thick.

To the south of the church lie the charming and picturesque cloisters (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 2, 4; Plate 237, Fig. 2). It is obvious that it was the original intention to complete the cloister on the design of the northern gallery (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 2, 4; Plate 237, Fig. 2), since the northern bay of the eastern gallery is identical in design (Plate 236, Fig. 4). Plans were changed, however, before the eastern gallery was completed, and the southern gallery was not erected until the XV century, as is evident from the style of the architecture. The western gallery is even earlier than the northern gallery (Plate 236, Fig. 1; Plate 237, Fig. 2), and is the only one of the cloister which is roofed in wood. It has an arcade of simple pointed arches in two orders and heavier cylindrical piers alternating with slender monolithic shafts. The northern gallery and the north bay of the eastern gallery have a screen wall with a bifora enclosed under a pointed arch (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 4; Plate 237, Fig. 2). The northern gallery is covered with highly domed groined vaults with pointed transverse and longitudinal arches (Plate 236, Fig. 2).

About the cloister are interesting remains of the monastic buildings. The cellars of some of these structures contain barrel vaults with transverse ribs.

IV. The capitals of Vezzolano offer a most interesting and instructive study. Many are merely roughly blocked out, the intended carving never having been executed. Others are distinctly derived from Lombard prototypes, although executed with the greatest refinement, and a delicacy in which one suspects, without being able to prove it, the influence of French taste. Such capitals are ornamented with heart-leaf or scale motives, with anthemia and volutes, with figures, and even grotesques, although of a very classic and refined character. Others are of Corinthianesque type, with carved or uncarved leaves, and are very similar to those of S. Bernardo at Vercelli. The capitals of the system of the choir are of a somewhat different type, and are figured, or else have acanthus leaves of the type of the Lombard porches at Modena. The capitals of the jubé (Plate 237, Fig. 1; Plate 238, Fig. 1), and of the upper part of the façade (Plate 235, Fig. 1) are, on the other hand, in the pure style of the Île-de-France, and completely French Gothic in character. Those of the façade portal, on the other hand, are Lombard. The capitals of the west gallery of the cloisters (Plate 237, Fig. 2) are rather crude, and quite different from any others in the abbey. The abaci have the section of their loads; there is almost no carving, but the ornament is merely scratched on the surface. The capitals of the north gallery of the cloister also have

abaci of the form of their load. In both the eastern and western galleries inverted capitals are used for bases in some instances, but those of the east gallery differ from those of the western gallery in being more excellently carved. The capitals of the east gallery are Corinthianesque with cut or uncut acanthus leaves, or with interlaced decorations.

The pointed arch is used chiefly in the structural portions of the church (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4) but occasionally decoratively, as in the west gallery of the cloister (Plate 237, Fig. 2), and the jubé (Plate 237, Fig. 1). The ribs of the nave vaults (Plate 236, Fig. 3) are Italian in that they are not profiled, but have a plain rectangular section, and are constructed of alternate courses of brick and stone. Double arched corbel-tables are used to form the cornices of the apse and east gables (Plate 235, Fig. 2) and of the northern side aisle and clearstory (Plate 235, Fig. 1). Flat corbel-tables are used in the southern clearstory (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 4), and in the west façade (Plate 235, Fig. 1). The west façade is further ornamented with blind arches almost Pisan in style and with blind trabeations (Plate 235, Fig. 1) which seem to have been derived from Provence. The two portals of the west façade (Plate 235, Fig. 1) are in several orders shafted and moulded, but the mouldings are entirely Italian in profile. The apse windows are shafted, and the central one is moulded (Plate 235, Fig. 2). There is here a suggestion of French influence. These windows were evidently intended to be glazed.

The profile of the mouldings of the jubé (Plate 237, Fig. 1) is entirely French in character, and this applies equally to the archivolts, the bases, the abaci, and the diagonal ribs. The awkward return of the upper moulding, however (Plate 237, Fig. 1), is not French, and seems to show that the builder was copying a style in which he was not entirely at home.

The figured capitals of the interior contain representations of a centaur shooting a man with a shield, Samson and the lion, David playing the harp while another man plays the viol. The north-east capital of the cloister is also figured, but has not been finished. On it is depicted the Annunciation (Mary crowned, stands to the right), the Visitation and the Nativity (Joseph stands at the head of the bed in which Mary lies). The style of these sculptures shows a strong French influence, the figures are very long and thin, with draperies that suggest those of Chartres.

In the peak of the gable of the west façade (Plate 235, Fig. 1) is the bust of a male figure which appears to be imitated from some Roman work, and which is probably intended to represent God the Father. Below are two cherubim standing on wheels, and with six wings (Plate 235, Fig. 1). Still below follow two figures holding candles. These are probably angels of which the wings were originally executed in another medium. The wings having disappeared, a modern restorer has attempted to replace them by painting on the wall. On the central jamb of the great biforum stands Christ with halo between St. Michael, who transfixes the tongue of the dragon

with his lance, and another archangel with a sword, probably Raphael (Plate 235, Fig. 1). The archangels are again without wings, which were probably originally executed in metal, and have been stolen. In the tympanum of the central portal is represented the Virgin crowned and seated on a throne. On either side are angels, and the dove of the Holy Ghost whispers in her ear. The tympanum of the north portal contains the figure of a bishop, much weathered but which must be St. Augustine (Plate 235, Fig. 1). The sculptures of the façade therefore represent the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the Virgin, the hierarchy of angels, and St. Augustine, patron of the canons.

The jubé (Plate 237, Fig. 1; Plate 238, Fig. 1, 4) is one of the most interesting and important monuments of the transitional style of Italy. It is surmounted by a frieze of sculptures (Plate 238, Fig. 4) in two rows, of which the subjects are as follows: In the upper row, two at either end, are the symbols of the four Evangelists, each with a scroll or a book, on which are the restored inscriptions: IOH[ANNE]S, LV|CA|S, MA|RC|VS, MA|TH|E|VS. In the centre is the Coronation of the Virgin. Christ, crowned, and the Virgin, also wearing a crown and holding a sceptre, are seated side by side on a bench. On either side angels swing censers. The leonine inscription is now quite illegible, but is thus given by Manuel: COLLOCAT . ECCE . PIAM . XPS . SUPER . ASTRA . MARIAM. To the left is shown the burial of the Virgin, who is lowered into a sarcophagus by two of the apostles (Peter at the head, and Paul at the feet), while the others stand around. John, beardless, is in the middle. The inscription has nearly disappeared but enough of it remains to correct Manuel's transcription in some particulars:

VIRGINIS AD FUN'. M[E]
ST' STAT GRX DVODEN'

To the right is represented the resurrection of the Virgin, who is raised out of the tomb by two angels, while a third stands ready to assist, with a napkin over his hand. The faded inscription reads:

SVRGE PARENS XPI TE VOCAT
QVEM TV GENVISTI

In the lower row of sculptures of the jubé are represented the kings of Judah, ancestors of the Virgin. The figures are all seated and bear scrolls on which are inscribed the names of the ancestors of the Virgin, but the inscriptions have all been restored. These figures are, beginning at the left: IVDAS, PHARES, ESROM, ARAM, AMINADAB, NAASON, SA|LM|ON all bare-headed; then comes a figure with a Phrygian cap, without beard, bearing the inscription BOOZ; then two bearded bare-headed figures, OB|EZ, IESSE; then fourteen crowned figures, all bearded, with the exception of Ezekias: DAVID, SALOMON, ROBOAN, ABIAS, ASA, IOS|APH|AT, IORA, OZI|AS, IOA|THAN, ACHAZ, EZ|EC|HI|AS, MA|NA|SS|ES.

IO|SI|AS. Then follow, with Phrygian caps: IECHONIAS, SAL|AT|HI|EL, ZOROBA|BEL; AB|IV|S, who is bare-headed; then with Phrygian caps, ELIACHIM, AZOR, SADOH, ACHIM, ELIVD; ELEAZAR, bare-headed; MATHAN, with Phyrgian cap. The genealogy is completed by figures painted on the wall on either side. It is evident that the artist has followed the genealogy of Matthew, i, 1-16. The ancestors of the Virgin as far as David are without crowns, as the Evangelist expressly states that David was the first king. Those from David to Josias all have crowns, since they were kings of Judah. The Evangelist, however, states that in the times of Josias the Israelites were carried into captivity to Babylon, and accordingly the figures from this point onward do not wear crowns but have either Phrygian caps—which denote their captivity in the East—or else are bare-headed. It is notable that this genealogy is one of the few in mediæval art in which none of the ancestors of the Virgin is omitted.

In the interior of the apse window are reliefs of the Annunciation which strongly recall the statues in a similar position at Sagra S. Michele. These figures are contorted, and have graceful, clinging draperies. The apse window is elaborately moulded, and shafted on the inside.

It would be a mistake to consider the style of the sculptures of Vezzolano apart from that of the architecture, for both show a mixture of Italian and French forms that is highly instructive for the study of the transition. In fact the two influences are combined in such equal proportions in both architecture and sculpture, that it is clear the same artist must have been at once sculptor and architect. That this artist was an Italian is not open to doubt. The basic conception of his architecture and sculpture alike is Lombard. The plan of the church of Vezzolano, its alternating system, the polychromatic brick and stone masonry of which it is constructed, the type of the piers, the use of a simple apse, all show the essentially Italian foundation of his art. The flat or double arched corbel-tables of the cornices, the carved ornament of many of his capitals, the rope-moulding of the central portal, the mouldings of many of the abaci, the grotesque heads inserted in the central portal, all show the same use of fundamentally Italian forms. The vaults themselves are of Lombard type, with their high doming, unprofiled ribs and soffits covered with plaster. In the sculptures the same thing is no less evident. Take for example the burial of the Virgin in the jubé (Plate 238, Fig. 4). The short, stunted figures of the apostles, with heads of disproportionately large size, and bodies that tend to double up in the unduly low space allowed them, are in every particular the natural and lineal descendants of the school of Guglielmo da Modena and of Nicolò. They show the closest analogy with the figures of the north transept of Cremona (Plate 83, Fig. 4). The ancestors of the Virgin in the lower row are equally Lombard in type. The draperies are without a suggestion of French influence. The eyes are treated by the same convention that we frequently find in Lombardy—for

example, in the Last Supper of Lodi—the draperies are of the heavy type of Guglielmo da Modena, the feet recall those of the sculptor of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 4). The treatment of the hair and the drawing of the faces, as indeed the draperies also, are strikingly similar to those of the font of Varese (Plate 214, Fig. 3). It is evident, therefore, that our artist was an Italian, well acquainted with Lombard works, and that indeed his art is essentially Lombard.

On the other hand, he shows no less indubitable traces of having been acquainted with, and strongly influenced by, French art. He seems, moreover, to have known the art of two distinct regions of France.

The first was Provence. The trabeation of the west façade, the curious egg-and-dart-like ornament of the west portal (although this is really a crocket), the classic wave moulding of the lower string-course of the façade, could only have come from Provence. There is something in the figures of the ancestors of the Virgin which suggests the long lines of similar figures in the façade of St.-Trophime at Arles. Several sculptures of the façade in their proportions and type recall the classic tendencies of Provence.

This is not, however, the strong French influence which our sculptor underwent. The capitals of the jubé are in the pure style of the Île-de-France, and are perfectly Gothic in form. Compare, for example, one, (Plate 238, Fig. 1) with a capital of St.-Martin-des-Champs at Paris (Plate 238, Fig. 3). It is true that this French art spread all over Europe, and as far south as Amaseno (near Rome) we find capitals of an entirely similar type (Plate 238, Fig. 2). It spread slowly, however, and at the early epoch at which the jubé was executed (1189) it had hardly penetrated beyond the limits of the Île-de-France and the provinces immediately contiguous. It is therefore entirely probable that these capitals were derived directly from the royal school. The same inference may be drawn from the bases, abaci, archivolts and ribs of the jubé, which are of pure French type with only such slight modification as would be almost inevitably introduced by an artist who was imitating a style which was somewhat foreign to him. The pointed arches are among the most important elements introduced from northern France at Vezzolano. It is notable that the true Gothic tradition was preserved in applying these arches primarily to the structural parts of the edifice. Gothic principles of construction are also introduced in the use of light screen-walls beneath great relieving arches which concentrate the stress upon the piers, in the south wall of the church and in the north wall of the cloister (Plate 237, Fig. 2; Plate 236, Fig. 2, 4). In the sculptures the same influence of northern France is clearly visible. Venturi, it is true, has called these sculptures Burgundian, but with obvious inaccuracy. The short, stumpy figures of the jubé with their disproportionately large heads, are about as unlike the elongated, emaciated, graceful figures of Avalon or Vézelay as anything that could be imagined. On the other hand, the sculptures show

close analogies with those of the Île-de-France. The resurrection of the Virgin of the jubé (Plate 238, Fig. 4) might almost have been directly inspired by the same subject in the tympanum of Senlis. There is the same movement, the same graceful wings, the posture of the Virgin is very similar, and the feet are executed with the same technique. The censers swung by the angels are, moreover, of an entirely French type. The same influence of northern France is shown clearly in the two angels on either side of Christ in the west façade, which seem almost like reproductions of the jamb sculptures of some French cathedral, and are applied to columns in precisely the same manner. The group of the Annunciation in the apse and the figured capital of the cloister are characterized by the same French influence. The flower ornament of the upper string-course of the façade and the crocket motive which forms the cornice of the jubé (Plate 238, Fig. 4), are also clearly reminiscent of the ornamental forms of the Île-de-France. We may therefore conclude that the architect and sculptor of Vezzolano was a native Lombard who had travelled in Provence and studied in the Île-de-France.

V. The inscription fortunately gives us the precise date (1189) at which the jubé was finished. The jubé is evidently later than the main body of the church, since it must have been constructed after the western piers were finished. It is evident, moreover, that the sculptures of the façade are by the hand of the same artist who executed the jubé. We may consequently conclude that the church of Vezzolano was entirely finished in 1189. Allowing the not excessive period of five years for the construction of so large an edifice, we must conclude that it was begun about 1184. The west gallery of the cloister is earlier than any part of the rest of the structure, and hence can not be later than c. 1180. It is notable that at this early period pointed arches had already been introduced.

VIARIGI,[1] S. MARZIANO

(Plate 239, Fig. 5)

I. This monument has been illustrated by Venturi.[2]

II. I know of no documents which throw light upon the history of the edifice.

III. The building consists of a nave of a single aisle and an apse (Plate 239, Fig. 5). The façade and the north wall have been rebuilt, but

[1] (Alessandria). S. Marziano is a small desecrated oratory situated in a vineyard, two and a half kilometres south of the town.

[2] III, 16.

in the south wall and the apse (Plate 239, Fig. 5) the original construction is preserved. The nave is roofed in wood. The edifice is without interest internally, except for frescos of the XV century in the apse.

The masonry of the interior consists of ashlar and bands of brick, and is of very fine quality. Frescos are, nevertheless, applied directly to it. Externally the ashlar is unmixed with brick.

IV. The apse is adorned with large arched corbel-tables in two orders supported on shafts (Plate 239, Fig. 5). Beneath these corbel-tables are grotesque carvings.

V. The masonry is analogous to that of the cloister of Voltorre (Plate 244, Fig. 4), an edifice which dates from c. 1180. Viarigi may, therefore, be ascribed to about the same time.

VIBOLDONE,[1] S. PIETRO

(Plate 239, Fig. 1, 2)

I. S. Pietro of Viboldone has been published by Sant'Ambrogio in the work upon Milan and its suburbs that he edited jointly with Fumagalli and Beltrami.

II. The church of S. Pietro of Viboldone was constructed in 1176, according to two chronicles. One is the Vienna manuscript of Galvanco della Fiamma,[2] the other is the manuscript of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, which passes under the name of Filippo da Castel Seprio.[3] The latter authority adds the precise day, February fifth. There can be little doubt that these notices record the time at which the church was begun, and the convent of Umiliati established. If they recorded the time when the church was finished, the word *consecrata* would have been used, instead of *facta* or *constructa*.

That the church belonged to an establishment of Umiliati is evident from documents of 1257, 1269 and 1289, published or referred to by Giulini.[4] When the Cistercian monks of Morimondo sought refuge and succour in 1237, the brothers of Viboldone were among those who came to their aid.[5]

[1] Frazione di S. Giuliano Milanese, province of Milano.

[2] Eodem anno [MCLXXVI] eccl'ia scti peti de Viboldono costructa fuit. (Galvaneo della Fiamma, *Chronicon*, Vienna MS. 3318, cap. 291, f. 86).

[3] Anno dni 1176 die 5 februarii facta est ecclesia S. Petri de Viboldono. (*Chronica* detta di Filippo da Castel Seprio, MS. Amb., S. Q. + I, 12, f. 64).

[4] IV, 508, 592, 735.

[5] See above under Morimondo, p. 79.

An inscription in the west front of the church records that *hoc opus*—by which is doubtless meant the façade itself—was constructed in 1348:

MCCCXLVIII . HOC OPUS .
FACTU FUIT TEMPOE
DNI . FRIS GVILL[ELM]I DE UIL
LA . PRESSI ET . P[RE]POSITI
HVIVS . DOMUS . DECRE
TORVM . DOCTORIS .

On a semi-column below is also inscribed the date, MCCCXLVIII. The frescos of the eastern bay of the nave were executed in the following year—1349—since they bear the inscription ANO. DNI. M.CCC.XLVIIII. At the end of the XV, and the beginning of the XVI century, Viboldone became, after the Brera, the most important community of the Umiliati, and the seat of the Landriani and Brivio, whose escutcheons, according to Sant'Ambrogio, may still be found in various parts of the edifice. In 1571 the Olivetani supplanted the Umiliati at Viboldone.

III. The edifice consists of a nave (Plate 239, Fig. 2) four bays long, two side aisles, a choir of a single bay flanked by side aisles, and two rectangular apses. There were originally three apses, but the southernmost has been in great part destroyed. The side aisles of the choir, the choir itself, and the absidioles, are covered with highly domed groin vaults, of which the wall ribs are pointed on the east and west sides of the choir, and on all four sides in the absidiole. The remainder of the edifice is covered with rib vaults, of which those of the nave (Plate 239, Fig. 2) are about square in plan, while those of the side aisles are oblong. The diagonal ribs (Plate 239, Fig. 2) have a torus section and are pointed in elevation. The wall ribs (Plate 239, Fig. 2) are rectangular in section and are also pointed. The transverse arches (Plate 239, Fig. 2) are for the most part of a single unmoulded order, but in the side aisles and between the nave and choir (Plate 239, Fig. 2) are so heavily loaded that they resemble rather a partition wall built below the vaults, and pierced by an arch. Above are disappearing wall ribs. These transverse arches are all pointed, except those of the side aisles of the choir.

The nave piers are all cylindrical (Plate 239, Fig. 2), but those separating the nave and the choir (Plate 239, Fig. 2) are of a more complicated section and consist of a rectangular core in several orders, to the east and west of which are engaged semi-columns. In the nave the system (Plate 239, Fig. 2) consists of a single pilaster strip rising from the abaci of the capitals. The diagonal ribs are carried on corbels. The system of the piers separating the nave and the choir (Plate 239, Fig. 2) consists of a pilaster strip in two orders, but on the side of the nave the groin spur is broken off, and the rib inserted above on a corbel (Plate 239, Fig. 2). It is evident that when the choir was designed it was the intention of the builders to cover the entire church with groin vaults. After the choir had been constructed, however,

plans were changed. The transverse arch separating the nave and the choir was made narrow. The capitals of the nave were placed at a higher level than those of the choir, those on the western side of the eastern piers (already begun at a lower level) being prolonged upwards most awkwardly to reconcile the two designs (Plate 239, Fig. 2). Another difference in design between the nave and the choir is the freer use of pointed arches in the latter. There is, moreover, noticeable a difference in the brickwork of the choir and the nave. The bricks of the piers of the choir are cross-hatched, while those of the nave are not cross-hatched. The mortar-joints in the piers of the nave are much narrower than those of the piers of the choir. In the exterior walls of the nave, however, the mortar courses are wide. Externally there is evident little change in the character of the masonry between the nave and the choir. The lower part of the campanile over the central apse is constructed of masonry precisely like that of the choir and the nave, but the upper part is of a very different kind of masonry, and is evidently of a later epoch (Plate 239, Fig. 1). The masonry of the façade (Plate 239, Fig. 1) differs from that of the church.

The side-aisle responds are rectangular. There are no clearstory windows (Plate 239, Fig. 1, 2), and the clearstory walls are without buttresses of any kind (Plate 239, Fig. 1). The side-aisle walls had originally broad, flat pilaster strips, and glazed windows in two orders, surmounted by billet and inlaid ornaments.

South of the church are traces of the destroyed cloisters (Plate 239, Fig. 1), to the north is a rich edifice of the XV century, with beautifully worked terra-cotta windows. The belfry of the campanile (Plate 239, Fig. 1) is obviously of the Renaissance.

IV. The capitals are all cubic of a developed type (Plate 239, Fig. 2). The cornices are formed of flat corbel-tables surmounted by fine mouldings, except in the campanile, in the lower part of which are double arched corbel-tables, while above there are triangular arched corbel-tables (Plate 239, Fig. 1).

V. The choir is an authentically dated monument of 1176. After it had been erected the work of construction was interrupted, and when it was resumed, the plan of the church was radically altered. It may be assumed that this interruption lasted about twenty years, since a shorter period would be insufficient to explain the radical difference between the style of the choir and that of the nave, while a longer period would almost inevitably have produced a greater change in the character of the masonry of the exterior walls. The nave may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1195. The façade was rebuilt in 1348, and in the following year the eastern portions of the edifice were ornamented with frescos.

VICENZA, SS. FELICE E FORTUNATO

(Plate 239, Fig. 3, 4)

I. The fame of the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato is due to Cattaneo, who made of the fragments of this church a corner-stone in his constructive criticism of Lombard Architecture. The description of the great archæologist is of importance because he had the good fortune to see the church when it was in far better preservation than at present, and I accordingly quote verbatim in a foot-note the most important passages of his text.[1] Cattaneo's plan makes it evident that the famous compound pier now lost must have been in the wall of the choir on the north side. Illustrations of the capital and base have been reproduced by Rivoira.[2]

A manuscript of Silvestro Castellini, entitled *Descrittione delli Borghi di Vicenza*, and preserved in the Biblioteca Bertogliana of Vicenza,[3] contains an invaluable description of the edifice, made before its destruction. From this source we learn that in the time of Castellini the sacristy was thought to be a pagan temple,[4] and that the cloister was still extant.[5] Castellini has

[1] La porta maggiore . . . reca l'anno M. C. LIIII; l'abside il MCLXXIX; le fenestre della cripta il MCLXXXIII; il campanile il MCLX. . . . Verso la navata meridionale ci si conservò [il ristauro] intatta una colonna, verso la settentrionale una pilastrata. La prima porta un capitello jonico, imitante rozzamente i più ricchi fra gli antichi, mercè ornamenti di stile italo-bizantino, e coronato da un grosso abaco adorno d'intrecciature; la seconda presenta forme per noi affatto nuove e senz'altro lombarde. Da quello che ne rimane si può giudicare essere stata in origine di base cruciforme, formata cioè dall'innesto di due pilastri e di due colonne; quelli lungo l'asse longitudinale delle navate, queste lungo il trasversale. . . . La sua [*i.e.* of the piers] struttura parla abbastanza chiaro di qual maniera di arcate essa fosse sostegno; e se oggidì sono sparite quelle che s'impostavano sulle semicolonne attraversando le navate, come nel San Miniato, ne restano per altro le traccie sovrastanti. Ma v'è di più; pilastri e semicolonne (quelle almeno che danno sulle navate minori) sono coronate da un comune capitello che gira tutt'intorno con uniforme motivo, e mentre nelle sue ruvide sculture ricorda ancora le maniere del secolo IX, nel concetto e nelle proporzioni precorre tanti consimili capitelli delle chiese lombarde dell' XI e del XII secolo. . . . Nè la base della pilastrata vuol essere trascurata, presentandoci essa un profilo addirittura lombardo, quanto quelle del Sant'Ambrogio, e mostrando perfino agli angoli del plinto sotto le semicolonne quella specie di speroni di rinforzo fatto a mo' di pagnottine. . . .

[2] 219 f. [3] Libreria Gonzati, MS. No. 22.11.16. Old number, F.3.49.

[4] Che iui si adorasse un' Idolo, questo è certissimo poichè fin' al presente iui si uede l'antico tempio, qual uenuto il popolo Vicentino alla fede Christiana, fù consecrato da Santo Prosdocimo alla Beata Virgine. (*MS. cit.*, II, f. 118). Qui appresso è la Sacrestia già stimato l'antico tempio dell'idolo iui uenerato da gentili, et poi da Santo Prosdocimo, la cui effigie si uede in questa dipinta, conuertito al culto del uero Iddio. Ella non è molto grande, et di forma fatta in croce, rimanendo la parte di mezzo ouada per la cupola rotonda, che è sopra quello; è parte fatta alla mosaica, et parte incrostata di bellissimi marmi lauorati molto sottilmente sicome anco è il pauimento, iui ueggonsi

also preserved for us full descriptions both of the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato[6] and of the sacristy, which, he assures us, had never been restored since the time of S. Prosdocimo.[7] Castellini, who wrote also a valuable published history of Vicenza, died in 1638, and we are consequently enabled to determine approximately the date of the inscription of the referendario Gregorio, now lost, but preserved by Barbarano. This inscription states that the worthy mentioned built the oratory of the Mother of God from the foundations and dedicated it.[8] Nothing further is known of the referendario Gregorio, and it has been entirely uncertain at what period he lived. Since, however, his restoration had not yet been carried out in the time of Castellini, who died in 1638, and was not recent in the time of Barbarano, who wrote in

pitture antichissime, che adornano questa capella, ò sacrestia da tutte le parti, in faccia dell'entrata è l'altare antico sotto il quale è un luogo sotterraneo fatto di pietra uiua. (*MS. cit.*, f. 140). [5] *Ibid.*, f. 139.

[6] Quanto al particolare di questa Chiesa, ella è antichissima, et è diuisa in tre ordini sostentati da colonne, et anticamente soleuasi discendere alquanti scaglioni, il cui pauimento era tutto di musaico, qual poi essendo altato fù tutto coperto, et con nuovo silicato uennero ad estinguersi molte memorie diuise per la Chiesa: la capella maggiore, le quale serue anco per choro, è alquanto eminente ascendendo à quella per alquanti scaglioni, in capo la quale è drizzato l'altare maggiore, etc. . . . La facciata di questa capella è per certa altezza serrata di lastre di bellissimo marmo rosso, nel friso della quale se uedono alcuni uersi, che dimostrano il tempo, che fù fatta tal' opera, et il maestro, che la fece, li quali uersi sono questi

MCL. Hos iussit cancellos minister fieri Albertus
Vt memores scitis eiusque cumque uidetis.
Atque iuuetis eum se perogando [*sic*] Deum.
Vt Deus in regno faciat gaudere superno.
MCLXXVIIII.

Bricius hunc chorum fecit cum prole decorū
Veronę natus lapide sculpendo.

Nelli portici della Chiesa sono diuersi altari, à mano destra è una capella, dentro la quale soleua essere la pala di San Vito, et Modesto, la quale essendo trasportata ad un' altare uicino la porta maggiore; anco nell'altare della capella fù trasportata una imagine della Beata Vergine, la quale soleua esser dipinta nel muro della facciata del choro; et fù adornato questo altare nel modo, che si trova al presente; il secondo altare è dedicato alla Beata Vergine, et alli Santi Benedetto et Gregorio Papa, l'ultimo da questa parte è quello di Santi Vito, et Modesto, del quale di sopra hò fatta mentione, li altri tre dall'altra parte sono il primo dedicato alli Santi Innocenti . . . l'altro di Santo Floriano, et Santa Giustina, l'ultimo è dedicato alle sante Vergini, et Martiri Gaudentia, Innocentia, Neofita, et Cassia, li cui corpi si riposano in un' arca di bianchissimo marmo che serue per altare, nelli quali altari si ueggono pitture antiche e di eccellente mano. (*MS. cit.*, ff. 135-136).

[7] S. Prosdocimo . . . consacrò quei Tempj in onore della Beatissima Vergine Maria. In uno d'essi vedesi una Cappella tutta coperta di pietre vive, e lavorata a musaico; e fino al presente sta in piedi, senza essere giammai stata ristorata. (Castellini, II, 11).

[8] ✠ *Hoc Oratorium B. M. Matris Domini Gregorius sublimis Vir Referendarius a fundamentis ædificavit, & in Christi nomine dedicavit.* (Barbarano, V, 362).

the middle of the XVIII century, it is probable that it took place in the last part of the XVII century. The inscription is evidently exaggerated, since the sacristy was not rebuilt from the foundations, but merely baroccoized.

The historian Barbarano in addition to the inscription has preserved for us many important notices in regard to our basilica, as well as a description of the church itself[9] and of the sacristy.[10] Historical notices of great value are contained in the chronicle of Pagliarino, published in 1663. The *Grande Illustrazione,* published in 1859-1861, mentions several of the now lost inscriptions as still existing.[11] In the official *compte-rendu* of Berchet may be found an account of the mosaic discovered in 1895, as well as important architectural fragments at that time ruthlessly destroyed.[12] A critical study of several obscure points in the archæology of the church is contained in the important article of Bortolan.

II. In the passion of the saints Felice and Fortunato we read that the martyrs were beheaded at Aquileia in the twelfth year of the reign of Diocletian (296). That night their bodies were secretly buried, but citizens of Vicenza, the native town of the saints, arrived and wished to carry away the relics. To this the citizens of Aquileia objected, and the matter was finally compromised by giving the Vicentini the head of S. Felice and the body of S. Fortunato.[13] Barbarano adds—apparently, however, without the

[9] Questa Chiesa è di mediocre grandezza divisa in tre parti, o Navi, sostenute da Colonne di Marmo, la quale si crede, che sieno del Tempio di Venere, che qui era, ovvero dell'antico Anfiteatro di Berga. La Cappella maggiore, alla quale s'ascende per molti scalini, e serve per Coro, è chiusa con alcune lastre di marmo rosso, sopra le quali si vede tale iscrizione:

MCL. Hos jussit cancellos Minister fieri Albertus
Ut memores sitis ejus, quicumque videtis
Atque juvetis eum, semper rogando, Deum.
Ut Deus in regno faciat gaudere superno.

MCLXXVIIII. Bricius hunc Chorum fecit cum prole decorum Veronæ natus lapides sculpendo. (Barbarano, V, 358).

[10] Questa Cappella è antichissima, fatta in quadro, e incrostata di marmi bianchi, e in alcune parti lavorata à mosaico. Appresso l'altare è l'immagine de S. Prosdocimo. (*Ibid.,* V, 362).

[11] La porta fu costruita nel 1154, la tribuna nel 1179, la confessione o sottocoro nel 1183, la torre adjacente nel 1160, il primo chiostro nel 1250; come da iscrizioni esistenti. (*Grande Illustrazione,* IV, 796).

[12] L'Uffizio regionale pregò che fossero con ogni diligenza raccolti e conservati i pezzi di cornice del secolo IX a grandi fogliami d'acanto. . . . (184).

[13] Nocte autem venerunt viri religiosi civitatis, cum linteaminibus mundis et aromatibus, et condierunt corpora eorum occulte; et supervenerunt ibidem provinciales eorum civitatis Vicentiæ, volentes corpora eorum ad suam patriam perducere, sed cives Aquilegienses, non eos permittebant. Et dum diu inter eos esset contentio, metuentes Præsidiis et Paganorum sævitiam, ex Dei nutu hoc inter se ordinaverunt, ut unum tenerent apud semetipsos, et alium memoratæ civitatis Vicentiæ civibus reliquerent. (*Acta Sanctorum,* Junii, II, 456).

support of authentic documents—that the Vicentini carried the relics to Vicenza, and placed them in a church built in honour of the saints near that of SS. Vito e Modesto.[14] Barbarano also cites a local tradition to the effect that this church was built soon after the year 300.[15]

In 554 the church was restored by Narses with the spoils of the Goths.[16]

Pagliarino states in evident error that the church was founded in the year 700,[17] but Castellini writes—no doubt more exactly—that in this year it was restored.[18]

In 802 the church was visited and enriched by Charlemagne.[19] In the X century it was devastated by the Hungarians, but in the year 975 was restored by the bishop Rodolfo. This we learn from a donation of the bishop, preserved by Castellini.[20] It is evident from the donation that at this time

[14] Presa donque i Vicentini la loro portione, s'auiarono a Vicenza; oue gionti collocarono quelle santissime Reliquie in vna Chiesa, che in honor loro fabbricarono appresso quella de' santi Vito e Modesto. (Barbarano, I, 62).

[15] Barbarano, V, 354.

[16] Del 554 Narsete . . . rifece delle spoglie de' Gothi la Chiesa de' Santi Felice, e Modesto, la quale hora è de' Santi Felice e Fortunato. (Pagliarino, 8). La più antica memoria, che di questa Chiesa si trovi è del 554. nel qual tempo havendo Narsete . . . superato Teja . . . fece ristaurare questa Chiesa. . . . (Barbarano, V, 363).

[17] Del 700. si legge esser stata fondata la Chiesa de' Santi Felice, & Fortunato, la quale prima fù detta de' Santi Vito, & Modesto, & ancora leggiamo esser stato tempio dalli nostri maggiori dedicato a Diana. (Pagliarino, 151).

[18] In quest'anno (700) pure fu ristaurata la Chiesa de' Santi Vito e Modesto, posta fuori delle mura della Città di Vicenza, ed ora detta de' Santi Felice e Fortunato, la quale ne' passati disturbi patiti dalla nostra Città dovette essere distrutta e rovinata. (*MS. cit.*, III, f. 131).

[19] Del 802. Carlo Magno figliuolo di Pipino hauuta la vittoria contra Longobardi venne da Verona à Vicenza, e alloggiò nel Theatro, che il volgo chiama Berga; visitò la Chiesa de' Santi Vito, & Modesto, la quale hora è de' Santi Felice, e Fortunato, dotandola di molti doni; anticamente iui si vedeuano le insegne de' Francesi con lettere d'oro. (Pagliarino, Lib. I, sotto anno 802). Cf. Barbarano, V, 363.

[20] In nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis. Anno Incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi nongentesimo septuagesimo quinto, Indictione tertia, Imperante Domino Othone II. filio magni Othonis, anno Imperii ejus decimo. Ego in Dei omnipotentis nomine Rodulphus S. Vicentinæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus Cœnobium Sancti Viti atque Modesti situm foris Civitate Vicentiæ, quod penitus omni monastico cultu & divino officio inveni destitutum, & desolatum ob negligentiam Pastorum, & devastationem barbararum gentium, quæ in Italiam nuper irruerunt, decrevi restaurare, atque redintegrare ad honorem Sanctorum Martyrum Felicis et Fortunati, Viti atque Modesti. . . . Præterea ad Sacrum Ministerium cotidie peragendum, electioneque cunctorum nostrorum fidelium clericorum atque laicorum ibidem constitui Abbatem Dominum Joannem, regulari disciplina . . . cui . . . suisque successoribus per hujus decreti paginam omnia confirmo, quæ ad præfatam Abbatiam pertinuisse invenire potui, & ex nostra parte, quantum pro tempore potui, addidi. . . . Quantum a fluvio Rodano [Cordano] & Wisega [Campo Marzio] extenditur per longum usque ad Pontem Altum, per latum vero a fluvio Retrone usque ad alium Pontem, qui super eundem fluvium positus ducit ad Monticellum. Concessi itaque eidem suprascripto Monasterio

the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato was united with the monastery of SS. Vito e Modesto. It is unfortunate that the original of this important document is lost. The chronological notes in Castellini's copy do not correspond, since the year 975 and the third indiction fall upon the eighth, not the tenth, year of the reign of Otto II. This error, however, is not so great but that it might easily have been made in an authentic document. It is singular, however, that Barbarano, who must have seen the original parchment, gives the date as 966.[21] In 1046 the donation of Rodolfo was confirmed by the bishop Lotario in a privilege in which are cited at length passages from the original diploma. But this diploma Lotario gives to the year 990, which also corresponds to the third indiction,[22] but is the seventh year of the reign of Otto III.[23]

Castellini records that he saw in the now dispersed archives of the monastery documents of 1074,[24] 1091,[25] and 1048.[26]

In 1150 the choir-rail in Verona marble was executed, according to a now lost inscription, copies of which have been preserved by Barbarano and Castellini, in passages cited above.

The architrave of the portal of the existing basilica bears a leonine inscription to this effect: "By God's inspiration and by order of Zaccheo, Pietro the Venetian built this beautiful door, which opens to those seeking holy things."[27]

Abbatiam Sancti Viti, sicut superius diximus, sitam juxta Ecclesiam Sancti Felicis, ubi Sacrum ejus Corpus requiescit, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. . . . (Castellini, IV, 117-127).

[21] Barbarano, I, 62.

[22] Lotario, however, gives the indiction as the thirteenth.

[23] In nomine Domini Dei eterni, à natiuitate eiusdem Millesimo centesimo quadragesimo sexto VIII Cal. Aprilis. Actum feliciter in Ciuitate Vicentia', in domoq solario. Lotharius Venerabilis Dei gratia Episcopus Vicentinus . . . in manu sua scripturam tenens cuiusdam priuilegii, in qua antecessor eius Vicentinę Ecclesia' Episcopus nomine Rodulfus sub anno Dominicę Incarnationis noningentesimo nonagesimo. Inditione decima tertia. Imperante Domino Ottone secundo filio Magni Ottonis. Anno Imperij eius decimo. Cenobium Sancti Viti, et Modesti ante situm foris Ciuitate Vicentia', sequetum [*sic*] peritus omni Monastico cultu, et diuino offitio destitutum, et dessolatum ob deuastationem Barbararum gentium, quę omnem Italiam tunc temporis irruerant, uti priuilegium ostendebat decreuit restaurare, et redintegrare ad honorem Sanctorum Martirum Felicis, et Fortunati, Viti, atque Modesti pro animabus etc. . . . Concessit atque Rodulfus eidem suprascripto Monasterio Abbatiam Sancti Viti, sicut superius diximus, sitam iuxta Ecclesiam Sancti Felicis, ubi Sanctum eius corpus requiescit, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, etc. (Castellini, II, f. 123).

[24] Castellini, V, 135.

[25] *Ibid.*, 107; *MS. cit.*, II, f. 121, complete transcription.

[26] *MS. cit.*

[27] ✠ HUNC ADITVM TEMPLI Q[VI] PANDITUR ALMA PETENTI. INSPIRANTE DO U[E]L DISPONENTE ZACHEO. EXTRUXIT UENET' NON VILI SCEMATE PETR'. M.C.LIIII

The campanile formerly possessed an inscription containing the date 1160, according to Cattaneo, the *Grande Illustrazione* and Pagliarini.[28]

In 1168 the monastery was taken under the protection of the see of St. Peter by the pope, Alexander III, whose bull on this subject is extant in a transcription of Castellini.[29]

In 1179 the choir was erected, as is known from an inscription now lost, but preserved in the copies of Castellini and Barbarano, cited above. Unfortunately, neither author states exactly where this inscription was placed, and just what is meant by the word *chorum* is open to doubt. I believe, however, that Cattaneo is right in interpreting this inscription as referring to a restoration of the choir and apse.

Cattaneo and the *Grande Illustrazione* both state that in the crypt was inscribed the date, 1183, and Cattaneo adds that this inscription was placed on the windows. No trace of it is now to be found.

In 1250 was erected the cloister, which has since disappeared. This is known from the inscription still extant in the narthex.[30]

The edifice was restored in 1425, as is recorded in another inscription in the narthex.[31]

[28] In un perfilo di pietra verso la strada maggiore si vedono alcune lettere, che dicono

Anno Domini MCLX

(Pagliarini, 362).

[29] Among the possessions confirmed are: & cętera iura, et libertates ceu donationes, quas bone memorię Rodulphus, Lambertus, Hieronimus, Astulfus, Lithierus, Turingus, Eccelinus, Henricus, Lotharius quanda' Episcopi Vicentini Monasterio uestro . . . concesserunt, et vos à quadraginta annis retro absque legittima interruptione posseditis. Dat. Beneuenti . . . II id. Septembr. Inditione prima Incarnationis Dominicę anno Millesimo centesimo sexagesimo octauo. Pontificatus uerò Domini Alexandri Papę tertij anno decimo. (*MS. cit.*).

[30] M. L. BINO. C. CEPTVM CLAVSTRVM FVIT HOCCE.| AVGVSTO. BĪNIS IVNCTISQ; FVIT SIBI FINIS.| IN MAIO. DN̄S ET TVNC ADERAT PEREGRIN'.| ABBAS LAVDAND' PASTORQ; LOCI VENERAND'.| LAVS DECUS ETERNO REGI CELIQ; SVP[ER]NO.| LAUS FORTVNATO SIT FELICIQ; BEATO ✠

[31] HANC ĒDĒ VETVSTSIMA TĒPLI QVĀ MVLTIS TĒPORIB'
NEGLECTĀ. D. ANDREAS VENETVS ABBAS HVIVS. LOCI
CONSPEXIT. EO Q[VOD] SVO TPRE CŌP[ER]A. S. FELICIS. ET
FORTVNATI.
. V . INOCĒTV̄. NEC NŌ. B. E(*sic* =F)LOIĀNI. M. ATQVE. S. M.
GAVDĒCIE. INO
CENCIE. NEOPHITE. ET. CASIE REP[ER]TA FVISSET. REPARĀI.
IVSSIT.
ET LICET. CETA P[ER]MVTACŌĒ INP[ER]FECTĀ RELIQVERIT.
TAMEN.
CEOBIO VACĀTE. DEVOCŌE ĀPLISIMA. P. VICĒTINVS. SVIS.
STVDIO ET VIRIB' AD P[ER]FECŌEM DEDVXIT . HEC AVTE
ACTA SVNT CVRĒTE ĀNO XPĪ M CCCC XXV

In 1462 monks of the congregation of S. Giustina were called in by the commendatary abbot,[32] although the bull promulgated by Pius II on this subject dates only from 1463.[33] In the following year, 1464, the altar of St. Benedict was demolished, and certain relics came to light—events which are described in two inscriptions preserved by Barbarano.[34]

The corporations of Vicenza were accustomed to go every year to the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato to make an offering. This custom, which probably dates from very early times, is explicitly mentioned in a document of 1393, preserved in a transcription of Castellini.[35]

Another inscription in the narthex records a restoration carried out in 1674.[36] The existing façade had been erected somewhat before this, that is to say in 1668, according to an inscription now barely legible. In the time of Pagliarino, who lived about the middle of the XVII century, the church was of parochial rank,[37] and it probably became so at the time it passed to the Paduan monks. In 1754 the sacristy was completely baroccoized—*intus forisque in hanc formam redactum*—according to an inscription there still extant. In 1779 Arnaldi speaks of the church as being both a parish and a monastery of Benedictines.[38] Soon after this the monks must have been suppressed.

From 1893 to 1895 the church underwent a tasteless restoration in the barocco style, in which perished most of the remains of ancient architecture

[32] Castellini, XII, 221. [33] Barbarano, V, 355. [34] V, 360.

[35] MCCCLXXXXIII. Inditione prima die Sabbati, decimonono Aprilis Uicentia' in Communi Palatio ad bancum sigilli prȩsentibus Franciseo de Prandino, et Vberto de Verlatis notj sigilli. Discretus, et sapiens Vir Dominus Andreas de Fonatura de Bassiano Iud. Vicarius Domini Potestatis Vicentia' huius pij instrumenti tenore papiri. Mandat Gastaldionibus, et fratalea' peliparionem [*sic*], Gastaldionibus, et fratalea' cerdonum; et Gastaldionibus, et fratelea' Tabernariorum Ciuitatis Vicentia', quatenus penna, et banno X. libr. paruorū pro quaque fratalea debeant usque ad tres dies proxim. festj. dedisse, et soluisse Venerabili Viro Domino Abbati Sancti Fȩlici de Vicentia xx sold. den. paru. pro quaque fratalea pro oblatione paliorum suorum postalonem ad festum Sanctorum Fȩlicis et Fortunati quod fuit cȩlebratum die Lunȩ VII Aprilis presentis, et hoc ideo fecit dictus Dominus Vicarius eò quod habuit informationem, quod de antiqua consuetudine omnes fratalea' Ciuitatis Vicentia' dant, et soluunt, ac dare et soluere consueuerent, et dabunt XX. solid. den. paru. pro quaque omni anno ad dictum festum pro oblatione prędicta, etiam si habeant palia à se, ita quod non sit necesse ipsa palia sibi concedi per eundem Dominum Abbatem et esi per Zambello Terarij prȩco Vicentia' quod faciat dictum prȩceptum. Antonius. q'. Michaelis de Zoino not. sigilli. (Castellini, *MS. cit.*, II, f. 134).

[36] TĒPLV̄ HOC
RVDI QVADA STRVCTVRA IAM
PRIDE CŌPACTV̄
MAIORI STVDIO MELIORE Ī FORMĀ
ABBAS ET MONACHI REDEGERE
ANNO MDCLXXIIII

[37] Pagliarino, 358. [38] 39.

until then extant. It is to the eternal shame, not only of Vicenza but of Italy, that this unique monument, of the utmost importance for the history of art, was destroyed.

III. The existing structure is almost entirely modern, and fragments of the original Romanesque basilica survive only in the crypt, the apse, the exterior wall, the campanile, and the sacristy. Cattaneo, who saw the monument before the restoration of 1893, states that in his time there were still visible in the north wall of the choir parts of an original alternate pier which were preserved when the north side aisle was destroyed to isolate the campanile. The significant fact that the system of the original church was alternate, and that the heavier piers had a cruciform section, was demonstrated by these fragments. It also appeared that the side aisle was spanned by transverse arches. These precious remains have disappeared, but on the south side of the choir may still be seen in a closet opening out of a passage-way part of one of the intermediate piers. Whether the alternate system was continued throughout the nave, there was nothing to show in the time of Cattaneo, but the ancient descriptions cited above which speak of the columns of the nave, but say nothing of piers, give some reason to suspect that the alternation of supports may have been confined to the choir.

There can be no doubt that the upper part of the apse (Plate 239, Fig. 4) is a later addition to the original structure, since the masonry is entirely different. That of the lower part of the apse is of good quality, and consists of bricks laid in courses which are for the most part horizontal, although they are frequently broken. Some bricks are laid vertically, others with the broad side exposed. Many seem to be used as second-hand material, and are broken off irregularly. The bricks are of all sizes, shapes and colours, and many of them are very large. The mortar contains good-sized pebbles, and is laid in enormously wide beds. Some herring-bone courses, and some very roughly squared stones, are introduced amid the bricks. There are square scaffolding holes.

Above the first row of corbel-tables, on the other hand, the masonry is of a very different character. The bricks are without cross-hatching, like those below, but they are of regular size, and laid in horizontal courses, with neat and narrow mortar-beds. Occasionally bits of fine ashlar are introduced. The masonry of the campanile appears to be identical in character with that of the upper part of the apse, and the clearstory, although somewhat more roughly constructed, may be of approximately the same epoch. The two central windows of the crypt have been recently restored (Plate 239, Fig. 4).

The apse of the sacristy is polygonal externally, but semicircular internally. The masonry is even rougher than that of S. Felice, and consists of stones and bits of brick, obviously second-hand, laid in courses which are seldom horizontal, and constantly broken. Although entirely remade, this

building perhaps retains its ancient plan, which is that of a cruciform building with a single apse and a central cupola.

IV. In the crypt are extant six ancient capitals, characterized by the unskilful drawing of the volutes, and the surface carving of the acanthus leaves (Plate 239, Fig. 3).

The exterior of the apse is decorated by two rows of arched corbel-tables, grouped two and two and supported on pilaster strips (Plate 239, Fig. 4). It is evident that the apse anciently terminated at the height of the lower cornice, and that when it was subsequently raised, the arched corbel-tables grouped two and two were repeated for the sake of harmony. In the campanile, which leans noticeably to the northward, are many fragments of Carlovingian and early Christian carving, used as second-hand material. In an alley to the north of the entrance to the church are six or seven columns of Verona marble, and two architraves of the Lombard porch, carved with lions. These are said to have been removed from the crypt in 1893.

The western portal is very broad, and has a flat architrave which was doubtless surmounted by an archivolt. The fine mouldings of the jamb are carried across the architrave in a very classic manner. The spiral-fluted, or, rather twisted, shaft, has circular bases and abaci. On the former may be seen two caryatids in relief.

In the narthex is a small museum of antiquities, the most notable of which are a lantern of the dead, and sculptures of S. Fortunato and another saint.

Eighteen inches below the pavement of the existing basilica and to the west of the crypt have been discovered the remains of an ancient pavement in mosaic. It is ornamented with rectilinear designs in black, white and pink, on which are placed medallions with inscriptions recording the names of donors:

MAVRICVS
ET MACRIANA
CVM SVIS

FORTVNATVS
CVM SVIS

ADRIAS
CVM SVIS

CARP[ILIVS]
ET PENE[TI]A
CVM SVIS
EX VOTO

LEONTIVS
ET MARNIANA
CVM SVIS
EX VOTO

VICENZA, SS. FELICE E FORTUNATO

FELIX V C
TORIBIVS
ET IMMOLA
CC FF EX VOTO

SPLENDONIVS
ET IVSTINA C. S.
EX VOTO
. . . . .
EX VOTO

V. Probably no church in all northern Italy offers chronological difficulties as perplexing as those of SS. Felice e Fortunato. From the circumstance that the mosaic was discovered on a level eighteen inches below that of the existing pavement, and from the extremely classic character of the names of the donors, it may be argued that the mosaic belongs to a very early date. So elaborate a work could hardly have been executed before the peace of the Church made in 313, but I am inclined to believe that this pavement belonged to the first really important edifice erected by the Vicentini over the tombs of the martyrs, and hence probably to the IV century. The sacristy evidently dates from the VI century. The apse, polygonal externally, semicircular internally, recalls those of the churches of Ravenna. The plan is characteristic of the epoch, as were also the mosaic decorations which the old descriptions prove existed formerly. This, therefore, must have been part of the church erected by Narses in 554. Its position makes it evident that it never could have occupied the site of the IV century church, the position of which is marked by the remains of the ancient mosaic pavement. It must, therefore, either have been some accessory structure, such as the baptistery or chapel, or possibly it may have been the ancient church of S. Vito, which, it is known, adjoined the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato. The capitals of the crypt, with their weak and flabby technique, recall the style of the X century. In spirit they are closely akin to the lazily executed capitals of 903 in the crypt of S. Savino at Piacenza (Plate 186, Fig. 2, 3), but in details of technique they show some analogy with the capitals of the crypt of Galliano (Plate 96, Fig. 2). Compare, for example, the drawing of the volutes in the two. It is evident, however, that the capitals of Vicenza are far inferior to those of Galliano, and much more crudely executed. They may, therefore, be ascribed with considerable confidence to the third quarter of the X century. Since, moreover, we know that the bishop Rodolfo reconstructed the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato at this time, these capitals may be taken as authentically dated monuments of 975.

The great question remains whether any other portions of the edifice may be assigned, as Cattaneo believes, to this same epoch. I think a comparison of the capitals of the crypt (Plate 239, Fig. 3) with the capitals shown in his drawing, gives a conclusive answer in the negative as far as

regards the famous compound piers. A greater contrast in the quality of the technique could hardly be found between the flaccid, lifeless work of the crypt, and the heavy, bold, strong carving of the capital of the compound pier. That, on the other hand, Cattaneo's capital is transitional to the developed Lombard style, can not be denied. But it seems to belong not to the X, but to the second quarter of the XI, century, although I confess that I have looked in vain for analogies to it in other works of the epoch. The date may, perhaps, be best determined by studying the lower portion of the apse (Plate 239, Fig. 4). The character of the masonry here, and the arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, show such close analogies with S. Giustina of Sezzè (Plate 206, Fig. 3, 4), a monument of 1030, and other contemporary edifices, that there can be no doubt that this portion of S. Felice e Fortunato dates from the same epoch. It is my conviction that Cattaneo's capital was contemporary. The church built by Rodolfo in 975 must have been a hastily constructed and unadorned edifice. For some reasons which we now can only guess, it was found necessary to reconstruct it, with the exception of the crypt, c. 1030.

In the last half of the XII century extensive alterations and embellishments were carried out in the church. In 1150 the choir-rail was executed. In 1154 was added the existing portal, and perhaps about this time was erected the existing clearstory, although the absence of arched corbel-tables and pilaster strips leads to the suspicion that this wall may have been rebuilt with old materials at a later date. The campanile dates from 1160, and in 1179 the apse was raised and the second row of arched corbel-tables added. In 1183 the crypt was reconstructed.

VICOFERTILE DI S. PANCRAZIO,[1] S. GEMINIANO

(Plate 240, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The church of Vicofertile has been the subject of two monographs. One, by Cusani, is sumptuously illustrated and valuable especially for the architecture; but the other, by Soncini, should be consulted for the history of the edifice.

II. Of the early history of the monument nothing is known. In 1304 the commune of Parma decreed that the portico of the church of Vicofertile, destroyed in the wars, should be rebuilt.[2] In 1325 Vicofertile was destroyed, but it must be that the church suffered little damage at this period, since the existing edifice is obviously older than the XIV century.[3] It may be that the nave and side-aisle roof fell a prey to the flames and that this formed the

[1] (Parma). [2] Cusani, 5. [3] *Ibid.*

basis of the evidently exaggerated statements of the chronielers. Between 1688 and 1692 the church was baroccoized. Chapels were erected, the nave and side aisles were vaulted, the walls were raised, baroeco windows were opened, and a new eampanile erected (Plate 240, Fig. 1).[4]

An archæologieal restoration was carried out in 1909-1910. The side portal was rebuilt, but in the modern eonstruction were ineluded two aneient Romanesque fragments. The southern absidiole was reconstructed on the traces of the foundations, which were excavated. The aneient windows of the eentral apse were reopened. On the northern side the windows in the fifth and seventh bays were remade, as were also the walls of the sixth, seventh and eighth bays, whieh had been destroyed by the baroeco chapels there erected. The rib vault of the choir was remade *seguendo scrupolosamente le curve antiche e conservando intatti al loro posto i costoloni originali.*[5] The thoroughness of this restoration may be gathered from the naïve and complaeent remark of Soncini: *"Ora la chiesa non si direbbe che nella sua ossatura e nel suo aspetto sia più quella che si era solito vedere pochi mesi fa."*[6]

III. The church consists of a nave (Plate 240, Fig. 2) four bays long, two side aisles, an apse, a southern absidiole, and a campanile which replaces the original northern absidiole. At present the edifice is entirely vaulted. The eastern bay of the nave is covered with a rib vault, slightly domed. The plan is approximately square; the depressed diagonals of torus section are carried on corbels; the wall ribs are rectangular. The vaults of the nave (Plate 240, Fig. 2) are of the Renaissance. It is certain that the nave was originally covered with a wooden roof. The transepts are covered with groin vaults so highly domed in the longitudinal sense as to resemble barrel vaults. They are probably at least in part original, since, unlike the vaults of the nave, they have rectangular wall ribs. The vaults of the side aisles (Plate 240, Fig. 2), of somewhat similar character, are obviously of the Renaissance.

The piers in section consist of a rectangular core upon which are engaged four semi-columns (Plate 240, Fig. 2). The lower part of the two easternmost piers, however, consists entirely of rectangular members. The side aisles have responds consisting of three rectangular members only in the eastern bays. The system of the nave comprises three members, of which the central one is semicircular. This system at present terminates in finely carved consoles, placed just below the existing vaults (Plate 240, Fig. 2). Originally, however, the system probably did not end here. It is likely that the consoles came from elsewhere, and were here inserted when the existing vaults were erected. The cubic capitals of the system of the east bay under the arch are original.

During the restoration the foundations of an earlier church came to light beneath the pavement. This has been indicated by dark stones inlaid in the

[4] Soncini, 42-43. [5] Cusani, 17. [6] 44.

present flooring. The edifice appears to have been of the basilican type, and to have had a single apse. No traces of the supports have been found, but the walls were of extraordinary thickness.

In the interior much brick is mixed with the stone (Plate 240, Fig. 2). The bricks are very wide and long, and are carefully laid in horizontal courses, with mortar-beds of moderate thickness. Externally, the walls are faced with small square stones (Plate 240, Fig. 1), except the upper part of the choir, which is faced with brick. The violent break in the masonry of the north wall (Plate 240, Fig. 1) is due to the restoration. A Renaissance chapel existing at this point was destroyed, and the restorers rebuilt the wall as it stands. The widely splayed windows were intended to serve without glass.

IV. The capitals are ornamented with figures, grotesques, serrated leaves in very delicate relief without undercutting, volutes, anthemia and, in one case, with crockets very Gothic in character. The bases with griffes are Attic, or have a profile with an exaggerated scotia.

The flanks (Plate 240, Fig. 1) are adorned with blind arches, or with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two. The apse has blind arches. The façade (Plate 240, Fig. 1) has arched corbel-tables grouped two and two. A cornice of double arched corbel-tables crowns the façade (Plate 240, Fig. 1) and the apse. The original cornice of the side aisles has entirely disappeared. The saw tooth of the eastern bays of the northern side-aisle wall is of the XVII century, but the restorers thought it was original and restored it throughout. The decoration in blind arches and arched corbel-tables grouped two and two is derived from the cathedral of Parma, and is found in many churches of the XII or XIII century in the Parmigiano, notably S. Vitale of Salsomaggiore and S. Croce of Parma.

The windows are surmounted by triple billets. The pinnacles of the façade (Plate 240, Fig. 1) were added probably after the fire of 1325. At this epoch the rose-window was probably opened in the façade.

The walls bear many traces of intonaco, so that it is certain that the exterior was once covered with frescoed ornament. On the soffits of the archivolts of the eastern arches, on the south side of the nave, are remains of conventional patterns in fresco.

A number of capitals are carved with crude figures. A nude man and woman perhaps represent Adam and Eve. Three figures, the central one of which holds a branch with three leaves, seem to be reminiscent of the month of April; a man pruning the vine perhaps recalls December; another, on horse-back, May. The remaining figures appear to be wholly grotesque.

On the baptismal font are the following sculptures: (1) a tonsured priest carrying a cross and a censer; (2) another priest carrying a candle; (3) another similar priest, also carrying a candle; (4) a deacon holds a book which is held also by another priest, who is tonsured and wears a chasuble. The right hand of the priest is raised in benediction.

V. The church of Vicofertile is an important example of the local school of architecture which grew up in the Parmigiano at the end of the XII and the beginning of the XIII centuries.[7] Compared with S. Croce of Parma, an edifice which was consecrated in 1222, or with S. Andrea of the same city, an authentically dated monument of 1216, Vicofertile is seen to be distinctly more primitive. Our monument may, therefore, be ascribed to c. 1200.

[7] In order to discuss intelligently the date of this edifice, it is necessary to touch upon several buildings of the XIII century, which belong to the same school, but which, strictly speaking, fall without the limits of this work.

The church of S. Andrea of Parma is surely dated 1216 by the following inscription in the third chapel from the west on the north side:

✠ANNIS SEX DENIS IUNCTIS CU' MILLE DUCENIS ∴
ME NOVIT UT MREM (= matrem) QUE CLAMAT MATUA PATREM ∴
CUM ME FIRMARI UOLUIT SIC ET REPARARI:
HUNC NUTRII CARU QUE DANT SUA PREMIA CLARU:
SED POST ME REXIT PATRUI QUEM GRA UEXIT:
NOMINE FIT DIGNUS MARTINUS UTERQUE BENIGN' ∴
QUORUM SALUATOR MISERERE SALUTIS AMATOR ∴

The interior of the church has been entirely baroccoized. The exterior, however, still retains, to a certain extent, its mediæval form, and is characterized by double arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips, and by arched corbel-tables grouped two and two. The masonry is polychromatic, two or three courses of brick alternating with one or more of square stones. The bricks are smaller than those of Vicofertile; the mortar-joints are much finer; the masonry as a whole is of better quality. Heavy buttresses are applied against the lower part of the walls only.

S. Croce of Parma, an edifice which was consecrated in 1222, consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, a barocco choir, a southern Renaissance chapel, etc. The exterior walls and the arcades of the nave are mediæval. The piers, like those of Vicofertile, consist of a rectangular core, upon which are engaged four semicircular members. The system has the same section as that of Vicofertile (Plate 240, Fig. 2), and receives capitals at a level only slightly above that of the arches of the main arcade. The side aisles are covered with groin vaults, oblong in plan, and much domed in the longitudinal sense. If not original, they are doubtless copies of the ancient ones, since the side-aisle responds contain three members of which the central one is semicircular. In one case the ancient wall ribs are extant. It is impossible to say how the nave was roofed. The masonry, notably superior to that of Vicofertile, consists of fine large bricks well laid in horizontal courses and separated by thin mortar-beds. Square stones are also used, especially in the exterior. Although the bases are all covered, they appear to have been Attic with griffes. The capitals are carved for the most part with grotesques, or with figures, or with curious, dry, very archaic leaves and strings. There is no trace of French influence. The capitals are less crude than those of Vicofertile, but are characterized by the same puerility of composition, the same high relief, and the same fondness for smooth, round masses. They might well be later works of the same master. The exterior is ornamented with blind arches, or arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, or in larger groups.

S. Prospero of Collecchio (Parma) is a church of the early XIII century, of the same type as S. Andrea of Parma and Vicofertile. Although spoiled by recent restoration, the apse is still of interest. This portion of the edifice is square externally, semicircular internally, and is supplied with prismatic buttresses. The masonry is

VIGOLO MARCHESE,[1] BATTISTERO

(Plate 240, Fig. 3)

I. The baptistery of Vigolo Marchese has been illustrated by Lopez[2] and has been referred to by Mothes.[3]

II. Of the history of the baptistery nothing is known beyond what is said below in connection with S. Giovanni. The latter church, it appears, was built in the year 1008, as a Benedictine monastery. It seems strange that a monastery should have had a baptistery annexed, and it may possibly be that our structure was originally some sort of an accessory chapel, like the Cappella della Madonna di Pietà, built adjoining the church of the monastery of S. Satiro at Milan, about the year 876, or like the cemetery chapels built near the monasteries of Sagra S. Michele, Piona, and S. Pietro di Civate, in the XI and XII centuries.

III. The edifice consists of a circular nave, divided from the side aisle by six cylindrical piers. To the east is an apse, to the north and south rectangular niches. The side aisle is barrel-vaulted, the nave covered with a dome masked externally (Plate 240, Fig. 3). The interior is covered with intonaco, and the exterior has been almost entirely remade in a recent restoration, in the course of which one of the piers of the interior was also reconstructed. It is therefore difficult to judge of the quality of the masonry. The piers seem to have been constructed of enormous bricks, rather crudely laid in horizontal courses, with wide mortar-beds. The outside walls, on the contrary, were of rubble, of a quality perhaps slightly superior to that of S. Giovanni. The archivolts, however, appear to have been of brick. The tiles are laid directly on the extrados of the vaults (Plate 240, Fig. 3).

IV. The cubic capitals are very shallow, and of a curious formless type. The archivolts slide into the columns, and a cushion is hardly suggested. The

polychromatic. There are arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, and double arched corbel-tables. The baptismal font for immersion is evidently contemporary with the church.

The church of SS. Ippolito e Cassiano, of Gaione di Vigatto (Parma), is perhaps to be identified with the pieve of S. Prospero mentioned in 1107 and 1141 (Affò, II, 343, 350). The edifice appears to date from the early XIII century, but the monument possesses so little character, and is so completely covered with intonaco, that it is difficult to speak with certainty. The structure consists of a nave, two side aisles and a modern choir. The cylindrical piers, without real capitals, slide into their loads, and are marked only by the necking. The masonry is formed of ashlar of small, square stones, and there is a saw-tooth cornice.

[1] Vigolo Marchese is a frazione of Castell'Arquato, province of Piacenza.

[2] Tav. Agg. [3] I, 345.

bases, placed nearly a metre below the present pavement, appear to have been of the Attic type.

The exterior of the clearstory walls is adorned with a series of blind arches (Plate 240, Fig. 3). The exterior of the side aisles seems to have been ornamented with a series of blind arches supported on engaged half columns (Plate 240, Fig. 3). Beneath the intonaco of the interior are visible traces of the fresco decoration.

V. The arcade supported on half columns, of the exterior wall of the side aisle, recalls a similar arcade of the ambulatory of S. Stefano at Verona (Plate 222, Fig. 2), a monument which dates from c. 1000. The blind arches of the clearstory recall those of the apse of S. Vincenzo of Galliano (Plate 99, Fig. 1), an authentically dated monument of 1007. The masonry, on the other hand, closely resembles that of the church of S. Giovanni (Plate 240, Fig. 5), an authentically dated monument of 1008, but seems possibly a little more advanced. The baptistery may consequently be ascribed to c. 1010.

VIGOLO MARCHESE,[1] S. GIOVANNI

(Plate 240, Fig. 5)

I. The church of Vigolo Marchese has never been published.

II. According to Locati[2] the church of Vigolo Marchese was founded by the marchese Oberto. Campi adds that the church was built in the year 1008, and that the marchese founded also a monastery of Benedictine monks with a hospital annexed, and translated thither relics of S. Ippolito.[3] A

[1] Vigolo Marchese is a frazione of Castell'Arquato, province of Piacenza.

[2] See text cited below, p. 569.

[3] Su questi medesimi dì è opinione, che Vberto Marchese d'Orta in Toscana, fondasse sul Piacentino in vno de' suoi villaggi, nomato Vicolo (che per essere lungo tempo stato di que' Marchesi, trasse da loro l'additione di Vicolo Marchese, ò de' Marchesi à differenza di due altri Vicoli, che nel Piacentino sono) il Monasterio, che si dice hauer lui edificato iui con la sua Chiesa, & Hospitale annessi, in honore di S. Giouanbattista col titolo di Abbatia, e per vso de' Monaci Benedettini. A' quali hauendo per dote, secondo che facoltoso era, moltissimi beni in varie finanze assegnati; ottenne ancora, che tal luogo all'Apostolico Seggio solamente, e non ad altro vbbidire, e soggiacer douesse. Nè molto dipoi, affine di porlo in riuerenza maggiore, che infin' hoggi nella medesima Chiesa (hora Prepositura) decentemente si serba, del sacro corpo di S. Hippolito Martire, che diè la vita per Christo in Miliano di Puglia, la cui festa ogni anno nõ tanto nel detto luogo di Vicolo, ma per tutta la Città, e Diocesi Piacentina con l'Officio e Lettioni proprie si celebra sotto il 30. di Gennaio; giorno, in cui ricorda altresì Santa Chiesa il martirio d'vn altro S. Hippolito, assai diuerso da questo. Vogliono alcuni Annali à penna [Marginal reference: Annal. MSS. Placen. apud Authorem], che fossero Otberto, Obizo, & Azo Marchesi i fondatori di tal Monasterio:

manuscript of Don Giovanni Antonio Morandi, entitled *Antichità di Castell'Arquato,* and written apparently about the end of the XVII century, is preserved in the archives of Castell'Arquato. In this Morandi repeats what we have just cited from Campi, but assigns the foundation, not to 1008, but to 1012. The authority of Campi is, however, to be preferred. Poggiale also cites the passage of Campi, but has no acquaintance with the original documents from which the notice was derived. He adds that the marchese Oberto flourished from 994 to 1014.

The notice of Campi is confirmed by an original document which he has published. The chronological notes of this are confused, but it dates from 1051 or 1053. Benedetto, abbot of the monastery of S. Giovanni at Vigolo, promises to pay a fine to Oberto (whose name is written also Opizo), son of the marchese Oberto, in case he, the abbot, or his successors shall fail to apply to the hospital certain goods given for this purpose by the marchese Oberto (or Opizo), and his father, Oberto.[4] Further confirmation is furnished by a deed of sale of the year 1029, made by the marchese Ugo, son of Oberto, and dated *actum infra Castro Monasterio sita Vieulo feliciter.*

Campi states that the monastery was made to depend directly upon the see of Rome. This statement is confirmed by a bull of 1135, in which the pope, Innocent II, states that the church of S. Giovanni of Vigolo belongs particularly to the right and dominion of St. Peter; that because of sins it is in an exceedingly sad condition, and had suffered decay both in temporal and spiritual matters. The pope therefore grants the church to Giovanni, prevosto of the cathedral chapter of Piacenza.[5]

ma io mi attengo a quello, che ne dice il Locati, e questo potrebbe esser stato il padre di quelli, & anche di Vgo, di cui diremo più auanti; si come ancor' al suo luogo rammentaremo la donatione, che i predetti Otberto, & Obizo al medesimo Monasterio fecero. [Marginal reference: Locat. histor. Placen. in fi. vbi de Ecclesijs.—See text cited below, p. 569]. (Campi, I, 298, sub anno 1008).

[4] In nomine Dei, & Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi secundum. . . . . Enricus gratia Dei Imperator Augustus, anno Imperij eius Deo propitio sesto, septimo Kalendas Februarij, indictione sesta. Vobis Otbertus, & Opizo gratia Dei Marchio filius bone memorie item Otberti, qui fuit similiter Marchio . . . Nos Donnus Benedictus Abbas Monasterio Sancti Ioanni sita loco Vieulo vna cum Odo Iudex . . . spondimus . . . nominatiue de casis, & rebus illis iuris eorum sup. Otbertus, & Opizo Marchio, & Albertus pater & filius in eodem Monasterio Sancti Ioanni, & de vestra portione de Curte, qui dicitur Mariaco, qui in Ecclesia Sanctorum Petri, & Pauli cãr offersionis pro anime vestre, & quondam parentũ vestrorum mercede vos misistis; ego ipse Donnus Benedictus Abbas, aut meos subcessores si comutauerit, aut alienauerit, & illas fruges, qui decimam pars esierit, in Ospitales non ministrauerint, sicut in eadem cartula offersionis legitur, que vos at suprascripto Monasterio misistis, & clarıerit, inde componam ego . . . pena argentum libras centum . . . (Campi, I, 513).

[5] Innocentius Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilecto filio Ioanni Ecclesiæ B. Mariæ Placentinæ Præposito, eiusque successoribus regulariter substituendis in perpetuum. . . . Ecclesia siquidem S. Ioannis de Viculo infrà Placentini Episcopatus terminos sita, quæ specialter ad ius B. Petri, & dominium pertinet; peccatis exigentibus

It is probable that at this time the monks were suppressed, and a chapter of canons regular established, since the pope speaks of the *regularium Conuentu*. Campi, in citing a document of 1164,[6] speaks of the *præpositus* of S. Giovanni. The same title is given to Uberto Fontana, who from prevosto of Vigolo became bishop of Brescia in 1263.[7] The canons of Vigolo Marchese are mentioned frequently in documents of the XII century preserved in the archivio of Castell'Arquato. In the time of Locati there was a prevosto and eleven canons.[8]

An inscription over the western portal records a restoration carried out in 1572.

In the time of Morandi[9] the church had been given in commendam and was again directly dependent upon the Holy See.

III. The church consisted originally of a nave and two side aisles. The orientation has been reversed, and the old façade is now the outside wall of the choir (Plate 240, Fig. 5). The interior of the church has been so completely made over that it is impossible to determine the original dispositions. At present the piers are cylindrical, and the archivolts of a single unmoulded order, but I have been unable to determine whether the arrangement was the same in the XI century. The existing vaults are certainly modern, and there can be no doubt that originally the edifice was roofed in wood. The southern side-aisle wall has been entirely remade, but the northern side-aisle wall is still the original one. Since it is without responds, it is probable that the side aisles were not vaulted.

The masonry (Plate 240, Fig. 5) consists of uncut stones of various sizes and shapes, and pieces of broken brick laid in courses which are only approximately horizontal. The mortar-beds are very wide, and there is much herring-bone work.

The buttresses of the façade (Plate 240, Fig. 5) were added at a subsequent period.

valde attrita est, & tam in temporalibus, quam in spiritualibus maximum substinuit detrimentum. Tu verò dilecte in Domino fili Ioanes Præposite ad Sedem Apostolicam veniens, eiusdem Ecclesiæ concessionem a nobis humiliter postulasti. Et Nos igitur . . . Ecclesiã ipsam tibi, tuisque successoribus . . . committimus, vt videlicet bona, & possessiones eiusdem loci, quæ distractæ sunt, vestro recuperentur studio, & habitæ conseruentur, & à regularium Conuentu ibi cotidie honestus famulatus Domino impendatur. . . . Dat. Pisis . . . 7 idus Iunij, indictione 13. Incarnationis Dominicæ anno 1136. Pontificatus verò D. Innocentij PP. Secundi anno sexto. (Campi, I, 536).

[6] II, 22. [7] *Ibid.*, II, 221, 293.

[8] Ecclesia sancti Ioannis Baptistę de Viculo Marchorum habet Præpositum, & canonicos vndecim, ac Præbendarios quindecim, in qua est corpus sancti Hyppoliti martyris, quam fundauit Vbertus de Orta Marchio. (Locati, 204).

[9] *MS. cit.*

IV. The clearstory was ornamented with blind arches (Plate 240, Fig. 5) in every third one of which was pierced a widely splayed narrow window, intended to serve without glass. The northern clearstory is still well preserved, but of the southern only a fragment is visible. The side-aisle walls were decorated with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two. These, it is true, have all disappeared, but distinct traces are still visible in the north wall, near the east end. The façade was adorned with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, or with blind arches (Plate 240, Fig. 5).

Above the existing vaults are remains of frescos, probably of the XI century, since the Greek fret ornament recalls Spigno. The exterior walls were also possibly ornamented with frescos, since in many places they still bear traces of the plaster with which they were covered.

V. The masonry and the blind niches show close analogies with S. Vincenzo of Galliano (Plate 99, Fig. 1), a monument dedicated in 1007. We may, therefore, consider S. Giovanni of Vigolo Marchese an authentically dated monument of 1008.

VIGUZZOLO,[1] CAPPELLA DEL CIMITERO

(Plate 241, Fig. 2)

I. To the extent of my knowledge, the pieve of Viguzzolo has never been published.

II. A church of S. Vitale at Viguzzolo is mentioned in a document of 1101.[2] This can not refer to our monument, however, which has always been dedicated to S. Maria. According to Carnevale, S. Maria was the principal church of Viguzzolo until it was supplanted by S. Bartolomeo. It was a pieve and officiated by an archpriest, four canons, and eleven chaplains.[3] The same notice is repeated by Pollini.[4] In a deed of sale of December 23, 1178, mention is made of *domnum presbiterum rainerium ecclesie sancte marie de uigizolo ministrum et rectorem et presbiterum sa[cerdo]tem et presbiterum Iohannem et tedixium fratres et canonicos suprascripte ecclesie.*[5] According to the memoirs of the archpriest Bastita, cited by Pollini,[6] the clergy was increased by four chaplains in 1693. Reduced in the time of the Revolution, the clergy was re-established to the number of ten in 1822. The ancient

1 (Alessandria). The church is dedicated to S. Maria.
2 Tiraboschi, *Nonantola,* II, 217.
3 Carnevale, 33. 4 71.
5 Gabotto e Legé, 101. 6 71-72.

church was restored in 1876, according to an inscription extant in the interior, over the western portal.[7]

III. The church consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles and an apse. The absidioles which formerly existed have been destroyed. The eastern bay of the southern side aisle was replaced in the barocco period by a barrel-vaulted structure resembling a transept (Plate 241, Fig. 2). The apse is covered by a half dome, the nave and side aisles are roofed in timber. There was originally a little clearstory of small, widely splayed windows, intended to serve without glass, but the aisle roofs have been raised to cut across these (Plate 241, Fig. 2). The south side-aisle wall was made over in the period of the Renaissance, and the façade has been covered with plaster and barbarous paint, added, apparently, in modern times. The northern side aisle has also been rebuilt.

The piers recall those of Lomello (Plate 106) in that they consist of a rectangular core, upon which are engaged two semi-columns, but there is no system, and the spurs merely support the second order of the archivolt.

The masonry is very crude (Plate 241, Fig. 2), consisting of irregularly shaped bricks and brick-shaped stones, mixed indiscriminately. The mortar-beds are very wide. The bricks are not cross-hatched. The courses are irregular, but some effort is made to maintain them horizontal. Herring-bone work occurs in one place in the façade.

IV. The piers are without capitals, and the half columns slide into the rectangular archivolt. No bases are now visible. The archivolts are in two orders on both sides, and tend to have raised extradoses. The apse arch is also in two orders. The façade is ornamented with pilaster strips and arched corbel-tables crudely executed and irregularly spaced. The clearstory walls and the apse are also adorned with arched corbel-tables (Plate 241, Fig. 2). These are grouped two and two, three and three, or five and five. The apse windows are in two orders. The corbels of the apse are executed in terra-cotta. In the eastern gable is a window in the form of a Greek cross (Plate 241, Fig. 2).

[7] TEMPLUM
B. V. ASSUMPTAE
OLIM
S. MARIAE RIPAE PADI
PLEBANI ET CANONICORUM
SEDES

UT
VENDAE ANTIQUITATIS
MONUMENTUM
RESTAURATUM
AD POSTEROS MITTIMUS
MDCCCLXXVI

V. Although the piers of the church resemble those of Lomello (c. 1025), the masonry and arched corbel-tables show that Viguzzolo is considerably later. The capitals recall those of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 1), a monument which dates from c. 1050. Viguzzolo may, consequently, be ascribed to about the same date.

VILLA D'OSSOLA,[1] S. BARTOLOMEO

(Plate 240, Fig. 4)

I. So far as I know, this monument has never been published.

II. The date 1610 inscribed upon one of the capitals probably records the epoch at which the church was baroccoized.

III. The interior has entirely lost its character, but the apse, east gable and campanile (Plate 240, Fig. 4) still retain their Romanesque forms. The masonry is a very rough sort of ashlar. Roughly squared stones are laid in courses, the horizontality of which is often broken. These stones are of very variable size, but are generally small.

IV. The apse is adorned with arched corbel-tables grouped five and five, and supported on pilaster strips; the gables, with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two or three and three and supported on shafts. The side walls (the church originally was of a single aisle) were adorned with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two and supported on pilaster strips rising from a podium placed only about a metre below the corbel-tables.

The most remarkable portion of the edifice is the tall and graceful campanile (Plate 240, Fig. 4), one of the finest bell-towers of northern Italy.

V. The masonry (Plate 240, Fig. 4) is analogous to that of Cemmo (Plate 52, Fig. 2), a monument of c. 1110. Villa d'Ossola may, consequently, be ascribed to the same epoch.

VILLANOVA,[1] S. PIETRO

(Plate 241, Fig. 1, 3, 4)

I. Cattaneo has illustrated the Carlovingian carving of the altar.[2] Excellent accounts of the edifice are contained in the guide of Simconi,[3] and in the monograph by Todesca.

[1] (Novara).
[1] (Verona). [2] 177. [3] 484.

II. In the east wall of the campanile is an inscription stating that the tower was begun by the abbot Uberto in the year 1148.[4]

In 1167 the altars were consecrated, according to a leaden inscription found in the wall of the church and published by Frizzi.[5] It is true that Frizzi says this inscription was found at Villanova in the diocese of Ferrara, whereas our Villanova is situated in the diocese of Vicenza. Nevertheless I think it is probable that the inscription came from our church.

The church was restored in the year 1400, as is recorded by the following inscription in the south wall, under the remains of the cloister:

OMNIBVS HIC PATEAT VIRTVS PRECL'RA IOHA͡NNIS
QVEM GENVIT MVTINA GVLIELMI P̄SVLIS A͡LMI
DIRRVPTI TEMPLI . SZ TEMPLVM CLA͡RVIT I͡PO
[ET] DOMVS [ET] CLAVSTRVM FVLGENT [ET] MENIA TOTA
ABBAS ISTE FVIT PREBENS EXEMPLA FVTVRIS
A͡NNO MILLENO CVM LVSTRIS OCTVAGINTA

In the XVII or XVIII centuries the church was again restored, as is recorded in an inscription now in part illegible over the apse arch:

RISTAURATA A . . . . . D. MDC . . . . .

III. The church consists of a nave (Plate 241, Fig. 4) five bays long, two side aisles, a choir, now of a single very long bay flanked by side aisles, three apses (Plate 241, Fig. 3), a crypt extending beneath the choir and apses, and a campanile (Plate 241, Fig. 3) rising to the north of the choir. The nave and side aisles are now covered with Renaissance groin vaults (Plate 241, Fig. 4). The supports of the nave are alternately piers and columns (Plate 241, Fig. 4). The piers of rectangular section are without bases, and have simple impost mouldings for their capitals (Plate 241, Fig. 4). There is no system. The crypt is covered with groin vaults supplied with disappearing transverse ribs. The vaults are slightly domed, and the transverse and wall ribs are loaded.

The piers are constructed of ashlar masonry of the very finest quality. The upper part of the central apse (Plate 241, Fig. 3), and the lower part of the campanile (Plate 241, Fig. 3), are constructed of masonry of precisely

[4] IN ANNO EST INCEPT' A͡bb TVRRE V̄bT
MILLESIMO CEN͡TESIMO VIII XL

[5] . . . entro il muro della Chiesa di Villanova della diocesi di Ferrara, ed ora si conserva presso il Sig. Ab. Lvdovico Saravalli Cancelliere:

A. D. M.CLXVII INDIC. XI
HEC ALTARIA CSECRA
TA SVT AB EPO AMATO
IN ONORE. S MARIE VIRG
ET S ELASII E[PISCOPI] S. MART . . . . .
(Frizzi, II, 133, 136).

the same quality, as is also the lower part of the façade. The upper part of the façade, on the other hand, the lower part of the central apse, and the two absidioles, are constructed of polychromatic masonry, in which bands of brick alternate with ashlar. The side walls are of much looser masonry, and have evidently been rebuilt entire, probably in 1400.

IV. The impost mouldings of the piers are fine and of advanced character (Plate 241, Fig. 4). The columns on the south side of the nave (Plate 241, Fig. 4) are both supplied with pilfered capitals. The easternmost is a fine Roman Corinthian capital, surmounting a superb pilfered shaft of variegated marble. The western capital, on the other hand (Plate 241, Fig. 4), is of a Corinthian type which recalls the capital in the cloisters of the Duomo at Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 2). The treatment of the volutes and of the acanthus leaves is strikingly analogous in the two examples. On the north side the capitals were made for their present position. One is of the Corinthian type, with grotesques in the angles, the other, which crowns an octagonal shaft, is a bold and not altogether happy exaggeration of the Byzantine basket acanthus type.

The archivolts are in a single unmoulded order (Plate 241, Fig. 4). The apses (Plate 241, Fig. 3), and the façade are decorated with the customary arched corbel-tables which, in the case of the central apse (Plate 241, Fig. 3), are in two orders, and surmounted by a cornice composed of a saw tooth and fine mouldings.

The capitals of the crypt are mostly of the Byzantine type, but there are no acanthus leaves. Three are of Corinthian type, with uncarved leaves, and appear to be of the XII century, although two of them bear the date of 1557.

In the back of the high altar is walled a slab of Carlovingian carving (Plate 241, Fig. 1) which is of peculiar interest.

V. This slab shows close analogies with several works of the VIII century. The bead-moulding is precisely similar to the moulding in the sarcophagus of Teodote in the museum at Pavia (Plate 167, Fig. 1). The peacocks are also similar to those of the Pavia monument, especially in the execution of the tails and in the legs, which, in both monuments, bend the wrong way. Moreover, several of the rosettes of the Villanova slab are strikingly similar to those of the Pavia sarcophagus. Other rosettes entirely similar to those of the Villanova slab are found in the ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4), the interlaces of which also recall those of the Villanova slab. In the altar of Ratchis at Cividale are Greek crosses with curved-back ends and interior ornamentation, like that of the Cividale cross, except that the crosses are Greek instead of Latin, and the ornamentation is stronger and bolder. A more analogous cross is found in the baptistery of Cividale (Plate 59, Fig. 3). Compared with all these examples of the

golden years of the VIII century, however, the Villanova slab shows a sharp falling off in technique and even in the sense of composition. Placed alongside of the superb slab of Bobbio, for example (Plate 24, Fig. 1), the Villanova slab appears, notwithstanding all the strong analogies, distinctly more decadent. We may therefore assume that it belongs not to the first, but to the second half of the VIII century. Now the Carlovingian capital of the nave (Plate 241, Fig. 4) must be contemporary, since it shows close analogy with the capital of the cloister of the Verona cathedral (Plate 216, Fig. 2), which dates from about 780. The Carlovingian slab and the capital may consequently be ascribed to c. 775.

The inscription of the campanile gives us a sure point of departure for dating the XII century portions of the church. This campanile was begun in 1148. On the other hand, if I am correct in applying Frizzi's inscription to this church, the building was consecrated—and, therefore, entirely finished—in 1167. It is evident that the masonries of ashlar and of ashlar banded with brick are contemporary in this edifice, as in many other churches of Verona. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that the church and campanile were erected about the same time. Indeed, a careful study of the masonry forces the conclusion that this was the case. Allowing ten years for the construction of the campanile, we may assume that the church was rebuilt between 1158 and 1167, dates which agree well with the style of the architecture.

In the XIV century the belfry was added to the campanile. About the year 1400 the walls were remade, and the cloisters added. In the XVII or XVIII century the church was baroccoized and vaulted.

VOGHERA,[1] CHIESA ROSSA

(Plate 242, Fig. 1, 2)

I. The Chiesa Rossa of Voghera was first published by the brothers Sacchi.[2] In recent years an account of the building has been published by Cicala and Cavagna Sangiuliani.

II. In the year 715 the oratory of S. Pietro alla Staffora near Voghera was given to the Monastero del Senatore, at Pavia.[3] It is probable that this oratory of S. Pietro later became our church of S. Ilario, since the latter is situated on the banks of the Staffora, and in later times belonged to the Monastero del Senatore.

In the archives of Voghera is a modern manuscript entitled, *Inventario*

[1] (Pavia). This desecrated church is situated in the south-western part of the city. It was dedicated to S. Ilario.

[2] 105. [3] Cavagna Sangiuliani, *Documenti*, I.

fabbricati di proprietà del Commune di Voghera. Beneath a plan and an elevation of the façade of the Chiesa Rossa is the entry: *Da una nota inedita parebbe fabbricata nell'anno 732.* Of the trustworthiness of the documents from which this notice was derived, there is no proof, but the conjecture may be hazarded that perhaps in 732 the oratory of S. Pietro was rebuilt, and its title changed to S. Ilario.

That S. Ilario is really very ancient is further indicated by an epitaph, which must be at least as old as the VIII century, still preserved in the church.[4]

In 951 our church was confirmed to the Monastero del Senatore by Berenger II and Adalberto.[5] S. Ilario is mentioned again in a document of April 24, 1139,[6] and in another document of 1143.[7] The rights of the Monastero del Senatore upon S. Ilario and the neighbouring region gave rise to protracted lawsuits between the bishop of Tortona and the Pavese nuns. An echo of this controversy is contained in a letter of Pope Eugenius III of 1152, in which the pontiff commands that those excommunicated by the bishop of Tortona shall no longer be allowed by the priests dependent upon the Monastero del Senatore who officiated in the church of S. Ilario to be present at the offices celebrated in the latter church.[8]

One of the gates of the city of Voghera is called of S. Ilario, because of its proximity to the church, in documents of 1153 and subsequent years.[9] A *ministro* of the church is mentioned in documents of 1176, 1177, 1179 and 1180.[10]

4 A B M ⅃
✠IIIC REQVIIS
CET IN PACE VIR
VENERABILIS PR
ESBYTER. BEREV
VLEVS QVI VIX
ET IN HVNC SECV
LVM ANNVS PLV
S MINVS. XXX[?]. REQ
VVIEBET SVB DIE.
III KALENDARVM
IANVARIARVM

5 Manfredi, 68, 76; Sacchi, 105.

6 Cavagna Sangiuliani, *Documenti,* 66.

7 *Ibid.,* 71.

8 EVgenius episcopus seruus seruorum dei: Dilecte in xpisto filię. abbatissę monasterij. SenatoriS: Salutem [*et*] apostolicam benedictionem Venerabilis fratris nostri G[uillelmi] Terdonensis episcopi aduersus te ac tuos querelam accepimus. . . . Conquestus est enim quod in cella sancti hylarij quam habes Viquerie: illi quos ipse pro suis excessibus ecclesiastica censura percellit: ad diuina officia receptantur a tuis. . . . Vnde presentium tibi auctoritate mandamus. quatenus ita de cetero tuos qui in eadem cella morantur ab hac temeritate cohibeas. (Legé e Gabotto, 31).

9 Cavagna Sangiuliani, *Documenti,* 100, 104, 155, 186, 192, 248, 272.

10 *Ibid.,* 158, 162, 178, 184.

In 1183 the controversy between the bishop of Tortona and the abbess of S. Maria del Senatore of Pavia broke out anew. The bishop laid claim to S. Ilario, qualified as ancient in the documents.[11] The testimony of the witnesses examined in this suit has been published by Legé e Gabotto.[12] Other documents of 1191[13] and 1195[14] referring to S. Ilario are extant. During the episcopate of Gandolfo (c. 1184-c. 1198), Celestine III (1191-1198), at the prayers of Lucia, abbess of the Monastero del Senatore, raised S. Ilario to the rank of parish, but confirmed to the nuns of Pavia their right of electing the rector.[15] The controversy about S. Ilario became complicated by claims put forward by the archpriest and chapter of S. Lorenzo. The bishop of Tortona forbade the parishioners of S. Ilario to hear mass in that church or to receive there the sacraments. In 1208, however, sentence was pronounced against the bishop and in favour of the nuns, in a document in which S. Ilario is again qualified with the adjective *veterem*.[16] The controversy was definitely settled two years later.[17]

In a list of the churches of Voghera of 1380, S. Ilario appears among the smaller establishments.[18] The brothers Sacchi, writing in 1829, say that the church had already been desecrated for many years, and used as a storehouse. During the XIX century it served as a powder-house. Two photographs, evidently made in the third quarter of the XIX century, and which show the edifice as it was before restoration, are reproduced in Plate 242, Fig. 1, 2.

III. The church consists of a nave of a single aisle. The apse has been destroyed (Plate 242, Fig. 2), and a sort of vestibule has been erected in the

[11] *Ibid.*, 232.

[12] Anno 1183. nono Calendas Martij, in lite inter Dominum Episcopum Terdonensem et Moniales Monasterij Senatoris Papiæ super ponte Stafulæ, . . . fuerunt . . . examinati 29. Testes cum Juramento

Et primus, qui est Presbyter, Deponit dictum pontem esse in territorio Viqueriæ in Episcopatu, vel Comitatu. . . .

Duodecimus Scit Pontem esse in Comitatu, quia vidit nuntios ejus Capere Latrones, et eum succedere morientibus sine testamento, excepto in poderio Abbatissæ. . . . (Legé e Gabotto, 46).

[13] Cavagna Sangiuliani, *Documenti*, 263, 278. [14] *Ibid.*, 278.

[15] Carnevale, 133; Manfredi, 68.

[16] Visis allegationibus, attestationibus utriusque partis, habito consilio Sapientum, Episcopo derthonensi et archipresbitero ex capitulo Viqueriae saepe citatis venire nolentibus, sententiamus ecclesiam S. Hylarii veterem quasi parochiam seu viciniam sicut per testes videtur certis finibus esse determinatam et condemnamus *Episcopum* et *Archipresbiterum S. Laurentii de Viqueriae* ejusque capitulum ne de caetero inquietent possessionem vel quasi possessionem Viciniae S. Hylarii nec contradicant Parochianis ire ad dictam Ecclesiam ad divina officia, ad recipienda sacramenta nec prohibeant eligere sepulturam et Archipresbiter et Capitulum S. Laurentii ne se intromittant in dandis poenitentiis. Data fuit haec sententia in civitate Cumana in claustro S. Mariae Majoris. (Manfredi, 108).

[17] *Ibid.*, 109. [18] Manfredi, 190.

western part of the church. The edifice, which is now covered with Renaissance vaults, was originally roofed in timber. Owing to floods of the Staffora, the level of the ground around the church has risen many feet. The lower part of the building thus lies buried, and the pavement has been raised. The level of the soil now cuts across the northern portal at the level of the architrave, and the western portal somewhat below the springing of the arch (Plate 242, Fig. 1). The windows have been, for the most part, made over. They were originally double splayed, tall and narrow, and intended to serve without glass. The archivolts are formed of V-shaped bricks. The upper part of the walls is of the time of the Renaissance (Plate 242, Fig. 1, 2). The belfry at the eastern part of the church with pointed arches is perhaps of the XIII century (Plate 242, Fig. 2).

The bricks, slightly cross-hatched, are large and well laid in perfectly horizontal courses (Plate 242, Fig. 1, 2). A few bricks are laid on end, but there is no herring-bone work. The bricks measure 6-14 x 31-44 x 7-9 centimetres. The mortar-beds measure from 1 to 2 centimetres. In the façade are stone trimmings (Plate 242, Fig. 1).

IV. The façade (Plate 242, Fig. 1) is adorned with a stone string-course, elaborately moulded, supporting pilaster strips at the ends, and two shafts with capitals and bases on either side of the portals. These in turn support simple arched corbel-tables, under which tile disks were inlaid at irregular intervals. Above is a saw-tooth cornice supported on flat corbel-tables. The latter motive is repeated on the east gable (Plate 242, Fig. 2).

V. The masonry is closely analogous to that of Castelnuovo Scrivia, an authentically dated edifice of 1183. The Chiesa Rossa may, consequently, be ascribed to c. 1185.

VOLTORRE,[1] S. MICHELE

(Plate 243, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 244, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)

I. The beautiful cloister of Voltorre has been published and profusely illustrated by Ghiringhelli. Sant'Ambrogio has also written a monograph upon the edifice. Two photographs have been reproduced in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*.[2]

II. Undoubtedly the oldest document extant relating to the Cluniac priory of Voltorre is the inscription on the bell, still preserved in the

[1] Provincia di Como. Voltorre lies on the east shore of the Lake of Varese, about a kilometre from the Strada Provinciale.

[2] Anno 25, 1898, p. 174.

campanile: BLASINUS MAGĪTER STERNALIUS DE LUGANO. There is unfortunately no date, but the character of the letters leaves no doubt that the inscription is of the XII century. The priory is mentioned in a document of 1192, and was confirmed to St.-Benigne of Dijon by Clement IV in 1265.

The cloister was erected by a master-builder of the name of Lanfranco, who was the son of Ergazio, as is known from an inscription on one of the capitals:

LA
FRĀC
MAG[I]
STER:
FILI'
DOM ER
GATII
DE LI[3]
V̄V̄R
NO

An attempt has been made to identify this Lanfranco with the famous master-builder of the cathedral of Modena, who worked upon the latter edifice in 1099-1106. Such an identification is, however, absurd, since the style of the cloisters of Voltorre is entirely different from that of the cathedral of Modena. It has also been attempted to identify the town LIV̄V̄RNO, mentioned in the inscription, with Livorno Vercellese. The overlining of the name shows, however, that this identification is also impossible, since the Latin name of Livorno Vercellese is Liburnum. The same objection applies to the identification with Ligurno.[4] We are therefore obliged to admit that we know nothing further of Lanfranco, and are not even able to determine the name of the town from which he came.

In 1743 the priory was given in commendam. In 1519 the monks were supplanted by Lateran canons.

In 1629 Raffaele Appiani restored the church and monastery in the barocco style.[5] The church itself was again baroccoized in 1763. The church is still open for worship, but the cloister and monastic buildings are in the possession of different individuals.

Since I last visited the edifice, in July, 1913, the lovely cloisters have been severely damaged by fire.[6] The northern gallery is said to have been entirely destroyed.

[3] There may, or may not, be a lacuna after the "I."

[4] Frazione di Cazzone, Provincia di Como.

[5] This restoration was not completed until 1643, as is known from an inscription over one of the doorways of the monastic buildings. Another inscription of 1640 records the construction of the garden and other works of the same diligent abbot.

[6] Rassegna d'Arte, XIII, 1913, November, p. II.

III, IV. The church is completely denatured by barocco stucco, but still retains its Romanesque core, which may be seen in places.[7] The apse is decorated externally with arched corbel-tables, and retains traces of the ancient frescos. The campanile rises to the east of the apse. According to local tradition, this campanile antedates the monastery, and was originally one of the towers of a castle or fortification.

The lovely cloisters show considerable variation of design. On the north side (Plate 243, Fig. 2; Plate 244, Fig. 1) the columns carry arches in three orders, which are surmounted by double arched corbel-tables. On the other three sides (Plate 243, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 244, Fig. 1, 4) they carry architraves. In the west gallery (Plate 244, Fig. 1, 4) the columns are higher and more widely spaced. The capitals, however (Plate 244, Fig. 2, 3, 5, 6) are all of

[7] It is interesting to compare the church of Voltorre with SS. Pietro e Paolo, of Castelletto Monastero (frazione di Castelletto Cervo, Provincia di Novara). This edifice, which has been described by Orsenigo (205-206) and Sant'Ambrogio, was, according to Sant'Ambrogio, the church of S. Maria of Moliade, which was confirmed to the bishop of Vercelli by Otto III. Sant'Ambrogio speaks also of another document of 1014, which refers to the church. Bernard (IV, 540) has printed an undated letter which he assigns to about 1070, but which must in reality be later than 1083, since Vertemate was only then founded. In this letter Oberto, count of Canavese, and Ardicio, *castellanus de Castelleto,* complain of the disorders occasioned *ob prioris seviciam in cella Castelleti* and request the removal of the prior and the substitution of the prior of Vertemate. It is evident, therefore, that at this time the Cluniac priory had already been established. The chapel of S. Pietro in *loco de Casalello* was acquired by Cluny in 1086 (Bernard, IV, 771). In 1127, according to Sant'Ambrogio, the marchese Oberto made a donation *ad haedeficandum et componendum* the monastery. Lothair II (1133-1137)—see Bernard, V, 395—granted a diploma in favour of the monastery, but part of the lands were none the less given to the monks of Oropa in 1184. In Marrier's definition of 1367 it is stated that there were seven monks, but that anciently there had been eight. The monastery finally was given in commendam, and, in 1588 the church was officiated, no longer by monks, but by two priests maintained at the expense of the commendatary abbot. In 1593 the church became a simple parish.

The church itself appears to have been entirely remade in the barocco period; if the Romanesque core is still extant in places, it is not visible. It is probable, however, that the existing edifice preserves, however much altered, the plan of the earlier church. The campanile and narthex still retain some traces of Romanesque construction. The latter, which has been much built over, and is now used for store-rooms, was in two stories, of which the lower was covered with oblong groin vaults, very highly domed. Traces of the use of a *cerce* are still visible in the plaster of the soffit. The western façade of the narthex had four bifora in two orders. The one capital still extant is primitive in style, and recalls the capitals of the campanile of S. Satiro of Milan. The windows are in two orders. The masonry is of good quality, and consists of cut stone and large bricks (averaging about 8½ x 29 x 16 centimetres), well laid in horizontal courses, which are interrupted at intervals by herring-bone work of river pebbles. The mortar-beds average about 1½ centimetres in depth. The bricks are cross-hatched. The campanile which rises not over the crossing, but to the south of it, has triforia in the belfry and arched corbel-tables. There are no transepts. To judge from the scanty remains extant, the building seems to have been constructed c. 1110.

similar style, and no great interval of time seems to have intervened between the construction of the different galleries. A remarkable feature of this cloister is the horizontal curvature in plan.

V. The horizontal architraves of three galleries of the cloister recall those of the baptistery of Parma, an edifice begun in 1196 (Plate 163, Fig. 1). The capitals (Plate 244, Fig. 2, 3, 5, 6) also seem to be about contemporary with those of the Parma baptistery, although they are free from French influence. The north gallery may be slightly earlier than the others, and the west gallery slightly later. I therefore assign the north gallery to c. 1180, the south and east galleries to c. 1190, and the west gallery to c. 1195.

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Vol. II, p. 592, line 15, for 1004-1112, read 1014-1024.